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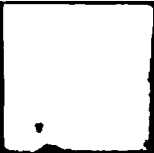
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VOLUME VI.



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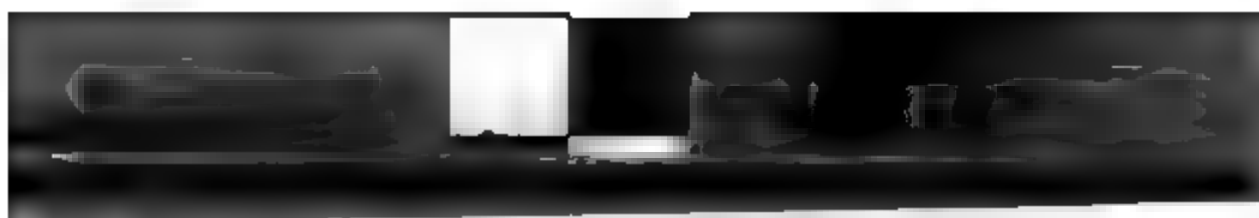
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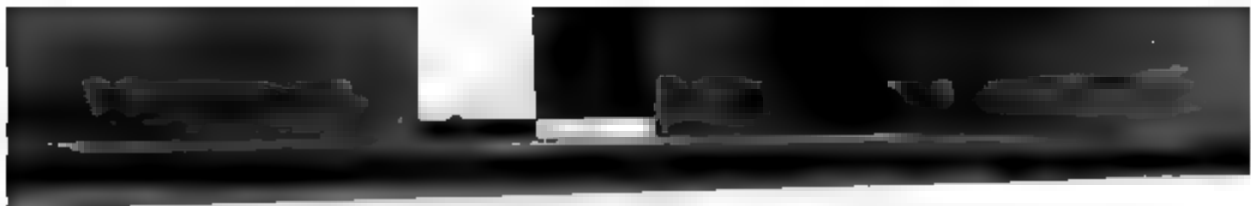
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THE INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

No. XXI.

OCTOBER, 1878.

ART. I.—THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA *from the Commencement of the Christian Era.* BY JAMES HOUGH. London: 1839.

(2) THE JESUITS' MISSIONS IN INDIA. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. I., No. 1, Art. III.

(3) THE MADRAS CATHOLIC DIRECTORY, 1878.

THE introduction of Christianity into India may with considerable probability be traced back to the efforts of Mark, the evangelist, in the second century. But it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that the Roman Catholic form of it was brought here. In the year 1500 Pedro Alvares Cabral first bore to Europe intelligence of the Christian churches on the coast of Malabar, by carrying two brothers, Matthias and Joseph, to Lisbon. When Vasco de Gama, on his second voyage in 1502, arrived at Cochin, the Christians placed themselves under his protection and that of his sovereign. In the years 1510 and 1511 Alphonso de Albuquerque, after gaining possession of Goa by siege, conquered Diu, Choul, Salsette, Bombay, Bassein and Damaun, so that Portuguese factories could be established along the coast at Dabul, Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cannanore, Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin and Quilon. By these conquests they were enabled to compel all native vessels to take Christian passes for safety on the seas. The Government of Portugal sent out numerous friars for the conversion of the heathen; these were allowed to preach wherever they chose, and to erect *small churches* for their congregations. Their

character was in general unfavorable to the truth, and it was said that they always effected the most conversions where there was most to gratify their covetousness.

Although Goa abounded in priests and monks, with a bishop at their head, it was not until the year 1542, when Francis Xavier arrived, that the Church made any apparent impression among the heathen. In 1540 the King of Portugal having made up his mind to establish the Church in India, Xavier was recommended to him and accepted for the accomplishment of that object. On the 6th of May, 1542, Xavier arrived at Goa, presented his credentials to the Bishop (from whom he received a promise of support), and shut himself up in one of the churches to spend his first night in prayer. By devoting his first efforts to the Portuguese he effected a general improvement in their conduct. Then he took hold of a seminary which had recently been established for the education of native heathen youths, and in which were gathered from all the adjacent countries students speaking nine or ten different languages. This institution he placed on a better basis, named it the "College of St. Paul," and had it transferred to the Society of Jesus, thus making it more efficient for the conversion of the heathen. A third object of his care were the orphans and destitute converts. It seems that the King of Portugal had been dissatisfied with the slow progress of Christianity, and had sent out an ecclesiastic to investigate the cause. It was found that the monks cared little for their scholars and converts, did nothing for the temporal wants of those who were thrust out by their friends at conversion, and neglected the orphan children of the deceased poor among the Christians. Xavier immediately secured from the Christians in Goa the means of establishing a seminary for such children; this was afterwards endowed and enlarged. He also organized relief for the poor.

Having thus established a good basis for future operations, and also having prepared himself by seeking information from the many natives who flocked to Goa from all parts of India concerning the various languages, customs, and forms of religion of the country, Xavier in October, 1542, set out for the interior by way of the southern coast.

The fishermen of Comorin had shortly before been rescued from the Muhammadans by the Portuguese, and had on that account become nominal Christians. These were ready to receive the instructions of Xavier. Finding that the two ecclesiastics whom he took with him as interpreters were incapable, and therefore giving up his idea of addressing the natives through them, he secured the translation into Tamil of the words, "The words of the sign of the Cross," also of the Apostles' *Credo*, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the salutation

of the angel, the "Confiteor", the "Salve Regina", and the whole of the Catechism. Of these he committed to memory as much as he could, went about with a bell gathering men, women and children, making them repeat his translations, charging them to teach the same to their fathers and mothers and neighbors, and teaching them that those who believed the contents of the Creed were true Christians, and those who kept all the Commandments according to their duty good Christians. In this way he visited thirty villages along the coast, and is said to have baptized half of them in the course of fifteen months. Choosing the most intelligent man in each congregation formed, he taught him the translated passages and made him a catechist, with a salary from the public treasury. Churches were also built for the congregations. In his efforts among the Brahmans he failed. Returning to Goa in January, 1544, he took some young fisherman (or *Paravar*) converts to be educated in the College of St. Paul.

In the same year he set out on a second tour, and penetrated further into the interior, going about baptizing children and attending the sick. At this time the Paravars having been driven out of their villages by the Vadugas of Bisnagar, he secured twenty Portuguese vessels with arms and provisions and brought back the refugees to their homes, and also left two missionaries to protect them.

The influence of the Portuguese secured from the Raja of Travancore permission for Xavier to preach in those dominions: and although the Brahmans were against him, yet the frequent baptism of a well peopled village in a day, and of ten thousand idolaters in a month, the demolition of the Hindu idols and pagodas by converts, and the immediate erection of forty-five churches, were the tokens of his success there. An invasion of Travancore by the Vadugas furnished him an opportunity of bringing his influence to the aid of the Raja, which he improved;—by running at the head of his little company with a crucifix in his hand, and calling upon the invaders, in the name of the living God, to stop, he worked upon their superstitious feelings and caused them to fly. The Raja immediately published an edict in favor of Christianity, and commanded his subjects to attend on Xavier's preaching. Soon the missionary was overwhelmed with applications for his help, from far and wide.

Upon a third visit to the Paravars he visited by invitation the island of Manaar, and won many converts. In consequence they were subjected to a terrible persecution by their ruler, the Raja of Jaffnapatam, who caused six or seven hundred of them to be slain. Christianity only thrived under it. Still, Xavier endeavored to persuade the Portuguese Viceroy to come from

Cambaya and take up arms against the heathen persecutor. A little incident occurring during this voyage shows one of Xavier's methods. Wishing to convert an atheist, who was quite intimate with him, but who refused to be spoken to about his soul, he took him ashore at Cannanore, and there, stripping himself to the waist, chastised his own back until the blood ran, saying, "It is for your sake I do this; but you have inflicted a much severer penalty on Jesus Christ": and then offering a short prayer he so impressed the man's mind as to cause him to fall at his feet and promise to repent.

In 1545 Xavier sailed again for Travancore, but interpreted the hindrance caused by westerly winds as an indication from God that he should not go there, and turned away to the Malacca and other islands. But in 1548 he came again to Cochin, and organized a body of ecclesiastics for the superintendence of the southern congregations, and admonished them, among other things, to study the native language, and make themselves beloved by the people. In the same year he visited the cruel Raja of Jaffnapatam, and persuaded him to form an alliance with the Portuguese; went to the island of Rameswaram to see its celebrated pagoda, and, not receiving permission to approach, lifted up his voice against it from afar; returned to Goa, and found the College of St. Paul flourishing, assigned places to five new missionaries, ordained some of the students for distant churches, appointed catechists from fisherman converts of Travancore, and wrote an appeal to the King of Portugal to send out many more religious teachers for his subjects in India. Xavier died in 1552, on the island of Sancian, near China, but his body was brought to Goa for burial. Many stories are circulated among the Romanists about miracles occurring at his tomb, and near Cape Comorin there is an old idol of him which has become an object of worship to both Roman Catholics and heathen, and is called the Para Padri Pagoda, or the Peria Padri Pagoda. Bercastel declares that before Xavier's death the converts on the pearl fishery coast alone numbered more than five hundred thousand.

The Inquisition, with all its horrors, was established in Goa in 1560, and kept in operation until the year 1775, when it was suppressed by King Joseph of Portugal. Five years later, however, he being dead, it was set up again, with slight restrictions, and continued until 1816, when the Prince Regent of Portugal abolished it.

While Xavier was absent in the East, in the year 1545, Albuquerque, Bishop of Goa, sent Vincent, a Franciscan brother, to inquire into the state of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, and to bring them under the papal power. Vincent, thinking that the Syrian Church buildings were too much like heathen temples, built several as models for the Christians. The people first wel-

comed, then neglected him. Finding that he could not get hold of their priests (*kattanars*), he determined to educate his own priests. With a view to this end he obtained the aid of the Portuguese Viceroy and the Bishop of Goa, and founded a college at Cranganore, in which he immediately began to instruct some Syrian youths in Latin. But soon the Syrians shut their doors against both the Portuguese and their own sons whom the Portuguese had educated. Thus failed the Franciscans.

In the year 1587 the Jesuits, who condemned the policy of both Xavier and Vincent, undertook to accomplish the task in which Vincent had failed, and established themselves at Vaipicotta, near Cranganore, where they afterwards built up a college in which they taught Syriac, and allowed their students to wear the usual dress of *kattanars*. But their success was brief, for these Syrian youths when educated still maintained the opinions of their people, and in their prayers remembered with respect the Patriarch of Babylon. The Jesuits came to the conclusion that the Syrian Bishop, Mar Joseph, was an obstacle to be removed. The latter had been consecrated for the diocese of Malabar by Hebed Jesus, the Patriarch of Babylon and a member of the Council of Trent. By a stratagem they caught him declaring that Mary was the mother only of Christ, not of God; and, through the Bishop of Cochin, reported him to the Archbishop of Goa. That official, with the Viceroy, had him arrested at Cochin and sent to Goa, whence he was shipped to Portugal. Mar Joseph, using the same deceit by which he had been deprived of his diocese, secured the royal favor, and was sent back with orders to the Archbishop and Viceroy to restore him. In the mean time the Syrians had applied to Babylon for another bishop, and Mar Abraham had been sent, thus bringing two prelates into the field as Syrian bishops. The Jesuits, having failed in their efforts to intercept Mar Abraham, immediately set about to conquer the Syrians by dividing them between the two bishops. This device was successful, and Mar Joseph, being followed by a considerable minority, soon gave the Archbishop of Goa just the opportunity he was waiting for, by entreating him to interfere against Mar Abraham. By his order the commanding officer at Cochin seized the latter and sent him to Goa, whence he was shipped for Rome; but he escaped by way of Mozambique. Of his own accord, however, he soon after went to Rome, pretended to conform to the requirements of the Pope, and in Venice was reordained and sent back as Bishop of Angamale. During his absence, his rival grew more bold, was reported to the Pope, and was himself again seized at Cochin and sent off to Rome, not to be heard of again. Thus the Jesuits made some progress by the divisions among the Syrians and the cowardice of their leaders.

While all these efforts were making to gain the adherence

of the Christians, the Portuguese were at the same time persecuting the Muhammadans and heathens, and striving to force them to become Roman Catholics, by various means, such as alluring their women with bribes, putting to death their leaders, torturing them, selling them into bondage, transporting them, and making prizes of their ships. The result was a war, in which the friars erected fortresses, fought in the field, commanded squadrons, and baptized the converts of the sword. Five rajas are said to have been converted in this way.

These difficulties made the Portuguese all the more anxious to secure the aid of the numerous body of Syrian Christians, and they determined not to let Mar Abraham return to Malabar. The Archbishop therefore declared the Pope's briefs to be null and void, and obtained under false pretences, and confined Mar Abraham in the Dominican Convent at Goa. Abraham escaped indeed, but was so closely pursued that he dared not appear in Cochin until the Pope, in November, 1578, sent him his letters of safe conduct, and summoned him to a provincial council to be held at Goa by a Dominican friar, the safe conduct being confirmed with an oath by the Archbishop and Viceroy. He tried to please both Rome and Babylon, and satisfied neither. At his request the Patriarch sent out another bishop, Mar Simeon, to assist him. But the zealous young bishop soon began to supersede his elder, and another split occurred among the Syrians. The treacherous Abraham then did just what his former rival, Joseph, had done—appealed to the authorities at Goa. They espoused his cause, and, by employing some Franciscans in a stratagem, persuaded Simeon to go to Rome in order to strengthen his own position. Of course he was not allowed to return; he was forced to end his days in Portugal, probably in the Inquisition. The schism was maintained by the Kattanar Jacob, whom Mar Simeon had appointed as his Vicar-general. Mar Abraham, on the other hand, in his old age came out boldly against the Roman Catholics, and refused to attend the fourth provincial council at Goa in 1590, and thus excited their anger and indignation.

In the year 1595 Don Alexio de Menezes, the newly appointed Archbishop of Goa, sailed for his diocese with instructions to investigate the conduct of Abraham, and in case of his death to allow no bishop from Babylon to enter Malabar. New bishops and priests he did intercept and send back to Babylon even before the death of the aged prelate; but the latter was left undisturbed, because he was out of reach at Angamale, and too infirm to be feared.

He tried next to reduce Jacob, Simeon's Vicar-general, but failed, and was only relieved of his formidable opposition by his speedy death. The death of Abraham closely following left the Syrians without leaders, and the Roman Catholics without for-

midable adversaries. At the news of his death Menezes appointed the Jesuit, Francisco Roz, Governor and Vicar-apostolic of the diocese of Malabar. He subsequently became Bishop of the Serra (the mountains of Malabar); he was erudite, prudent, well acquainted with the Syriac and Malabar languages, and a fluent preacher. But the council of Goa, foreseeing the troubles that would arise among the Syrians, persuaded the Archbishop to substitute for him the Syrian Archdeacon. Upon the Archdeacon's refusal to subscribe to the Creed of the Council of Trent and the bull of Pius IV., Menezes determined to visit the Serra in person. This was alarming news to the Archdeacon, so he wrote to the Archbishop declaring that his dissatisfaction with the Jesuits was the cause of his refusal, and offered to give his subscription into the hands of a friar of any other order. Menezes disliked to give such an affront to the Jesuits, but was induced to yield, and sent a Franciscan to receive his assent to the prescribed confession of faith in Portuguese, although he knew nothing of the language. But the Archdeacon's dissembling was not satisfactory, and in the year 1598 Menezes with a strong escort visited the south. Commissioned as envoy to the native princes of Malabar, he acted in a political and military capacity as well as ecclesiastical, and after making arrangements for the siege of Cunahle, and spending sixteen days in Cannanore, arrived in Cochin on the 26th of January, 1599. Here he informed the magistrates that he was not going back to Goa until he had reduced the Syrian Christians to subjection to Rome, and demanded their assistance. He also secured the support of the Raja of Cochin by a bribe of nine thousand five hundred pounds. The Syrian Archdeacon being summoned to meet him there thought it best to comply, and went with an escort of three thousand men. Another meeting followed, a few days after, at Vaipicotta. There, by preaching, persuading, condescending, condemning, taking his opponents unawares and suddenly overwhelming them, he obtained the signatures of the Archdeacon and two kattanars to a sentence of excommunication against the Patriarch of Babylon, and, in spite of the angry threats and violent demonstrations of the enraged Syrians, maintained himself, and won the allegiance of two ecclesiastics by praying nearly all of one night with them.

The next day, at Parur, he went through the same performances, but the people would not come forward to be confirmed, and gave him no encouragement. In several other places the people showed themselves so determined not to yield to his demands that the Portuguese who accompanied Menezes entreated him to retire at once to Cochin. He had visited the five churches of Cranganore, Vaipicotta, Parur, Mangatē and Cheguree without success, and concluded to turn his attention to the more

southern churches, further away from and less under the influence of the Archdeacon.

But before setting out he held two or three meetings with his opponent, and agreed to unite with him in calling a synod to determine questions of faith. He also signed an agreement that in the mean time he would not confirm candidates, nor perform any other episcopal function than preaching in the churches and giving his blessing. This agreement he seems to have violated at the very first opportunity; for at Porca (where the Jesuits had an establishment), on his way to Quilon, he said mass and confirmed the whole congregation. At Quilon, acting in his military capacity, he visited a fort under pretence of looking at a church near by, and secretly wrote to the Portuguese commander before Cunahle that he could destroy it by coming immediately. The news of the serious defeat of the Portuguese at Cunahle he suppressed, and actually despatched to all the rajas of Malabar the falsehood that they had won a great victory. Thus, having violated his agreement with the Archdeacon, played the part of a traitor to the Raja of Quilon, and publicly announced a lie, this "holy prelate" (as he is called in the *Madras Catholic Directory*) proceeded with his efforts on behalf of the Roman Church. At Molandurte he again administered confirmation. The Archdeacon had conscientiously acted according to the agreement, but, when he found how it had been disregarded by the other, immediately sent letters to all the churches warning them not to have anything to do with Menezes. In this he was seconded by the Cochin Raja, who feared the political power of the Portuguese. Menezes, on the other hand, became more bold, and, knowing that for two years no ordination had taken place among the Syrians, from their having no bishop, announced a public ordination at Diamper. In spite of the most frantic efforts on the part of the Archdeacon, and even of the edict of the Raja, he succeeded by stratagem in ordaining thirty-eight candidates. The Governor of Diamper forbade any of the inhabitants of the place to go to the church on that day, but the shrewd Archbishop had gathered together his candidates the day before, and kept them in the church all night. At Carturte he secured two important accessions, introduced auricular confession, washed the feet of all the kattanars in the place, and worked upon the susceptibilities of the people by various pompous displays to such an extent that he won over to himself a party of considerable strength, including many kattanars. He also held more ordinations, with numerous candidates. Gradually he overcame the people; he could not win over the Archdeacon, and on a second visit to Diamper excommunicated him. His alms were bountiful and effective, *but the charitableness of his disposition does not appear when*

we learn that his income was twenty thousand crowns a year, and that he had command of eighty thousand ducats and an immense quantity of jewels left in the public treasury by Albuquerque in 1597.

The result of all these efforts was the reduction of three of the chief places, Carturte, Molandurte and Diamper, and of all the churches in the small kingdoms of Porca, Gundara, Marca and Batimena. Finally, having blocked up all the Archdeacon's means of escape, and having overcome the opposition of the Raja of Cochin, he secured his private signature to ten propositions implying entire obedience to the Pope, and an acknowledgment of the Papal supremacy. Nothing remained but to complete all arrangements for the synod according to his own pleasure; and Diamper was fixed upon as the place, and the 20th of June as the date. In order to be sure of a majority, Menezes on Trinity Sunday ordained fifty of his adherents as kattanars, and they comprised two-thirds of all the kattanars at the synod. The influence of the procurators he secured with presents.

Nine sessions were held, and two hundred decrees, founded on those of Trent, were issued and signed. The first decree of the third session enjoins the reverencing and adoration of images, and the twenty-ninth of the eighth session declares that the second use to be made of alms shall be to set up images; the last of the third session strictly commands the practice of secret information: the second of the ninth session permits the maintenance of caste distinctions in the presence of the heathen. The last session was held on the eighth day; after which the bishopric was divided into seventy-five parishes, the Archbishop delivered an address, the eight hundred and thirteen members signed the decrees, and a solemn procession was made. This is the way in which, as the *Madras Catholic Directory* says, "Dr. Menezes, after a year of strenuous efforts, aided by heavenly grace, had the happiness to rescue the whole Christian population from schism and heresy."

With his usual deceitful and pompous methods, the Archbishop now made a visitation throughout the country, almost to Cape Comorin. At Angamale and Changanore he caused to be destroyed the archives of the churches, and many ancient manuscripts and books, which would now be of incalculable value in throwing light on the early history of the Syrian churches, as well as in exposing the pretensions of the Roman Catholics. At Parur he managed to secure the election, as Bishop, of Francisco Roz, a choice which was ratified by the bulls of Clement VIII. In 1605 the see of Angamale was transferred to Cranganore, and the prelate was given the title of Archbishop. The supremacy of the Roman Catholics in Malabar lasted about fifty years,

after which time the Syrians renounced their allegiance to the Roman prelate, and chose as their ecclesiastical head a relative of the Archdeacon, who had submitted to Rome. That period of fifty years covers the establishment of the famous Jesuit mission in Madura, to which we must now turn our attention.

The Franciscans had carried on missionary work with some success prior to 1606, but in that year the Jesuit, Robert de Nobilibus, "perceiving the strong prejudice of the natives against Europeans, and believing it to be invincible, determined to conceal his real origin, and to enter among them as one of themselves. For this purpose he applied himself diligently to the study of the native language, manners and customs, and having gained over a Brahman to assist him, he made himself master of the usages and customs of that sect, even to the most minute details. Thus prepared for his undertaking, and fortified besides with a written document, probably forged by himself or by his companion, he entered Madura, not as a Christian missionary, but as a Brahman of a superior order who had come among them to restore the most ancient form of their own religion." When accused of being an impostor, he produced his scroll, an old soiled parchment, to show that the Brahmans of Rome were of older date than those of India, and declared upon oath that he sprang from the god Brahma. Three of his opponents yielded, and dissuaded the other Brahmans from persecuting him. He then assumed the character of an ascetic, wearing an orange-colored cotton cloth and sandals, and carrying about a tiger-skin to sit on, and a copper vessel to drink from; eating only rice and green herbs without seasoning; besmearing himself with the ashes of cows' dung, and putting the sandal wafer on his forehead; always denying that he was a European. He also forged the Ezour Veda, in which was interwoven, with consummate skill, enough of the Bible to give it a Scriptural character without awakening suspicion. It was written in Sanskrit, and in a style so much like the original Vedas as to impose upon some of the learned Brahmans, and utterly deceive Voltaire and other *savants* of Paris in the next century.

By these means and by most audacious falsehoods Nobilibus and his companions established themselves so firmly that the Franciscans had nothing to do but to retire. A heathen of a high caste on the coast, being hindered from conversion only by his dislike to joining himself to the Europeans, was told by the missionaries, Martin and others, "We are but the teachers of the low castes on the coast; it is proper for you, as a person of quality, to apply to the teachers of the higher castes, who are inland." The inquirer was persuaded to go to Madura and be baptized, on the ground of their being, not Europeans, but Brahmans.

With all their attempts to imitate the Brahmans, they did not succeed in winning them to Christianity, and the converts actually won were mostly pariahs. These had separate catechists and churches, and if they presumed to enter a church of a higher caste were driven out and well whipped. Their houses were never entered by the so-called Brahman ascetics, but the last rites of the Church were administered in the open air. In their processions and car-drawings, in their pretended miracles, in their use of the sacred ashes, in their immodest and wanton celebration of the attainment of womanhood by girls, in their nuptial ceremonies, in their funeral rites, these Roman Catholics practised pure and unadulterated heathenism.

Many converts were claimed; Father Martin reckoned up one hundred and fifty thousand at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and declared that each missionary baptized at least a thousand souls annually, while Father Bouchet baptized thirty thousand in twelve years. Yet in 1776 Fra San Bartolomeo found but eighteen thousand in Madura, and ten thousand in Tanjore. Of course they baptized many infants when dying, and even did it under pretext of giving medicine. In this work women were employed, and one is mentioned "whose knowledge of the pulse and of the symptoms of approaching death was so unerring that of more than ten thousand children whom she had herself baptized not more than two escaped death." In a famine of two years' duration twelve thousand deserted and dying children were reported to have been baptized. In 1656 Nobilibus died, having labored forty-five years. In 1700 there were seven or eight Jesuits in Madura, and more in Southern India. About this time persecution sprang up in Tanjore; and, although Father Tachard asserts that twelve thousand Christians stood firm, Father Norbert assures the Pope that not one was found ready to seal his faith with his blood, and that the Christians of Tanjore flocked by thousands to the pagodas to renounce their religion and receive the indelible mark of Vishnu. This corresponds with the testimony of the Abbé Dubois concerning the sixty thousand native Christians whom Tippu ordered to be gathered together in Seringapatam in 1784 to be converted to Muhammadanism,—that "not one, not a single individual among so many thousands, had courage to confess his faith under this trying circumstance, and become a martyr to his religion. The whole apostatized *en masse*, and without resistance or protestation."

Before the death of Nobilibus tidings of these deceitful methods reached Rome through Goa, and the Pope commanded the Archbishop of Goa to investigate the matter. The Jesuits claimed that the assumed rites were merely civil observances, and the Pope seems to have been misled. When he issued his

special constitution concerning them, they concealed and disregarded it, with the help of the members of the order in Rome. The eighteenth century opened with threatening clouds for the Jesuits in Madura, but they were too far away for the distant reverberations to be distinctly heard or carefully heeded. Clement XI. appointed Maillard de Tournon apostolic visitor, to examine and set at rest for ever the bitter recriminations and unhappy disputes which divided and scandalized Christendom. Louis XIV. placed two frigates at his disposal, and in 1703 he landed at Pondicherry. The result was the severest censure and condemnation; a decree from the Patriarch enjoined upon them the extirpation within three years of everything that savored of superstition, such as the emblems of the Hindu triad and of the seven planetary gods. Although the Pope confirmed the decree of his legate and praised his prudence, the Jesuits prevailed upon the Archbishop of Goa to deny his authority, and forbid the observance of his decree to all the Christians of India. They also secured an act from the council at Pondicherry (after the legate's departure for China) condemning as abusive his decree, and protesting against his jurisdiction in the East. Finally they managed to get him imprisoned at Macao, whence he wrote a pastoral letter to the Christians of Pondicherry threatening them with the thunders of the Church. Meanwhile the Pope had issued another brief to the Archbishop, censuring the resistance offered to his legate. But Fathers Lainez and Bouchet, having been to Rome to overturn the decisions of M. de Tournon, returned, and boldly and deliberately perjured themselves by declaring, in a great gathering of French and native Christians in the church at Pondicherry, that "of a truth they had obtained from the lips of the Pope himself an express declaration that the decree of Cardinal de Tournon [he had been elevated after his departure from India] was in no wise binding, and that the missionaries, without offence of conscience, might permit the practice of the ceremonies which the legate had condemned." When Father Timothy de la Flache afterwards went to the Pope, to learn from his own lips the truth of the matter, the latter declared, "Father Bouchet is a liar, and nothing is less true than the story he dares to publish." Furthermore, the Pope in 1712 addressed a brief to the Bishop of St. Thomas stating that that report had no foundation. The Jesuits took up their former plea, that these rites were merely civil observances, and produced a document to that effect signed by many Malabar Christians and three of the most learned pandits. The Capuchins of Pondicherry had these Brahmans publicly and judicially examined, and found that they had signed from mere friendship, and that one had affixed, not his own name, but that of his grandfather; while they at the same time brought forward the

most unequivocal evidence of the superstitious nature of the rites. But the Jesuits had such control over the Governor that they forced him to have Naniappan, the French Company's broker, who had assisted the Capuchins, publicly whipped, loaded with chains and thrown into a dungeon, to die of hæmorrhage. Clement XI. issued brief after brief, sealed with the ring of the Fisherman, branding the Jesuits as alike obstinate and impudent, and insisting upon the observance of Cardinal de Tournon's decrees; but they paid him no attention, and continued their heathenish practices. Clement XII., after revising the decrees, confirmed them anew, and demanded instant submission, at the same time prescribing a most solemn, particular and rigid oath to be taken by each one of the missionaries in the East Indies, declaring that he will "exactly, entirely, absolutely and inviolably" observe a previous brief enjoining upon all the missionaries to take an oath that they will faithfully observe the apostolic determination concerning the Malabar rites according to the tenor of the apostolic letter, and that he will "fulfill it without any tergiversation." Perjury seems to have been easy for the Jesuits, for they all took the oath, to a man, and then did just as before. Benedict XIV. afterwards took the matter up, and succeeded in issuing the last, as it was the best and most complete, of all the many briefs launched against these abominable practices—which were the foundation of the mission to Madura, and yet were condemned by five Popes, by the Congregation of the Holy Office, by the General of the Jesuits themselves, by many eminent cardinals and bishops, and by whole bodies of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics. The Jesuits had disregarded the whole of Roman Catholic Christendom for more than a century, but under the rigorous measures of Benedict had to yield. After the dissolution of their order their Mission was entrusted to the bishop of Tabraca and the missionaries of the Seminary of Missions at Paris.

We have thus allowed ourselves to follow the course of the Madura Mission of the Jesuits to its end, for the sake of getting a more connected and a completer view. Now, however, we must go back a little, and follow the results of the overthrow of the Jesuits on the western coast.

In 1655 Pope Alexander VII. sent four Barefooted Carmelites to supersede the Jesuits. In the next year the Dutch expelled the Portuguese from Ceylon, and threatened their western possessions. The Syrians meanwhile applied to their ancient Patriarch at Mosul to send them a bishop, and secured the appointment of one Attala. When at Surat, on his way to Malabar, Attala innocently disclosed his object to some Capuchins, who immediately gave notice of his arrival to the officers of the Inquisition, and they arrested him at Meliapore.

The Syrians heard of it and tried to rescue him. Failing in this, they resolved to drive every Jesuit out of the country, and formed for themselves an ecclesiastical organization with the consecration of their Archdeacon and twelve kattanars. The Jesuits responded by sending Attala to Goa and there putting him to death. Two of the Carmelites, Vincent and Joseph, came by way of Surat, and found almost as much difficulty in reaching the Malabar coast as did Attala, for they were neither Portuguese nor Jesuits, and were opposed by both. They therefore put themselves under the protection of the Dutch, and went by Cannanore and Calicut to Palur, in the diocese of Angamale. With the Syrians and Jesuits both against them, they found it difficult to make a beginning; but Vincent, taking advantage of the gradual weakening of the power of the Portuguese, presented his case to the authorities at Cochin. Thus at length the opposition of the Jesuits, even though they forged a letter about four Dutchmen, proved to be useless, and the Carmelites soon secured the allegiance of Corolongate and Carturte, the places first gained over by Menezes. It is said that they might easily have recovered the whole body of the Syrian Christians to the papal see if they had had the liberty and inclination to consecrate the Archdeacon. But to this the Pope would not consent, on account of the Jesuits. However, they secured the attachment of the rector of Corolongate and of many of his followers; he was the chief of the southern of the two communities into which the Syrians were divided. Soon after, five important places in the northern community agreed to submit until a prelate should arrive from Rome. The strife of the Carmelites with the Jesuits, however, weakened their cause, and enabled the Archdeacon to oppose them more effectively.

A general assembly was called at Rapolino, and on the day fixed they found not a single person ready to meet them; a second assembly ended in violence; and a third resulted in the rejection of the missionaries' proposal. But divisions among the Syrians enabled them to gain over Diamper and Mutane, in Cochin. After many unsuccessful attempts they did succeed in deposing, by vote of an assembly, the Archdeacon, and in electing Joseph, of their own number, bishop of Malabar. The Jesuits protested against this transfer of the bishopric of Malabar from themselves to the Carmelites, but without avail. In 1659 Francis Garzia, the Jesuit Archbishop of Cranganore, died; so that when in 1661 the Carmelite bishop, Joseph, arrived he was well received by the Cochin Christians, and was able to compel the Jesuits to submit. The native princes, for political reasons, brought the refractory churches to submission by confiscating their revenues.

While the Jesuits had imitated Hindu devotees, and assumed an appearance of poverty, the Carmelites used all pos-

sible pomp and magnificence. Bishop Joseph tried every means of making the Archdeacon submit. He even met him in discussion before the Brahmans and ministers of state of the Queen of Cochin, heathens who knew nothing of such questions, but who were under the influence of the Portuguese, and decided everything in favor of the Carmelite prelate. Soon after, he persuaded a heathen prince to pillage the towns of Candanate and Molandurte, which were situated around the church where the Archdeacon resided, hoping thus to secure his person. He even sent and invited a great number of soldiers, with nearly all the clergy and monks of Cochin, to march immediately to Diamper. But the Archdeacon escaped, leaving the Christians of Molandurte and Candanate to the mercy of his enemy. The Bishop had the books and other effects of the fugitive Archdeacon burned, only regretting that he had not the owner himself to be burned with them.

In 1660 the Dutch captured Negapatam, and in the next two years Quilon and Cranganore. The Archdeacon expected to gain by this turn of affairs, and strengthened himself in the attachment of the northern Syrian community, especially at Angamale. The Bishop, in order to reduce this particular church, prevailed upon the heathen princes to put up the building at auction, and bought it himself for a thousand *fanams*. In 1663 the Dutch overthrew the power of the Portuguese in India by the capture of Cochin, and then expelled all European ecclesiastics from the coast. Joseph protested, but was told that "the State and East India Company of Holland had found it necessary in their own defence to exclude all European ecclesiastics of the Roman Church from the places they conquered; for that through their intrigues the Dutch establishments had everywhere sustained considerable losses; that they were the sole cause of the ruin of their conquests in the Brazils, and that they had recently conspired against them at Jaffnapatam." Their ally, the King of Kandy, also regarded them in this light, and in his treaty with the Dutch stipulated that he would "not suffer any priests, friars or clergymen to dwell in his dominions, but oblige them to depart, as the authors of all rebellions and the ruin of governments."

Before leaving, the Carmelite Bishop, in order to maintain his cause, consecrated at Carturte, as the first native Indian bishop, Alexander de Campo, and called him bishop of Megara. He then persuaded the Dutch to favor him rather than the Syrian Archdeacon, and at the same time tried to discourage the Protestant Dutch chaplain from making any attempts to convert the native Christians, on the ground that "they would sooner be torn to pieces than abandon" their fastings, and prayers, and masses, and adoration of images.

Alexander de Campo was succeeded by another native bishop, Figruedo, who seems to have presided over the Roman division of the diocese satisfactorily. In 1711 a Jesuit was again appointed, but he was not allowed to exercise any jurisdiction where the Dutch authority prevailed; his influence was confined to the churches under the dominion of heathen princes. After his death the Jesuits maintained a bishop in Cochin, and the Carmelites one in Verapoly, each independent of and hostile to the other. The Syrians numbered a hundred thousand, and about half of them were subject to the Roman bishops.

Thus grew up the vicariate apostolic of Verapoly, which the Roman Catholic authorities declare to have been erected in December, 1659, when the Pope consecrated Joseph de St. Maria as bishop.

The English, like the Dutch, would not tolerate Jesuits at the close of the seventeenth century. But they did not interfere with other Roman missionaries, and even in 1707 invited a Capuchin, Father Euphrem, to give up his intended departure for Pegu, and to remain in Madras, to minister to the Roman Catholics in that Presidency. Here he incurred the displeasure of some Portuguese, was reported to the Inquisition, enticed by a Jesuitical stratagem out of Madras, and actually carried, bound hand and foot, to the dungeons of the Inquisition at Goa. The English at Madras could not brook such an insult to their authority, and a small party with concealed weapons went to Goa, secured the gates of the Inquisition, and carried Euphrem off in triumph to Madras. Under the favor of the English Governor this Madras mission prospered. In 1715 they reported their numbers as twenty thousand out of the hundred thousand in the city. In 1815, however, they numbered only ten or twelve thousand out of four hundred thousand.

Once more must we go backward in time, to call up before our minds a more complete picture of the history of Roman Catholicism.

The Roman Catholics in Pondicherry have long formed an influential party among the adherents of the Pope in India. It was in 1664 that the French obtained a settlement there. Like the Portuguese, they directed their missionaries to attend to the conversion of the natives. These monks, though of several different orders, worked well together until the Jesuits began to interrupt their operations. Here, as elsewhere, they forbade all pariah converts to enter any church, and insisted on all other missionaries doing the same, simply to conciliate the Brahmans. The conductor of the Mission there joined in the general protest against them.

In 1701 they tried to force the heathen by persuading the Governor of Pondicherry to order the Brahmans to pull down

their pagoda or quit the place. The determination of five thousand Brahmans to depart threw the town into such confusion that the Governor had to go in person and assure them that he had revoked his order. It was in Pondicherry, and about this time, that in acting out a tragedy a Roman Catholic party broke to pieces and trampled under foot the images of the heathen pagoda; whereat the Brahmans at Tanjore persuaded the King to command every Christian to renounce "this insolent religion", and thus brought on the persecution already mentioned, in which the Christians flocked to the pagodas to receive the mark of Vishnu, and allowed every one of their churches to be pulled down.

The Jesuits of Pondicherry were concerned, with all the rest of their order, in the resistance offered to the Popes and their legates, and to detail the particulars of their conduct would be to repeat the shameful and tedious story already told of their duplicity, dishonesty and insolence. Upon their refusal to publish the bulls of the Pope in 1714, one of their own number, Bishop Videlou, to whom the Pope had sent his bulls, formally separated himself from their communion. This enraged them, and they forthwith bent all their energies to destroy him, intercepting his despatches, publicly protesting against his jurisdiction, appealing to the Council of Pondicherry to send him away from the country, and at length prevailing upon the King of France to suspend him and two superiors of the Capuchins. For this cause the Capuchins resolved to hold no further communion with the Jesuits. In 1725 Pinheiro, a Portuguese Jesuit, arrived as bishop of Meliapore, and tried in vain to induce the French members of his order to be obedient to the Pope. In 1733 they were suspected of having suffered the Dutch to capture Pondicherry, and their influence was partially lost in consequence.

"During the French revolution the Italian Capuchins replaced the French Capuchins, and remained at Pondicherry until the year 1828, when the French Government sent out a missionary from the seminary of St. Esprit under the title of 'prefect apostolic.' The jurisdiction of the prefect apostolic extends to the French settlements of the East, viz., Pondicherry, Mahé, Chandernagore and Yanam. In Chandernagore he has jurisdiction over all classes of Christians, but in the other places named his jurisdiction (like that of his predecessors, the Capuchins) is restricted to Europeans and all that wear hats."

The result of the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 was a deficiency in the number of Roman Catholic missionaries, and to make up that deficiency "a national black clergy" was organized. These native missionaries were ignorant and degraded, but kept their congregations together in prosperous times. In 1784, however, when Tippu Sultan ordered them all to become Muhammadans, they seemed to have no faith to hold them fast. Still it is stated that after the fall of Tippu most of the apostates

returned to Christianity, and twenty thousand of them went back to the Mangalore district and rebuilt their churches.

Such is the early history of the Roman Catholics in South India. It remains for us now to note a few important statistics showing their progress, and in conclusion to consider some of the impressions left on our minds by their methods and character.

In 1700 the Syrian diocese contained fourteen hundred churches in the same number of towns. At the same time the Jesuits claimed forty thousand converts in the Madura Mission. About 1745 their numbers were said to be thirty thousand in the Marawa country, one hundred thousand in Madura, eighty thousand in the Carnatic, and thirty-five thousand in Mysore, making a total of two hundred and forty-five thousand.

In 1815 there were in South India two titular Archbishops, Goa and Cranganore; two Bishops, St. Thomé and Cochin; two apostolic vicars, or bishops "*in partibus*," Verapoly and Pondicherry. The Archbishop of Goa was the Metropolitan and Primate of the East, having under him a native clergy educated at Goa, and comprising fifteen hundred priests, monks and friars, and three hundred thousand Christians, the other prelate having charge of but sixty-seven thousand souls. At the same time the bishopric of Cochin included sixty thousand Christians; that of St. Thomé, near Madras, fifty thousand; the vicariate apostolic of Pondicherry thirty-five thousand; and that of Verapoly one hundred and twenty thousand. This gives a total of six hundred and thirty-two thousand Roman Catholics. Verapoly was said to be the only mission then gaining accessions, but there every year was said to witness the christening of three or four hundred converts.

Since that time there has been a great increase in the number of vicariates apostolic; and although the Archbishop of Goa is still entitled "Primate of the East", yet at the present time he has under his jurisdiction only a tenth of the Roman Catholics of South India, including Goa. There has been no archbishop or bishop of Cranganore since 1823. The last bishop of Cochin died in 1847.

In 1877 there was one archbishop, the head of the archdiocese of Goa; no bishops other than those "*in partibus*"; ten vicars apostolic and one prefect apostolic; seventy-six priests under the Archbishop of Goa, and seven hundred and five under the vicars apostolic. The ten bishops "*in partibus*" have charge of the nine vicariates apostolic of Madras, Vizagapatam, Pondicherry, Mysore, Coimbatore, Madura, Quilon, Verapoly and Mangalore, Verapoly alone having two bishops. These nine vicariates reported a Roman Catholic population of nearly seven hundred and sixty thousand, besides eighty-eight thousand subject to Goa, making a total of eight hundred and forty-eight thousand. In six of these the conversions during the year from paganism

were reported to be more than twenty-four thousand, of which Pondicherry claimed the large number of seventeen thousand four hundred and sixty-six. Of converts from Protestantism fourteen were reported in Madras, thirty-one in Mysore, fifty-seven in Coimbatore, and one hundred and eighty-three in Pondicherry. Bishop Fennelly, of Madras, reports the baptism between January, 1877, and March, 1878, of nearly five hundred pagan families, containing eighteen hundred and fifty-eight souls, of which one hundred and two families are of good caste.

Vizagapatam, Mysore and Coimbatore have no Christians subject to the Archbishop of Goa.

Attached to the convents in Bangalore and Ootacamund are asylums for females rescued from vice; while orphanages and communities for monks and nuns are numerous.

Caste distinction is maintained by the people themselves, although the position of the priests in regard to it is apparently that of winking at it. In Pondicherry, however, it is carefully adhered to; for of the four congregations of native women the fourth is for pariahs, with an asylum for pariah females, and a day-school of thirty pariah children. In other things, such as the observances connected with births, marriages and deaths, the superstitious and immodest practices of the heathen are extensively imitated and followed.

As Bishop Fennelly's report shows, the famine has made the natives more impressible to their influence: and we need not be surprised, for that influence consists largely of superstition backed up by pecuniary assistance, to both of which the masses of the people are always susceptible, and especially so when suffering from hunger and fear, such as the famine has produced. A charm about the neck and the sign of the Cross tattooed upon the forehead are supposed to be as effective in protecting the wearer as any other of the many charms connected with the superstitions of heathenism. And, lo! the priest comes and pays an anna a day for a month to every one who will accept these signs and receive instruction in the prayers, supposed by the people to be magical sentences. In other ways famine relief is given to those who will accept the treatment called conversion. Whether the funds from the Mansion House were perverted to such proselytism or not, it is well known in the region where it occurred that a certain priest, after having received a portion of the fund, gave to each one who became a Roman Catholic a cloth, a rupee or more, a brass charm with the image of the Virgin, and a promise of more help for a house up to ten rupees. He went from village to village doing this. A Protestant catechist hearing that some Protestants had received aid on such conditions immediately went to them, and prevailed upon them to return everything to the giver. There is no reason to think

that these instances do not represent the Roman Catholic method of turning the distresses of the people to their own account.

The majority of such converts will, of course, be from the poorest classes. But they have generally been the first to be reached. Xavier had no especial success among any others. The Portuguese were the first Roman Catholics to win converts in India, and the Syrians were the first class of people won, the Paravars the second, and the Malabars the third.

Xavier worked with the influence and prestige of the Portuguese Government, having his expenses paid by it; and he never failed to appeal to force when he could. The same may be said of the Carmelites and, above all, of the Jesuits. Although the latter would practise heathenism to conciliate their opponents when they were weak, as in Madura, yet when they felt powerful they would use violence, as in Pondicherry. The Inquisition in Goa was a standing witness of what they would do whenever opportunity offered.

Stratagem was freely employed to carry a point, as we have observed, among the Syrians, in Travancore, Madura and Madras. Even treachery and lies were used and justified by Archbishop Menezes—on the Jesuitical principle, we suppose, that “no one is bound to keep an engagement contracted with “heretics,” or, to paraphrase a notorious American judgment, “persons outside of the Roman Church have no rights which a “Roman Catholic is bound to respect.”

In all their efforts we find nothing said of endeavoring to give the Bible to the people in their own languages, nor in any language, no appointment of missionaries or others to translate it, or to devoting themselves to teach it. The fact is that, from the time when Xavier contented himself with memorizing a few passages in a language he did not know, to the present day, there has never been a Tamil translation of the whole Bible made by the Roman Catholics. If there be Latin Bibles in the churches, very few have seen them, and none of the people understand them; much less does any Roman Catholic Tamulian have a copy in his house, except as he buys a forbidden Protestant version. The people appear to know more about the story of the Virgin than anything else, although some of the Bible histories are dramatized and acted out as plays on certain festival occasions. But a member of the Roman Catholic Church who went and asked the explanation of some passage in the Bible was driven off by his priest with the words, “Get outside “of that gate, you devil!” He did get out of that gate and out of that Church, and others with him, who thought it worth their while to know more of the Bible.

So far as the boasted unity of this Church has been manifested in India, it has been like that of many a Hindu family,

where the husband quarrels with the wife and in a rage tears off her marriage badge and leaves her, equally enraged, until the tediousness of such a state of things, or the greater influence of one of them, brings the two together again; and where two of the brothers, owning a house and garden conjointly, are each afraid to leave it in the care of the other, lest he should be defrauded of his interest. Never has any missionary field witnessed strifes among Protestants such as India has seen between the Jesuits on the one hand, and on the other hand the Carmelites, or the Capuchins, or the Popes of Rome. The outer wheel of organization has been theirs, but not love, the wheel within the wheel.

Such are the calm conclusions arising from the study of the past, without any consciousness of jealousy or ill-will or prejudice. It excites our sorrow and indignation, but it is not a passing feeling or excitement.

But with all this the conspicuous example of Xavier is one of sincerity, self-denial, enthusiasm, and devotion to our common Saviour. There have, no doubt, been others like him, but they have not left their impress upon the page of history.

Again, we all know of the activity and self-denial of the priests; that seems to be the one excellence as pertaining to them which a certain class of editors and civilians seem to wish to keep before the public. It can all be granted without leaving them very much to boast of. Many a deluded ascetic or fanatic has been equally so. Many a missionary outside of that Church has shown just as much activity and self-denial, and with results, too, which showed that they alone would not suffice. But when those who make so much of self-denial allow that to cover up impurity in a priest, as has actually been done, or compare the expenses of Protestant missionaries, who have wives, with those of Roman Catholic priests, who are under temptation to have concubines, then we say it is time for such to cease instructing the public as to the virtues necessary and praiseworthy in a missionary. Let the priests have all the credit due to their zeal and devotion, and let it pass for what it is worth.

Finally, they proclaim the name of Jesus and his death on the cross, and those who get even a confused idea of such a salvation are by so much nearer to the God who made them. They are more intelligent in spiritual things than their neighbors of equal rank and opportunities. Roman Catholicism is therefore a stepping-stone, a preparation for the Gospel, and many have through it found their way to the purer light.

We may then feel that God can use, and has already used, this great organization for the advancement of his kingdom and the establishment of his Church throughout all India.

JOHN S. CHANDLER.

ART. II.—SELF-SUPPORT AMONG THE BASSEIN
KAREN CHRISTIANS.

IN 1854, two years after the annexation of Pegu to the British possessions by Lord Dalhousie, a meeting which comprised more than forty of the Bassein Karen pastors voted to expend no more of the money of the American brethren. They had been bearing their own pecuniary burdens and not a little bitter persecution, with the slightest modicum of help from the Missionary Union, since the establishment of the Mission at Sandoway in 1840.

E. L. Abbott, himself a prince among missionaries, and fortunately the founder of this Mission, believed thoroughly in the importance of starting the infant churches squarely on the basis of self-help from the first. He would receive Rs. 900 or 1,000 a year for native preachers from America. His brother missionary to the Burmans would receive the same. Abbott had from thirty to forty men at work most of the year over the border in the Burmese territory of Bassein, exposed to fines, beatings, imprisonment and violent death. He paid no salaries. He would give one Rs. 10 to buy a few clothes, another Rs. 20 to discharge a troublesome debt. Another he would help with medicines and books. He pursued this course in no niggardly or hard spirit. He recognized their manhood. He loved them like a father, and they knew it. Perhaps no missionary was ever loved in return and trusted by his native converts more heartily than he. While the whole of his brother missionary's allowance would be used up on six or seven Burman assistants, Abbott often paid back a portion of his into the treasury of the Mission, along with the humble contributions of the infant churches.

The result has been that, while a handful—half a score perhaps—of Burman Christians have followed their missionaries into Pegu, there is not now to be found, so far as I am aware, a single Burman Christian within the limits of Arracan. At the same time we have in Bassein, as the fruit of the labors of Abbott and his successors on the self-supporting principle, over 6,500 Sgau Karen Christians and 1,000 Pwo Karens gathered in over 80 self-supporting churches. It is of the development of self-support among the former that I would now write, following the example of Paul, who loved to make known the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia, hoping thereby to encourage and stir up to greater benevolence the Christians of other quarters.

For twenty-five years now this people have borne the *entire* expense of supporting their own pastors, building their own

chapels and parsonages, and, with the exception of some aid from Government for a few years, they have borne the entire cost of their village primary schools, and most of the current expenses of the high school in town. They have also contributed generously for the support of itinerants among the heathen, of the poor, and of pupils at school away from home.

The statistical table following shows the steady increase in the amount of these contributions. It is based on careful returns made yearly by the pastors, and tabulated by the missionary in charge. These returns have been carefully tested, and, as a rule, the writer is confident that the amounts given fall below rather than above the truth. The value of paddy given for the support of pastors and schools is included at a price below the market rate per hundred baskets. Prior to 1857 the statistics probably were not collected—at least, they were not preserved.

Statistics of the Bassein Sgau Karen Churches, 1857-78.

Year.	No. of Churches.	Ordained Pastors.	No. of Adults baptized.	Pupils in school.	Whole No. Church members.	Total Contributions, religious and educational.
						Rs.
1857	50	4	265	820	5,345	6,783
1858	52	4	151	394	5,378	6,073
1859	55	9	298	665	5,479	8,399
1860	61	10	274	735	5,776	10,604
1861 ¹	50	9	227	906	5,291	9,385
1862	51	9	196	758	5,342	8,181
1863	51	11	178	935	5,431	9,279
1864	52	11	316	787	5,572	12,157
1865	54	12	209	816	5,658	14,404
1866	54	13	202	853	5,743	13,325
1867	55	13	281	1,175	5,862	15,338
1868	58	14	263	1,321	5,988	16,289
1869	59	20	363	2,057	6,169	19,364
1870	61	21	267	1,818	6,201	18,746
1871	64	19	232	1,616	6,219	15,191
1872	65	19	354	1,716	6,047	19,510
1873	66	19	234	1,793	6,169	20,416
1874	67	24	330	1,483	6,614	20,929
1875	64	24	275	1,743	6,366	27,954
1876	65	25	243	1,634	6,459	29,612
1877	67	25	361	1,650	6,556	36,132
1878	the Jubilee year ²			not less than		50,000

¹ The Pwo Karens withdrew in 1861 and formed a separate association.

² The bulk of the contributions, both of money and paddy, are given after harvest in March, April and May, but they are not reported until February of the following year. From the amounts which have passed through my own hands, I am confident that the total for this Jubilee year will reach Rs. 50,000.

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In explanation of how these totals are made up I add the abstract of last year's contributions. No account is made of the cost of pastors' houses and repairs on the same. The amount stated in item 6 includes only the Bibles, hymn and school books, etc. which have been sold by the missionary in charge for each during the year. Not a few bought by those Christians elsewhere are not included. Contributions by the missionaries and other foreign friends are carefully excluded.

Abstract of Contributions for the year 1877.

		Rs.	a.	p.
1	For itinerants among the heathen	1,048	15	0
2	For the support of their own pastors, cash	3,401	0	0
3	Do. do. paddy, 5,741 baskets, at 12 annas...	4,305	12	0
4	Building village chapels, buying seats, gongs, etc.	1,503	0	0
5	Re-thatching 60 chapels and minor repairs, estimate	1,200	0	0
6	Bibles, hymn books, commentaries, catechisms, text-books, etc.	1,366	8	0
7	Paid subscriptions to the Karen and Burmese monthlies...	328	0	0
8	Village school teachers	1,621	0	0
9	For the town school, cash	1,934	3	6
10	Do. paddy, 2,447 baskets, ¹ valued at ...	2,029	11	9
11	Earnings of industrial department, town school	1,260	4	0
12	For new buildings, town school	10,222	8	10
13	Support of pupils away from home at school, estimate	4,000	0	0
14	Do. of the indigent poor, cash and paddy	845	0	0
15	Other miscellaneous objects.....	1,066	0	0
Total.....Rs.		36,131	15	1

To practical mission workers the actual contributions of a few of our representative churches may be interesting. Many of the smaller churches have done equally well, and some even better, in proportion to their numbers.

¹ The "basket" in common use here is a little larger than the standard English bushel. Throughout the year the market price of rice, both in the town and in the jungle, has been in excess of the rates here allowed.

Contributions of twelve Bassein Karen Churches for the year 1877.

CHURCH.	Missions, home and foreign.		Pastor, cash.	Pastor, rice, baskets.		Village Chapel, etc.		Village School, cash.		Town School, cash.	Town School, rice, baskets.		Town School, buildings.		Christian poor.	Other objects.	Total, rupees and equivalent.	No. of Members.
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	a.		
Kohsoo	39	146	130	20	100	80	131	306	44	16	979	8	176					
Kaukaupgah	52	97	184	28	55	87	170	304	41	8	980	0	179					
Kyun Khyoung...	30	110	276	35	68	55	112	484	35	47	1,183	0	140					
Kyootoo	53	88	137	25	71	70	152	656	25	7	1,249	12	154					
Sehlet	15	162	195	50	60	40	100	145	...	9	727	4	156					
Shangyoung	15	100	70	30	65	55	119	231	21	7	695	8	140					
Naupeheh	34	115	120	35	70	103	122	276	27	30	902	0	165					
Para Khyoung ...	25	170	178	32	100	110	170	405	60	14	1,220	8	247					
P'nahtheng.....	52	101	255	30	146	87	152	217	74	23	1,073	4	184					
Merpah K'mah ...	25	98	262	20	...	102	90	248	13	9	801	8	222					
Mohgoo	15	81	263	...	80	70	52	168	40	10	713	4	173					
Thoungyee	22	144	106	10	46	46	44	195	8	4	598	8	84					
Total.....	377	1412	2176	315	861	905	1414	3635	388	184	11,124	0	2,020					

In this table the money spent for books and in aid of pupils attending schools away from home is not included. This gives an average of Rs. 5-8-1 per member for the twelve churches. The average throughout the association of 67 churches is Rs. 5-8-2 per member for 1877.

It will be observed that one of the chief objects of giving is for the erection of mission school buildings in the town of Bassein. In this direction we feel that an important advance has been made, and we ask the especial attention of missionary brethren to this point. Why should societies in Europe and America whose avowed work is that of evangelization be exclusively burdened with the heavy cost of buildings and compounds whose chief use is the education of the children of native Christians and

their heathen neighbors? True, most of the people of India are very poor, and the support of native pastors and primary schools should precede the support of higher schools; but the principle ought to be recognized, and as soon as any assistance, even the smallest, can be given, it ought to be drawn out. Native Christians will never appreciate their blessings at their full value, or derive half the benefit that they ought to derive from the schools of their respective missions, until they learn to give generously, according to their means, for their support and equipment. The effect of the efforts here has been most beneficial in every way. A brief narrative of the manner in which the Bassein Karens have been enlisted in this work may not be unacceptable to the readers of the *Indian Evangelical Review*.

In 1856 Messrs. Douglass and Van Meter, of the Burmese and Pwo Karen Missions respectively, lost their houses and all their effects by fire. The Karens promptly raised several hundred rupees to make good their losses in part.

From 1859 to 1862 they raised at least Rs. 3,000 to equip their newly established "Anglo-Vernacular Normal and Industrial Institute" with its first temporary set of buildings. Rev. Mr. Beecher began the school at the urgent solicitation of the Karen pastors, and carried it on from the outset with absolutely no help to speak of from America or other foreign sources.

In 1866-67 they contributed Rs. 1,305-11-9 for the erection of a dwelling-house for a newly arrived Superintendent of the school, Rev. W. M. Scott.

After the death of the lamented Beecher and his successor Thomas, in quick succession, and the return of Scott to America, the writer was deputed to take charge of the Bassein Sgau Karen churches in November, 1868. On his arrival, in addition to an overwhelming amount of jungle work which must be done, he found that the mission and school buildings, which had been erected seven or eight years before by Mr. Beecher under great difficulties, were all roofed with thatch, and so frail and unsubstantial that they could not be expected to remain standing long, even if they should escape the sweeping conflagration to which they were liable every hour of the long dry season. He called the pastors together at once, and represented the urgent necessity of beginning promptly to replace the temporary buildings with permanent structures adapted to the wants of a rapidly increasing work. The Missionary Union would put a substantial roof over the heads of the missionary family, but there remained the chapel and school-houses, and especially the dormitories, in which their own children would sleep.

The pastors represented churches numbering some six thousand members, but they had never entered upon so heavy an undertaking as the one now to be proposed. The missionary had

prepared a careful plan of the mission compound of twenty acres, and had indicated upon it the location of fourteen substantial cottage dormitories, each designed to accommodate twenty pupils, or a teacher's family. He laid this before the pastors, and asked them whether their churches could not raise, in addition to the ordinary support of their own pastors, village schools and the town school (for the latter a large increase of aid was asked), a special building fund of Rs. 6,000 in the next three years.

In reply all expressed themselves as well pleased with the plan of the buildings, and as satisfied that the buildings were needed, but they pleaded poverty. One of the younger men (educated in America!) rose and said that at that very time hardly one of the leaders present had a rupee in his satchel; they were all poor—much poorer probably than the missionary, new to Bassein, had any idea of. He closed by suggesting that it would be quite feasible to get the money from America. In reply to this damper, the burdens of the American Christians, just recovering from the war, were set forth, and plans suggested by which the poorest Karen might raise four or five annas for this object each year, until the buildings were paid for.

The result was that, with a good deal of doubt and fear, the desired pledge was given, and the missionary authorized to begin the work. That very day, before the pastors separated, he contracted for the posts and timber in the log for three cottages, advancing for the Karens some hundreds of rupees from private funds. As the work began and went on from stage to stage, the people became more and more interested, and the money began to come in, in small sums, from all quarters. Within six months the three cottages were completed and paid for. At the end of the second season four more were done and paid for. At the end of the third, seven more, making fourteen in all, were completed, and considerable material had been gathered for a much needed girls' school-house. Instead of the Rs. 6,000 pledged, the Karens alone had contributed nearly Rs. 8,000. There was no debt, and, best of all, their spirit of giving, their confidence in each other and in the Lord, had wonderfully improved.

The work of building was suspended for the most part for three years, during the writer's absence from Bassein. At his return in 1875 the cash and material on hand were nearly sufficient for the erection of the long projected girls' school-house. He therefore proposed to the Association, which met immediately after his arrival in March, to regard that building as paid for and out of the way, and to set immediately to work and raise a new fund of Rs. 20,000, for the erection of a much larger building, to be used as a place of worship for all the departments, and with wings for the accommodation of a school of three hundred boys. Contingent on the raising of this amount by the Karens

within three years was the offer made by a few friends of a fund of \$10,000 towards the permanent endowment of the school.

With far less hesitation than before, the pledge was unani-
mously given. At the close of 1875 the girls' school-house was
completed, at a cost of about Rs. 6,000. Of this sum Rs. 2,000
was given by the Woman's Baptist Missionary Society of Boston, in
consideration of having the use of the upper storey as a residence
for their three missionary ladies whose services are devoted to the
school. The new building fund amounted to Rs. 4,100. At the
close of 1876 a two-storey dormitory for girls, 100 feet by 27, had
been erected, much of the timber and all of the posts for the new
Institute building had been collected, the foundations had been pre-
pared, and the building fund had been brought up to Rs. 10,600.

1877 was a year of great anxiety. The Scott-Thomas house
had been removed from its old site before the close of the year
to make room for the new Institute, and re-erected on another
site as a boys' dormitory 100 feet by 27, with bookbindery, car-
penter's shop and turning-room below; a very substantial granary
of 3,500 baskets' capacity, with sheds for grinding and pounding
out the school rice, had been erected; the Institute had been
roofed and floored and the tower completed, and by a great effort
the building fund had been brought up to Rs. 22,850. This sum
was far from sufficient. It had been indispensably necessary
to use a large part of the fund for buildings of a minor and sub-
sidiary character. Moreover, the rains had been very late in
coming, and in July and August the district was visited with
floods of unprecedented height and continuance. It was feared that
the rice crop would be a total failure throughout Lower Burma.
The seedlings were killed, and had to be reset twice and three
times. At the same time a cry of deepest distress came from
the Telugu Christians across the Bay. We might ourselves be
in the midst of famine within six months, but an appeal was
prepared in Karen and sent to every one of our churches. In
response the sum of nearly Rs. 1,000 was promptly brought in by
the churches, and forwarded to the sufferers through Rev.
Mr. Clough and his associates.

On the 31st of December we were Rs. 5,000 in debt for
building, and still we were driving the work as fast as thirty car-
penters and sawyers could do it. We had formed the purpose,
with God's blessing, to dedicate the building on the 16th of May,
1878, as the "Kothahbyu Memorial Hall." That day would be
the fiftieth anniversary of the baptism in Tavoy of the first Karen
convert to Christianity. That convert was Kothahbyu, a Bassein
man, who was afterwards so zealous and successful in missionary
labor as to be called "the Karen Apostle." That would be the
first jubilee that the poor, once degraded, devil-worshipping Karen
ever had. It ought to be worthily celebrated.

God was better to us than our fears—better even than our most sanguine hopes. One-third only of the churches lost their crop—for the third year in succession. Two-thirds of the churches,—those in the lower part of the district,—owing to most favorable latter rains, made a bumper crop, and, most unexpectedly of all, paddy was bringing nearly double the ordinary price. Never before, not even in the year of the great Bengal famine, had the Karens in the fortunate part of the district received nearly so much money for their grain.

At the general meeting of the Association in March, it was voted, in view of the exigency, to “pass around the hat” a second time, and bring the building fund up to Rs. 40,000 before the 16th of May, in order that the Memorial building might be dedicated without a debt. The two months following were crowded with blessings, and the hardest kind of work for every member of the Mission here. It was the hottest of hot seasons, but there was no flinching. The devoted pastors again took hold of the work of collection with fresh zeal, and an invincible determination to succeed. An enthusiasm for giving seemed to fall upon the people. On the day of dedication, our building fund, which we had set at the modest figure of Rs. 20,000, had reached the sum of Rs. 42,342-3-0. The debt was extinguished. There was an abundance of material on hand, and over Rs. 8,000 in cash—considerably more than enough to complete the Memorial Hall and one or two smaller buildings now under way. The Karen contributions alone during the last five months added Rs. 17,139-5-0 to the building fund. For years we had been humming, “In some way or other the Lord will provide.” Faith was now changed into sight, and we had for two days such a jubilee as the Jews may have kept, at the opposite corner of the continent, in Solomon’s or Zerubbabel’s day.

To sum up. Since 1868 the Karens of Bassein alone (the Sgaus) have contributed Rs. 43,050-7-10½ for the erection of permanent school and mission buildings on this compound. There have been no fairs, grab-bags, or ingenious devices of any kind, to lure away their money without their feeling it. That amount has been given out and out *in cash*, besides thousands of rupees’ worth of labor given without charge. It has been, or will be, expended wholly on the property of the American Baptist Missionary Union, and is virtually a gift to the Society of that amount. Including generous help from missionary and other friends in this country, Rs. 58,206 has been expended for permanent buildings on this compound since the date given above, of which Rs. 2,645-12-7 only has come from the Women’s Society and other friends in America. The best of it all, and the point that I would particularly impress upon missionary brethren in other places and lands, is that, so far from feeling exhausted by the effort, these

dear people see and feel that God has so richly helped and blessed them in their burden-bearing that *they do not want to stop*. After a year or two to breathe in, I fully expect that they will go to work again, with increased wisdom and confidence, for some special object, apart from their regular channels of giving.

The inquiry may be raised as to the condition in life of this body of native Christians. Ninety-nine-hundredths of the laity are ordinary low-land rice cultivators. They pay high taxes, Rs. 2 or 2-8 per acre annually for all rice land under cultivation, a house-tax of Rs. 5 for every married man and 2-8 for a bachelor, besides the export duty on their rice, which amounts to a high indirect tax. They are not, however, impoverished by zamindars. There is no middle class in Burma between the Government and the ryot. They are hard workers, and, as the district is troubled with an excess of water rather than the reverse, they are, as a class, undoubtedly more prosperous than the corresponding classes in India. Still they are poor. Their standard of comfort is very low, and they have very little property. Their prosperity is merely relative, compared with their own estate under the Burmese rule, or that of others in the lowest depths of poverty. Such as it is, their prosperity is not, by the way, due to high prices received for their crops in consequence of famines in India. Many of the cultivators accept advances early in the year, to be paid back at harvest in kind at the very lowest rates. Those who are more fore-handed almost always sell directly from the threshing-floor, both to meet the demands of the tax-gatherer and to save the trouble of storing. The rise in prices takes place after the crops are out of the hands of the cultivator, and the profits of India's misfortune are almost invariably reaped by speculators and middlemen. The present year was a marked exception to this rule.

While we would not be so bold as to proffer advice to any, a lesson from our experience may possibly be of value to some one of our readers, and we would not withhold it. Our experience in Bassein, then, teaches that to enlist native Christians heartily in benevolent enterprise the following things are at least highly desirable :—

1. The enterprise selected should be of such a nature as to attract them, as well as to commend itself to their Christian hearts and their sober judgment. The Bassein Karens have been eager for Christian education from the first, but that which animated and sustained them throughout their arduous undertaking was the conviction that what they were doing was for the advancement of the kingdom of God and the moral and temporal elevation of their own children. The doctrine of Christian stewardship has been freely preached among them, to the poorest

as well as the richest. The duty—rather the privilege—of giving *out of their living* if necessary, has been inculcated on all.

2. That they should have a leader who is strictly responsible, and able to keep accounts, goes without saying; but he must also secure their perfect confidence by enlightening them as to his plans at every stage, and by reporting to them frequently the exact sums which he has received and spent, from whom he has received, and for what the money has been spent.

The writer has always taken great pains to have a well matured plan prepared in advance, and to exhibit his plans and drawings to as many of the leading men as possible; to keep a small ledger in which there is a separate account with every one of the sixty-seven churches, so that he can answer exactly, at a moment's notice, any inquiry as to the amounts given by any church or leading individual; also to have all his accounts balanced from time to time, and thoroughly audited and compared with the vouchers by competent Karens as well as by fellow-missionaries; and moreover to give to all the general meetings of the pastors and people, at least three times a year, a clear and exact abstract of all receipts and expenditures, with the precise balances on hand or the precise deficits. In a word, he has constantly endeavored to treat the work as *their* work for God, and to hold himself as *their agent and servant* for the *efficient carrying out of the common design*.

3. The work once resolved upon, it should be pressed even in advance of the receipt of contributions. Show the people that you trust their pledges. Like children, they are best taught by "object lessons." They will best understand and appreciate your plans by seeing them wrought out in brick and wood before their eyes. If we had waited until Rs. 20,000 had been secured before beginning operations, we should, instead of dedicating the building at the end of the third year, have waited ten years at least before breaking ground; and before the people would have entrusted a new and untried man with such an accumulation of money lying dormant he might have waited till he was gray. That is not the way in which heathen temples and pagodas are built. Such a policy, excellent as it may be for the West, is not in accordance with the genius of Asiatic peoples. The more the writer has ventured in the Lord's work here, the more he has received. He would therefore earnestly recommend a trial of this method by other missionaries.

4. While the native assistants in town, under the direct control of the missionary, have given largely and cheerfully for these buildings month by month, by far the larger share of the credit for our success should be given, under God, to our devoted native pastors. With a single exception, not one of these

sixty-five men ever receives a rupee from America, or is beholden to the missionary for temporal assistance of any kind. Of course the missionary's influence over them is very different from what it would be if he had some thousands of rupees of foreign money to dispense among them yearly.

As a body, they are truly humble men, and yet the writer would not know where to look for manlier men. Their influence over their own people is great. Their mutual regard, and their great confidence in each other, is touching to behold, and has much to do with their efficiency. A small volume might be filled with an account of their sacrifices.

The Seh-let church gave Rs. 864-8-0 for the Memorial building; of this the pastor and his children alone gave Rs. 72. The Sin-goung church, of 96 members, gave Rs. 726. The pastor and his household gave Rs. 50 at one time, besides previous donations. The Kounglah church, of 63 members, gave Rs. 435. Of this the pastor gave Rs. 61 at least, perhaps more. Meanwhile he receives from his church Rs. 30 and 125 baskets of paddy a year. The remainder of his support he earns with his own hands. Ng'chee, the young pastor of the Lahyoh church, of 32 members, received Rs. 10 and 72 baskets of paddy only from his people. As an itinerant among the heathen, he received Rs. 40 or 50 more from the Karen Home Missionary Society. He brought me Rs. 153 for the building during the three years, the contributions of his people and himself. The Kyoo-too church raised Rs. 1,331. The pastor, Manyay, is the oldest pastor in the company, a man of leonine aspect, but as gentle as a child. Before the English had taken Bassein, his life was sought by the Burmans, and it is said that the cross on which he was to be hung was actually constructed. He was the first man in the district who learned to read, and his zeal in this enterprise is unbounded. Notwithstanding the complete destruction of their crops by floods three years in succession, the Yaygyan church raised Rs. 701. Their pastor, old Nahpay, has never recovered fully from the tortures inflicted upon him by the cruel Burmans. His limbs are still distorted, and he suffers greatly from rheumatic pains. Last October, when it was certain that their crop was destroyed beyond hope, the old man surprised me one day by coming in with Rs. 50-5-0 for the Telugu famine. I remonstrated with him, and told him that his people had no more rice for the year to come than the Telugus. I knew that the old man and his people were poverty-stricken and suffering, while intelligence had come that, owing to the unbounded generosity of the people of England, the crisis in Madras was passed. I proposed to him to take back a part or all of the money, and use it as he thought best; but he would not do it. "We think that the Lord will not forget us. He has

"destroyed the rice, but not the fish. We shall get on in some way." These are cases selected almost at random.

In the very crisis of affairs, two months before the Jubilee, the writer proposed to send out some of his assistant teachers to aid a few of the pastors in raising their quotas, but hardly any of them wanted an "agent" to help them do their own work. They said that it would make them too much ashamed. Of course there are stingy, miserly men even among Karens. One of the pastors told me of his unfailing device in such cases. He would go with one or two of his deacons and labor with the brother all day. Perhaps the man would disappear and go to his work. If an apology was offered, it was readily accepted. They were in no haste. They had come to make him a good long visit. They would sleep with him that night, and have a good long talk about "the kingdom of God." A second night was rarely necessary. The next morning, after family prayers, he was almost always ready to meet their wishes.

With regard to the offer of a small endowment referred to above, it should be said that, while it had some weight in the outset, it merely gave the enterprise a good start. The people had previously raised Rs. 10,000 without any such stimulus, and the writer doubts if it had any appreciable influence after the building began to rise. The desire and determination of the pastors and people to complete the work which had been begun grew with every stroke of the hammer. To the Lord alone be all the glory!

C. H. CARPENTER.

ART. III.—OUDH.¹

“THE Garden of India;” the land where Ram Chandra was born, where he ruled, where he disappeared; the realm where Buddha taught a full quarter of a century, and where the first Buddhist kingdom planted itself; the starting-point of the Jain religion, the birth-place of Adinath, its founder; the last great tract of country in India added to the Crown’s dominions; famous the world over for its dense population, and for its Lucknow, which with its Residency, so fiercely attacked, so bravely defended, in the long and memorable siege of 1857, has become an historic name—what would not one give to know the history of this little kingdom during the past three thousand years! When king Solomon was laying the foundations of his great temple on Mount Moriah, who was king at Ajudhiya? When messengers, draughtsmen, masons and carpenters were busy thus in Judæa, what were the people of Oudh² doing? When the cedars and firs were brought from Lebanon to the sea, what craft were making their way from the Himalayas down the Ganges and Gogra? The past is silent to all such questioning. The Hindus were too sluggish, too sleepy-headed or too lazy to write history; and for this weakness they may well be censured. That Hindustan in its most glorious age had no Herodotus, no Tacitus,—that in later years it had no Hume, no Macaulay,—is to be both wondered at and deplored.

As has been said truly and tersely, Oudh “is second to
 “no part of the continent in its command over the sympathies
 “of the native, and the interest and difficulty of the problems
 “which it presents to its European administrator or historian.
 “Nowhere are the traditions of the past more ancient and more
 “vividly felt, and nowhere is the civilization—rooted in a soil
 “of unsurpassed fertility, and grown up in a population of
 “exceptional density—more fully developed and more homo-
 “geneous than in this the last case where Western statesman-
 “ship has been brought face to face with the requirements of
 “an Eastern people.”

Says Mr. W. C. Benett, in the Preface to the *Gazetteer* which lies before us:—

“Under any circumstances, the colonization of this province must have been very early, and the burial-place of the great Muni Agastya, one of the first pioneers of Aryan progress, is pointed out near Colonelganj,

¹ *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*: 3 vols. Pp. lxxvii., 609, 525, 586. Lucknow: printed at the Oudh Government Press, 1877.

² This spelling is preferable to Oude; the word in the original is *Awadh*.

a few miles to the north of the Gogra. At the commencement of true history, when the Aryan race, through Buddha, gave birth to the religion which, expelled from its original home, still dominates more than a third of mankind, Oudh was a populous country, ruled from Sravasti by not the least important of the six kings of Madhyadesha or Hindustan proper. Its capital was the scene of the prophet's earliest and most successful labors, his favorite resting-place during the rainy months, and the recruiting-ground from which some of the chief among his immediate disciples were drawn in. It long remained one of the principal seats of Buddhist learning, and six centuries after the foundation of the religion contributed two of the great schools of doctors which attended the famous synod convened by the Scythian conqueror Kanishka at Kashmir.

"After a long blank, broken only by a few of the ridiculous and uninteresting fables with which a religious zeal embellished its claims, the next information is to be gained from the pages of Ptolemy, whose scanty contents are as important as they are difficult to interpret. He divides the country between three kingdoms—that of the Tanganoi, whose southern limit was the Gogra; the Maraemdai, whose rule stretched through central Oudh deep into the heart of Bengal; and the Amanichai or Manichai, in a narrow strip along the Ganges. . . . The towns in Oudh proper were Heorta, Rappha, Baraita, Sapolas, and perhaps Taona. The most northern of the people are easily identified as the Tangana, who brought the heroes of the Mahabharata a tribute of horses and gold from the hills. It is singular to find them here on the sole occasion when authentic history records their name, and they must have been a mountain tribe, ethnically perhaps connected with the aboriginal Gonds and Tharus. The only trace of their existence now surviving is the name of the small ponies of southern Nepal, which are called Tanghans, in the same way as a horse of Arabian blood is known as an Arab. The Maraemdai are well known as a trans-Indus people. They may have conquered the territory ascribed to them in the first century B.C. at the time of the great Scythian invasion, and that they should be found here may point to the existence of a Scythian dynasty at Patna before the glories of the greater Guptas. Of the Amanichai (or Manichai) nothing is known; but it is more probable that the town of Manikpur, which coincides with the position which the geographer assigns them, should owe its name to them than to the ubiquitous Manik Chand of Kanauj, whose date, at the end of the twelfth century, is far too late for many of the remains now to be found there. . . . The almost certain reading Tanganoi has a variant Ganganoi, and the position on the map and similarity of the names perhaps justify us in reading Baraita *Baraila*, and recognizing it in the present town of Rae Bareli, which is built on remains of an unknown antiquity, and is almost certainly not named after the Raja Bal who was defeated and slain by Nasir-ud-Din in 1246 A.D. The same considerations would lead us to read Sapolas *Sapotas*, a natural and obvious Greek translation of Sawattha, as the ancient city of Sravasti was called in the Prakrit, which was contemporaneous with the Antonines. The remaining towns, Heorta and Rappha, there are no means of identifying.

"The great interest in this record lies in the fact that the two people whom it shows to have been dominant in Central Hindustan were neither of them of Hindu origin, one being aboriginal, the other Scythian; of the third nothing certain can be said, but there is a good probability that a large Hindu kingdom flourished on the southern bank of the Ganges, and that the descendants of its ruling family may be still found near their old seat of empire.

"The epoch of Ptolemy saw the culminating glory and the final ruin of the great kingdom of Sravasti, which had for eight centuries at least

maintained a leading position among the states of Northern India. Vikramaditya, the last of its kings whose name we possess, crowned the achievements of his race by defeating Meghavahana, the powerful king of Kashmir, and restoring the fanes and holy places of Ajodhya. That so celebrated a shrine, distant less than fifty miles in a straight line from the capital, should have been allowed to fall so completely into decay is a matter for surprise, and we are driven to suppose either that the Gogra formed the southern limit to an area of civilization stretching along the foot of the mountains, or that legend has exaggerated the desolation of the place and the merits of the restorer."

Subsequent to this the legends of Ajudhiya tell of a fierce and most destructive war which laid the country waste :—

"History at once becomes silent, and not more than three centuries later, when the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian visited in Sravasti one of the most sacred seats of his religion, he found the once populous city, whose circuit of lofty walls enclosing the remains of countless palaces and temples even now attests its former greatness, inhabited by only a few destitute monks and devotees. Two hundred years later, when Hwen Thsang repeated the pilgrimage, its desolation was even more complete, and its approach almost impossible by a journey through dense forests full of herds of wild elephants.

"Its subjection to the power of Patna closes the ancient history of Oudh, and, though we may conjecture that on the extinction of that kingdom it fell under the dominion of Kanauj, we hear no more of its princes, its saints, or its people, and the break in its records probably marks the extinction of its civilization, and the relapse of the greater part of the country into the forests which were afterwards known as Banaudha. It is to this ancient period that the numerous remains of walled towns and forts, which have been erroneously ascribed in popular tradition to the Bhars,—a people with no high cultivation, but the last of the great extinct powers which ruled in Oudh,—almost certainly belong. There are probably no remains in India whose exploration under competent supervision would disclose objects of greater interest, or throw more copious light on an important and obscure period of history.

"With the struggle which ended in the overthrow of Kanauj, the last Hindu empire which had any pretence to include the whole of the continent north of the Vindhya, and which sealed in blood the final victory of the Brahman over the Buddhist, the modern history of the province opens in dark and doubtful legend."

The Tharus, as local traditions say, descended from the hills about A.D. 800, and cleared the jungles as far as Ajudhiya. They were overcome a century later by a more powerful people from the north-west, and these in turn were conquered by Sri Chandradeo, the Rathor monarch of Kanauj, in the last quarter of the eleventh century; with the downfall of this kingdom the Jain power in Upper India was finally broken.

In the year 1033 the famous Sayad Salar, who had obtained permission from his uncle Sultan Mahmud to carry the sword and Islam into the interior of Hindustan, arrived in Oudh. He tarried first at Satrikh, in the Bara Banki district, about twenty miles from Lucknow; and, making his head-quarters here, sent out his lieutenants on every side to subdue the people. The

force sent across the Gogra to Bahraich was so sorely pressed by the pagans that the great general himself hurried to its help, arriving in Bahraich the 17th of Shaban 423 A.H. (1033 A.D.); at first he was victorious, but after a few months his enemies in large numbers fell upon him, and, as the historian says, on the 18th of Rajjab ul-Murajjab in the year 424 A.H. (1034 A.D.) he fell, with all his followers. To the Muhammadans his grave is one of the most sacred places in all India, and the annual *mela* held here in May draws thousands of people from various parts of North and Central India and the distant Panjab.¹ The account of this crescentade is given in the *Miraat i-Masaudi*, written by one Abdur Rahman Chishti. This was followed by another invasion, led by Ahmad Nialtigin. These attacks, however, did not give the Muhammadans any hold upon Oudh.

The Bhars appear next upon the stage. These people "still exist in considerable numbers on the verge of cultivation, and are one of the few castes who can commence jungle clearing with impunity. Their short stature and black skins, their features and their habits, their passion for the chase, and inability to settle down as tenants paying a full rate of rent, stamp them as ethnical brothers of the Doms, the Tharus, the Kewats and the Gonds, and the numerous other aboriginal tribes whose despised remains yet linger unabsorbed by the conquering Indian stock." They ruled about two centuries, when a more formidable invasion was made by the Muhammadans, who succeeded in getting possession of Oudh. In 1226 A.D. Malik Nasir ud-din Muhammad, who was appointed to Oudh, "overthrew the accursed Bartuh (Bhars), under whose hands and swords more than 120,000 Musalmans had received martyrdom; he overthrew the rebel infidels of Oudh, and brought a body of them into submission." In 1254 it appears that Bahraich (the trans-Gogra country) was not included in Oudh, a ruler being appointed for each, by the king of Delhi.

"From this point forward any general sketch of the history of Oudh becomes a task of almost insurmountable difficulty. The record of facts, though copious and unbroken, descends in two streams, which hardly touch one another, and which it is often nearly impossible to connect. On the one hand we have the Muhammadan historians, who give accounts of the great princes sent from the conquering camp at Delhi to rule a province which during the first period of Muhammadan occupation was of the first importance to the empire. From them we hear of the wars, the intrigues, the rebellions, the magnificence, and sometimes the vices of these royal lieutenants; but the barren and uninteresting lists were written by men who had

¹ This *mela* is attended by from 100,000 to 150,000 people, the majority of whom, strange to say, are Hindus. Crowds of lepers and paralytics frequent the holy spot, and the villagers are continually telling of miraculous cures. The small room containing the great martyr's tomb is poorly ventilated, and on one occasion, a few years since, twenty persons were trampled to death by the excited crowd.

no sympathy with, or knowledge of, the real inhabitants of the country—a people from whom they were separated by a strange religion, unintelligible social customs, a foreign origin, and the contempt engendered by conquest. Page after page may be turned over and, except when some crowning victory has to be recorded, or mention is made of the assistance lent by a powerful local chieftain to his Muhammadan overlord, the existence of the mass of the Hindu nation is absolutely ignored. On the relations which subsisted between the people and their natural princes, and between the latter and the central power, the amount of the taxes, and how and by whom, and to whom, they were paid, the maintenance of order and dispensation of justice, we are left in almost complete darkness. What is of value is a fairly exact chronology, which enables us to dispose in something like order all that it is possible to disentangle from the local tradition which forms the other source of information. As, however, this local tradition is as silent with regard to the foreign rulers as their historians were on the subject of the people, it is extremely difficult to establish points of contact between the two. It may be said with certainty that the two records corresponded to two entirely distinct streams of history, and the Tatar khan and Hindu raja represented two societies domiciled on the same soil with hardly any interaction of mutual effect. The most important political results of their co-existence were the following:—The foreign rule took the position of the old paramount empires, such as dominated from Patna or from Kanauj. It became impossible for any Hindu to attain the position of raja of rajas. The very memory of the corporate, political and religious life of the whole people was extinguished, and for it were substituted the petty aims and petty interests of states often smaller and more insignificant than the smallest principalities of Germany. On the other hand, the old and compact social system of the Hindus presented a barrier against which the wildest excesses of barbarian fury expended themselves in vain. Thousands might be slain, and tens of thousands led into captivity, but the Brahman still controlled the family life of the people; their Chhatti lord collected them for battle, and disposed of their disputes in a court governed by rules which appealed to their sense of justice, and the cultivator continued to till his fields, confident that when the storm was passed he should be allowed to retain them on the payment of the customary share of the produce. The worst tyrants, whose superior energy or intelligence made them formidable to the land, had no further effect than a series of bad harvests. When they were gone all the old elements of society resumed the exercise of their various functions, and repaired a desolation which could only last for a time. It is this ancient and stable civilization which saved the fertile provinces of India from the fate inflicted by conquerors of kindred race, and not more cruel or barbarous, on the equally fertile plains of Central Asia. When this has been said, almost all that is of importance in the political history of Oudh, from the final Muhammadan conquest in the beginning of the thirteenth century to the establishment of a Muhammadan dynasty on the throne of Lucknow, has been exhausted. Throughout five hundred years of foreign domination the story has been the same, the same struggle being carried on, with varying conditions of strength on one side or the other, but, except on one occasion, with no attempt at coalescence into a united national polity.”¹

Early in the sixteenth century Oudh was invaded by the emperor Babar. According to Leyden's *Memoirs of Babar*, this great iconoclast encamped a few miles east of Ajudhiya on the 28th March, 1528, and halted here seven or eight days, settling

¹ Mr. W. C. Bennett in the Preface, pp. xxxvi., xxxvii.

the surrounding country. It is remarkable that in all the copies of Babar's life now known the pages that relate to his doings at Ajudhiya are wanting. In the Hindus' Bethlehem he left an indelible impress of his fierce authority and power; in the mosque that he built upon the sacred Janamasthan¹ (Ram Chandra's birth-place), in two places, the year in which it was built, 935 A.H. (1528 A.D.) is to be seen, carved in stone, along with inscriptions dedicated to the glory of the great invader.

After the death of Babar "Oudh was the focus of disaffection to the ruling house, and it was not till more than forty years later that it owned the clemency and power of the great Akbar. The constant revolts and victories on which that power was based brought the province into prominent notice, and it was for some time one of the most important and honorable among the viceroyalties of the empire." The *Ain i-Akbari* (of which we now have an English translation—at least of a considerable part of it) gives in detail the various regulations then in force. It seems that the various Hindu chiefs even when conquered still wielded a considerable influence throughout the country. They "were powerless, it is true, against the empire in its most flourishing days, but they remained a standing menace to its weakness. To exterminate them was out of the question. The only policy was to refrain from driving them to extremes, and to conciliate them as far as possible by honorary distinctions and employment."

When the great Nawab Saadat Khan² was appointed *wazir*, and received Oudh as his fief, in A.D. 1720, he found his entry opposed by these local chieftains, who had meanwhile become almost independent owing to the decay of the Muhammadan empire in the last days of Aurangzeb. Struggles ensued, in which, as a rule, the Wazir was victorious, although more than one raja paid him only nominal tribute. During the reigns of

¹ For an account of the Hindu-Muhammadan battle on this disputed spot in 1855 *vide* vol. IV., p. 341, of the *Indian Evangelical Review*.

² The following is a list of the members of the Oudh dynasty, with dates and relationship:—

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|
| 1. | Sadat Ali Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk | 1720-1739 |
| 2. | Safdar Jang, nephew and son-in-law of No. 1 | 1739-1756 |
| 3. | Shuja-ud-daula, son of No. 2 | 1756-1775 |
| 4. | Asaf-ud-daula, son of No. 3 | 1775-1797 |
| 5. | Wazir Ali, reputed son of No. 4 | 1797-1798 |
| 6. | Sadat Ali, brother of No. 3 | 1798-1814 |
| 7. | Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, son of No. 6 | 1814-1827 |
| 8. | Nasir-ud-din Haidar, son of No. 7 | 1827-1837 |
| 9. | Muhammad Ali Shah, brother of No. 7..... | 1837-1842 |
| 10. | Amjad Ali Shah, son of No. 9 | 1842-1847 |
| 11. | Wajid Ali Shah, son of No. 10..... | 1847-1856 |

The title "King" dates from 1822; previously "Nawab" and "Wazir" were used.

the first two of the Oudh rulers the country seems to have prospered and to have made advancement in more ways than one.

“With the defeat of Buxar this state of things came to an end, and the last chapter of the history commences with the British alliance, British resident, and British protection from the consequence of bad government, to end in the direct assumption by the British of the rule of the province as the only remedy for the intolerable evils, which were chiefly the result of their own unavoidable interference with its affairs. The first end of the policy of the Lucknow kings—a policy which they would never have dared, or having dared would most certainly have been expelled, were it not for the strength of foreign bayonets—was the complete annihilation of the power of the rajas, and the realization of the gross rents direct from the cultivators. In this policy they never even nearly succeeded. In single instances all over the country the result was gained, and there is hardly a raj, perhaps not one, in the whole province, which was not, at one time or another, held by Government officials dealing directly with the tenants while its chief was in flight; but, on the other hand, there is perhaps hardly a case where the chieftain did not return after a dispossession of a few years, and recover, if not his whole property, at any rate a large number of his villages. There were in fact two hostile powers, with interests diametrically opposed, but neither strong enough to gain a decisive victory. If, on the one hand, the king was powerless to evict the nobles, so neither could they expel a king behind whom was the whole force of the British Government. Of the relations of the king to that Government it is unnecessary to write; they are a matter of well known history, and may be found described at length in the pages of Mill and the blue-book which justified annexation.”

The proclamation by which Oudh became a part of the British empire was dated February 13th, 1856. Of the history of these two-and-twenty years; of the great blunder made in the outset; of the part the province took in the great Mutiny; of the change that has come over the face of the country; of the various governmental theories and experiments to which the people have been treated; and of the more recent and very grave measure by which, on the 15th of February, 1877, Oudh became a part of the North-western Provinces, we have not room to speak. If the questions were asked, Have the common people accepted annexation cheerfully and hopefully? do they appreciate and enjoy British rule? are they more contented than in the days of the kingdom? we should not hesitate to answer, No. The ordinary Hindu is apparently satisfied; he is too apathetic to be otherwise. Whether his empress be called *Kaiser i-Hind* or simply *Rani*; whether the district officer bid him sow his fields not to corn but to wheat, or *vice versa*; whether his landlord demand the same tax as last year, or forty per cent. more, it is all one to him. With his ever-comforting belief, “Whatever will be, *will be*”, he plods slowly on in his narrow pathway. But there are many others, who, in spite of low bows, profound salutations and loud protestations of loyalty, would be glad to have a change of rulers. These long for a return of the olden days; roads, bridges, court-houses, schools, dispensaries, prisons,—these products of modern civiliza-

tion,—pass for nothing with them. One cannot but wonder at this, especially when he considers the real state of things that existed in Oudh in the years immediately preceding annexation, graphically described in General Sleeman's *Notes of a Tour through Oudh*. This work discloses picture after picture of fraud, bribery, oppression, injustice, cruelty, murder, petty war; not a season passed but that, in all parts of the Province, villages were burned, houses plundered, crops destroyed, cattle seized, men tortured into telling where they had concealed their valuables, women insulted, children killed; while, worst of all, the king himself was weak, vacillating, effeminate, a tool in the hands of the lowest characters who flocked about the palace on the Gumti. Annexation was wisdom. Better annex such a fair and fertile country ten times over than stand by and see it go to ruin.

Let us turn to the *Gazetteer*. It was compiled by Mr. C. W. McMin, C.S., assisted by various officers in the several districts. Its preparation, or at least its issue, has been long delayed; we judge that eight or more years have passed since it was begun. During these years the query, When will the *Gazetteer* be ready? has been so often repeated that it has grown to be a stale subject. Almost all the statistical tables are for the year 1871-72, or for 1872-73, and they are therefore lacking in freshness. Still the historical and descriptive parts of the work are not affected in value or interest.

Some such publication has long been a desideratum. But little has been written about this sunny Province. Occasional pages or chapters in books of travel, such as Bishop Heber's, Tennent's, Fergusson's, the Honorable Emily Eden's, Bayard Taylor's, have been devoted to Oudh or to Lucknow; Sleeman's *Tour through Oudh*, Elliot's *Chronicles of Unao*, Benett's *Chief Clans of Rae Bareli*, Dr. Butler's *Southern Oudh*, Carnegie's *Races, Tribes and Castes of Oudh*, and *Historical Sketch of Fyzabad*, are about all the books and pamphlets (omitting those which, like Gubbins' *Oudh Mutinies*, are devoted chiefly to the siege and deliverance of Lucknow in 1857). To these may be added several blue-books; settlement reports of the various districts, some of which are quite interesting; and occasional papers on Oudh which have appeared in the *Calcutta Review*. Something may be gleaned from the works of Elliott, Elphinstone, Cowell and Cunningham; but these writers do not speak of Oudh as it is to-day.

The *Gazetteer* will be of especial service to the young civilian newly appointed to this interesting part of the empire. He will here have at hand a mass of varied information concerning his district, which otherwise he would spend years in securing; and if inclined to make researches or excavations he will know where to begin. Among our Oudh civilians no one seems

called to be an archæologist—at least no one has distinguished himself as such during the twenty years just passed. But some excuse may be made for these gentlemen, as they are generally overworked and heavily laden with responsibility. It is to be hoped that the publication of the *Gazetteer* will be the means of provoking at least a part of the number to fresh effort in this direction. Sahet Mahet should be made to yield up its ancient images, tablets and other wealth; Ajudhiya and two or three other places should also be thoroughly examined. Beyond doubt there is a chance here for some one to win an illustrious name.

We turn the leaves of the *Gazetteer* vainly for data from which to tabulate the moral, intellectual and social progress of the Province during this score of years. With the exception of "rainfalls" and one or two other equally interesting subjects, there are no comparative statistical tables, even in connection with each district, and of course none for the entire Province. The plan seems to have been for the chief official (in Oudh known as the Deputy Commissioner) of each of the twelve zillahs (districts) to collect such statistics as he could; this was done generally in 1872, and these statistics are the only ones incorporated in the *Gazetteer*. Perhaps it would have involved too much effort had the editor endeavored to introduce comparative tables from the year 1870, but it would have added greatly to the value of the work; as it is, the *Gazetteer* has a not over-copious index, and not a single appendix. Future editions will of course be more nearly perfect in this respect.

To illustrate our meaning: we wish to know something of the progress made in education during these years of British rule. Turning to the pages devoted to the district first mentioned in the *Gazetteer* (Bahraich), we find that the statements regarding education are for "now" and "at present"—terms which mean this or that or any time; in the adjoining district (Gonda) the like statements apply to "the past year", a period equally indefinite.

As we were desirous of finding out the facts in regard to education, we took the pains to consult the records of the Inspector of the Oudh Circle, and, after going through various well worn documents and annual reports, we have compiled the subjoined table, which speaks for itself. A scheme providing for a Department of Public Instruction was submitted by the Chief Commissioner of Oudh in April, 1864; it was sanctioned by the Government of India in the following June. W. Handford, Esq., was appointed Director, and presented his first annual report July 10th, 1865. From this report (which was not printed) we make the following extracts:—

The Director's opinion of the school teachers then employed thus strongly expressed:—"The Normal School is, however,

"at work, and will, I trust, by and by convert the sons of the present race of proud, unteachable maulavis and pandits into useful, persevering and humble schoolmasters."

The following compliment was paid to a worthy class of missionary workers:—"The honor of making the first successful efforts on behalf of native female education in this Province is due to ladies connected with the Church and American Missions in the city of Lucknow. A ragged school for very poor female children had existed in connection with the Church Mission since 1860, but the first school for girls of a higher social position was opened by Mrs. Reuther in April, 1864. Only three girls attended at first, but the number gradually increased, and a second school was opened in October, 1864. At the close of the year the two schools had 69 names on the registers, with an average attendance of 51. The girls are all *pardah-nashin*, and are brought to school in closed *doolis*. The teachers are females, and the studies include reading and writing (Urdu) and needlework. Mrs. Reuther visits each school about twice a week. The four zenana schools under the American Mission have been opened since February, 1865, and at the close of the year the aggregate attendance was 132."

The table referred to above is as follows:—

Educational Statistics of the Province of Oudh, 1860-1877.

Year.	No. of Institutions.	No. of Scholars enrolled at end of the year.	Average Attendance during the year.	Total Expenditure, Rs.	Mission Schools	Scholars in same	Mission Schools for Girls.	Scholars in same.	Government Schools for Girls.	Scholars in same.
1860-61 ...	...	...	205	16,517	...	...	...	...	...	...
1861-62 ...	...	...	644	27,272	...	...	...	...	...	...
1862-63 ...	...	...	1,093	42,427	...	...	...	...	...	...
1863-64 ...	...	...	1,753	62,339	...	...	...	...	...	...
1864-65 ...	92	6,392	4,129	1,73,936	...	...	...	...	...	...
1865-66 ...	170	10,467	7,076	2,11,309	...	...	11	257	...	...
1866-67 ...	386	16,265	11,960	2,42,291	19	1,220	12	325	6	83
1867-68 ...	525	24,305	16,460	3,27,460	21	1,486	13	313	24	436
1868-69 ...	642	30,683	22,551	4,11,931	20	1,324	10	308	31	653
1869-70 ...	717	34,303	26,603	4,37,650	22	1,460	11	371	38	879
1870-71 ...	791	37,848	27,773	4,37,648	24	1,463	16	387	60	1,369
1871-72 ...	973	49,992	34,664	4,94,622	23	1,852	12	411	88	1,908
1872-73 ...	1,001	52,871	39,624	5,34,145	25	2,026	14	538	89	2,020
1873-74 ...	1,326	55,909	43,651	5,43,392	35	1,650	16	414	81	2,052
1874-75 ...	1,371	59,391	45,203	5,23,020	...	...	16	420	80	2,068
1875-76 ...	1,420	65,211	50,397	5,40,002	...	...	16	483	76	1,911
1876-77 ...	1,443	69,030	54,818	5,42,617	80 ¹	3,591 ¹	16	400	78	1,900

¹ From Mission, not Government, reports.

In connection with the returns for 1860-61 it is worth mentioning that the average attendance in the school at Pertabgurh was 1.55 ! And the cost per pupil in this wonderful school was Rs. 2,302-14-1 !! It is to be hoped, for the sake of that out-of-the-way corner of the Province, that the one pupil always present, and the fractional lad so prompt in attendance, have long since graduated, and gone forth to bring honor to the institution that educated them. Presumably there is some clerical mistake here, which escaped notice at the time, the Educational Department not being then in existence.

As will be seen, although the missionary ladies were the pioneers in female education, Government soon followed, and in the third year took the lead, which it has since retained. As the figures indicate, no progress is being made at present, nor is there much hope for the future. We speak after considerable observation, and are confident that we represent those best acquainted with this branch of work when we say that girls' schools in Oudh as a rule are not successful. In more than one district Government has given up the effort, acknowledging itself defeated. Evidently the day for great things in this line has not yet dawned. As long as Amiran, Waziran, Kamini and Ilaichi have to go to the homes of their young lords at the age of ten or eleven, it is next to useless trying to give them school training. Good has been done, however, and the agency is not to be despised.

The progress in the number of schools and total attendance is encouraging. What is now needed is a larger number of primary schools for towns and villages ; but these cost money, and, as the Government is diminishing rather than increasing the annual appropriation to the Educational Department, there will hardly be the progress during the coming decade there has been in the past.

The highest school in the Province is Canning College, at Lucknow. This was opened May 1st, 1864 ; it was founded by the talukdars (native noblemen) of Oudh in commemoration of the late Earl Canning. During its first year, 1864-65, it was attended by 239 pupils, in 1876-77 by 599 (of whom 468 were Hindus, 104 Muhammadans, and 27 others), drawn from all parts of the Province. This institution has had a rapid growth, and has become quite popular ; its faculty includes, among others, several European professors.

The Martinière College (with its European, native and girls' departments) is also quite popular, and ranks well among the schools of North India. It dates from 1844, and was attended in 1876-77 by 213 students in the European department only.

The highest Mission school is the Raja-ka Bazar school

(C. M. S.), founded in 1859, and attended in 1876-77 by 300 pupils. The newly opened Centennial School at Lucknow (American Mission) will, as now contemplated, be affiliated with the Calcutta University. It is a boarding-school, more especially for sons of native Christians.

We also look in vain through the pages of the *Gazetteer* to find who have been the rulers in Oudh since the annexation. None of the various Chief Commissioners are mentioned. Among those who have filled this very responsible position are the following:—Major-General Sir James Outram, 1856-58; Mr. (Sir) R. Montgomery, 1858-59; Mr. C. J. Wingfield, 1859-60; Major-General Barrow, 1860-61 (and 1871); Mr. G. U. Yule, C.B., 1861-65; Mr. (Sir) R. H. Davies, 1865-66 (and 1868-71); Mr. (Sir) John Strachey, 1866-68; Hon. J. F. D. Inglis, 1875-76; and the present incumbent, Sir George Couper, Bart., who has really had charge of the Province since 1871, and who has served during the last two years as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces; his present title is quite too long to be unnecessarily written—enough that he has charge of the North-west *and* Oudh. Eventually, no doubt, Oudh will be more completely amalgamated than at present, and will constitute a simple Division of the N. W. P.

Much information of various kinds may be gleaned by perusing these volumes. We mention a few items, taken at random:—

Oudh lies between the extreme latitudes of $25^{\circ} 34'$ and $29^{\circ} 6'$ North, and longitude of $79^{\circ} 45'$ and $83^{\circ} 11'$ East. Its total area is 23,930 square miles; total population (census of 1869) 11,174,287, which gives 476 inhabitants to every square mile (Belgium has 400, England 344). The surface of the country is level. There are no mountains, no mines of coal or iron, no valuable quarries. Agriculture is the chief occupation. Of the population nine-tenths are Hindus, one-tenth Muhammadans; there are 1,400,000 Brahmans (one-eighth of the whole). Fifty-eight per cent. of the population is returned as agricultural (evidently an understatement, as at least three-fourths of the people belong to this class). Ninety-two per cent. is rural as opposed to urban; 232,000 are soldiers (?), 407,000 manufacturers. In the years 1867-74 there was an excess of more than £3,000,000 in imports over exports, the former being £13,966,000. The chief articles imported are cotton, salt and English piece-goods, with average annual values of £340,000, £400,000, and £400,000 respectively. Edible grains, sugar and oilseeds are exported, aggregating on an average over £1,000,000 per annum. There are three principal harvests—the *kharif*, which is sown at the commencement of the rains and cut in September (rice, Indian corn and the millets); the *henwat* or *aghani*, cut in December

(later rice, mustard and pulse) ; and the *rabi* in March (wheat, barley, gram and other cereals). Sugarcane comes to perfection in February, cotton in May, tobacco in January. In garden cultivation the principal spices are anise-seed, coriander, cumin and red pepper, while among the vegetables are potatoes, carrots, onions, garlic, the egg-plant, etc. Cabbages and cauliflowers have recently been introduced ; they are very popular, and occasionally cultivated with great success. Cucumbers, gourds and melons are to be found in great abundance.

The land revenue demand under the late king's government rose within the last ten years of its existence from £1,399,000 to £2,702,000 ; the actual receipts in this period fell from £1,318,000 to £1,063,000. At annexation the assessment made was a little over a million sterling ; at present it stands at about one and a half millions. The taxes proper—those on the land, the salt, litigation and civil contracts, and spirituous liquors—yield altogether about £1,865,000 annually to the state, which derives a further income of nearly £600,000 from sources which involve no drain on the country, and are analogous to the receipts from private enterprise. The total cost of administration amounts to £565,000, leaving a surplus to be credited to the Empire of £1,300,000 from the actual taxation, or more than two-thirds of the whole sum realized ; while the total imperial income, including the profits of the great monopolies, and after satisfying all local charges, amounts to £1,900,000, or over 75 per cent. of the gross receipts.

Speaking of the general effect of British rule upon the country, Mr. Benett says : “ It can hardly be doubted that the “ interests of the finest class in the country, that of the nobles “ and warlike yeoman proprietors, have been injuriously affect- “ ed. Sales of land are of alarming frequency. Landlords who “ remain are struggling with difficulties that tax them to the “ utmost, and a large number of the greater estates, with an “ annual income of £400,000, have only been saved from certain “ ruin by the generous and politic action of Government in “ taking their debts upon itself.”¹

In the Annual Report of 1873 this subject was alluded to as follows :—

“ It is owing to our system that the thousands who formerly aided the soil with their earnings sent from afar are now living on it a dead burden, where they were formerly an active support. It is owing to our system that girls are reared in hundreds, not only to be so many more mouths to feed, but to involve their fathers still deeper in debt to meet their marriage expenses. It is owing to our system that men are no longer allowed to kill themselves by scores in agrarian quarrels ; that the march of famine and epidemic disease is checked ; that quinine is being brought to the door of

¹ Preface to *Gazetteer*, p. 63.

every fever-stricken sufferer; and that in every district there are sanitary measures in progress, which have for their object the mitigation of disease and the prevention of death. Owing to these causes the population which have only the land to look to for their support are annually becoming more and more numerous. The consequences are not difficult to foresee. When the land cannot yield more than is sufficient for the mouths dependent on its produce, it follows that nothing is left, wherewith to meet the demands of the State, which claims one-half of the rental, or any other demand. From whatever quarter the demand is made, the people are unable to meet it, and the land, which is the security for the claim, must be transferred in satisfaction of what is due on it.”¹

Much might be written about the Talukdars of Oudh, but want of space forbids. One thing against them is their notorious extravagance. There is a good deal of almost, if not downright, slavery in Oudh, especially east of the Gogra. It is known as the *sawak* or *saunk* system:—“Under it a man of any of the four castes—“Lodh, Chamar, Kori, Kurmi—receives an advance from a farmer “and becomes his bond serf for life, or till he pays off the advance, “which it must be noted does not bear interest. The ordinary “sum so given varies from Rs. 30 to Rs. 100, and for this a “man binds himself and his children down till the remotest “generation. It is quite common to meet men whose fathers “entered into these obligations, and who still labor in their dis- “charge, although well aware that they can discard them and be “free to sell their labor in the open market whenever they “choose. Such men receive nominally one-sixth of the crop, “whatever it be, on which they have labored as ploughmen and “reapers. When the crop is a bad one, of course the *saunkia* “suffers with the rest,—more so, in fact, because it is almost “impossible that he can have any fund of savings to fall back “upon.”²

The number of these bondmen is increasing. “Every “second man met with in the fertile plains of Hisampur is a “*sawak*, and it seems strange to an Englishman to listen to “the proprietor pointing to them as they stand behind or drive “the four-footed cattle at the ploughs. He descants upon the “sums he paid for them; fifty-one rupees for that one, sixty for “his neighbor, because the latter had a large family, which went “with the lot.”³

In the Bahraich district (prices vary in different parts of the Province) a pair of ordinary plough bullocks cost from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 each; larger ones suitable for road work from Rs. 25 to Rs. 40; a male buffalo costs Rs. 10; a female, Rs. 16; a good pig costs Rs. 3; a good plough costs Rs. 1 or more. The entire stock for a farm of five acres will not be worth more than Rs. 35.

One gets an idea of the poverty of the poorer people from

¹ *Gazetteer*, Vol. I., p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

the following short paragraph:—"A curious piece of evidence " as to the value of time in India and the small remuneration of " labor is afforded by the gleaners; they come out to the harvest " field as in England, but they gather up, not entire heads, but " single grains of wheat: entire heads are rare; for the latter " they compete with the ants."¹

If Ajudhiya be called the Jerusalem or Bethlehem of Oudh, Bilgram may be described as its Athens. The *Araish i-Mahfil* gives the following description of Bilgram (which lies in the Hurdui district to the north of Lucknow), partly borrowed from the *Ain i-Akbari*:—

"Bilgram is a large town, the inhabitants of which are clever and poetical and men of genius. In this town there is a well, and if any one drinks its water for forty days continuously, he will be able to sing excellently. Besides this, too, the people are mostly very proficient in learning. Sayad Jalil ul Kadar Abd ul Jalil Bilgrami was a great poet, and a great proficient in the Arabic and Persian languages. After this great man came Mir Ghulam Ali Azad, who was unequalled among his contemporaries for his poetical composition, his eloquence, knowledge and virtue; even his Arabic poems are written with the utmost eloquence, and in beautiful diction, and are very voluminous. No other inhabitant of Hindustan ever composed such poems before him. His book of odes is a proof of this, and the eloquent men of Arabia blush with shame as they recite his praises. He was born in the year 1114 H. and died in the year 1202 H."²

"The learning of the men of Bilgram has been notorious for ages. Several works on history and philosophy, as well as poems, have been produced here. In Volume XXIII. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society for 1854 there is an article by Dr. Sprenger on the collection of manuscripts made by Sir Henry Elliot. Among them the following works are mentioned:—No. 190, Masnavi i Mir Abd ul Jalil Bilgrami. Dr. Sprenger states that this poem celebrates the marriage of the Emperor Farrukh Sir with the daughter of Maharajah Ajit Singh in 1128 A. H. (1724 A.D.), and that the author died at Dihli nine years afterwards. No. 175, Maasir ul Kuram by Mir Ghulam Ali Azad. This work consists of biographies of distinguished Muhammadans in India, and is very highly thought of. The author is a descendant of the poet above mentioned, but is more famous than his ancestors. No. 180, Nasrat un Nazarin, a history of the famous saints of Bilgram, a copious and voluminous work of many hundreds of pages."³

"Among the learned men of Akbar's time Abul Fazl mentions Shekh Abdul Wahid as having been born at Bilgram, and as being 'the author of 'a commentary on the Nuzhat ul Arwah, and several treatises on the technical terms of the Sufis, one of which goes by the name of Sanahil.' Mr. Blochmann notices a work of great historical value by Amir Haidar of Bilgram:—'As long as we have no translation of all the sources for a history 'of Akbar's reign, European historians should make the Sawanih i Akbari 'the basis of their labors. This work is a modern compilation dedicated to 'William Kirkpatrick, and was compiled by Amir Haidar of Bilgram from 'the Akbarnama, the Tabaqat i Badaoni, Farishta, the *Akbarnama* by *Shekh 'Ilahdad of Sarhind*, and *Abul Fazl's letters*, of which the compiler had *four* 'books. The sources in italics have never been used by preceding historians. The work is perhaps the only critical historical work written by a

¹ *Gazetteer*, Vol. I., p. 239.

² *Ibid.*, p. 313.

³ *Ibid.*

'native. Bilgram was a great seat of Muhammadan learning from the time 'of Akbar' to the present century. For the *literati* of the town *vide* the '*Tazkirah* by Ghulam Ali Azad entitled *Sarwe Azad*' " (Ain i Akbari, Vol. V., Fasc. IV., p. 316).¹

Bishop Heber visited Bilgram in 1824 (*Journal*, Vol. II., p. 101).

Something should be said of Lucknow, the capital of the Province, the "*magnum emporium*" of Lact's day, the "city of "roses," the "centre of modern Indian life, the queen of Indian "fashion, and the best existing school of Indian music, grammar, "and Moslem theology, at least for the Shias." But this would necessitate another Article.

Oudh has had a checkered history ; as to its future development we must wait and see. Would that it had *less of Hinduism, and more of Christianity!*

As we are writing for the pages of a missionary periodical, we do not think it at all necessary to apologize for noticing (briefly) the Missions of Oudh. As has already been shown, missionaries, both English and American, have had something to do with the educational work of the Province ; and if they have not as yet succeeded in bringing thousands of people to Christ, they have at least had the privilege of doing bazar and village work in various forms, and of preaching the Word at *melas* and at various shrines in all parts of the Province, from the Nepal boundary (at present they dare not cross this) to the sacred Ganges.

Previous to annexation missionary work was an impossibility in Oudh.² Muhammadan prejudice, still deep, and Muhammadan opposition, still strong, were ten times more intense in the days of the kingdom. The author of *Missionary Sketches in North India* (Mrs. Weitbrecht) was told by the Rev. W. Greenwood, who acted for some time as Residency Chaplain at Lucknow in 1832-6, that so violent and fanatical was the spirit exhibited by the people of the city that he believed no missionary could have attempted to preach there at that period, except at the risk of his life. Mr. Smith of Benares made a

¹ *Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pp. 313, 314.

² It should be noted in this connection that so early as 1818 Mr. Hare, a resident of Lucknow who had been forty years in India, began a school here. "The Church Missionary Society, anxious to second local efforts, "at the suggestion of a pious officer, allowed him Rs. 50 monthly ; it was "attended by Protestants, Armenians, Romanists, Chinese and Musalmans. "There was also a congregation of thirty native Christians there, to whom "he ministered. In 1820 an English school, attended by twenty Christian "boys, as well as heathens, was opened, and was continued until 1825, "when Mr. Hare died, and the Church Missionary Society was obliged "to abandon the station for want of a superintendent."—Long's *Handbook of Bengal Missions*, p. 234.

missionary tour into Oudh some years ago, and was not ill-received in country places, or prevented from delivering his message.¹

Had ingress been at all practicable or possible, it is very likely that the London Mission would have taken up Lucknow instead of Almora in 1848-49. At that time the way was barred and the door shut.

Of the three Societies now laboring here, the first on the field was the American Methodist. The Rev. W. Butler, D.D., founder of this Society's Missions in Oudh and Rohilkand, landed in Calcutta September 23rd, 1856.

"He at once proceeded to Benares, where he attended the Conference of missionaries then convened in that city, and, after availing himself of their counsel, pushed on to Lucknow, which he first saw on the 29th of November. Wickedness and violence abounded on every hand. But, unterrified by the prospect in many respects so disheartening, and in the face of the abundant words of discouragement freely proffered by the English officials, who deemed the project utter madness, the Christian missionary, strong in faith, fixed upon this city as the most suitable head-quarters for the new enterprise. He soon found, however, that no house could at that time be obtained. Oudh had just been taken over by the British Government, and the increased staff, both civil and military, occupied every available place of residence. He accordingly went forward to Bareilly."²

A few months later the Mutiny occurred, and missionary operations were suspended, the missionary fleeing for his life. As soon as the storm was over and quiet restored, in the summer of 1858 Dr. Butler returned to Lucknow. "Buildings were temporarily supplied free of charge through the kindness of the Chief Commissioner, Sir Robert Montgomery, who gave the Mission every encouragement. In a few weeks premises amply sufficient were purchased of a Nawab at Hoseinabad in close proximity to the bazar, and work entered upon in earnest."³

The following missionaries of this Society have spent four or more years in Lucknow:—the Rev. Messrs. Thoburn, Waugh, Messmore, Craven and Mudge (the latter as editor of the *Lucknow Witness*). Other missionaries have also labored here and in the prominent out-stations. The Mission Press of this Society is located here; it sends out millions of pages annually in English, Urdu and Hindi, and is doing a grand work. The *Lucknow Witness* is too well known to need special mention. It has a larger circulation than any journal of its class in India, and is a recognized missionary organ.

This Society also occupies five of the chief out-stations—Sitapur, Rae Bareilly, Gonda, Bahraich and Barabanki.

¹ *Missionary Sketches*, p. 413.

² Mudge's *Handbook of Methodism*, pp. 227, 228.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

The Church Missionary Society began work in Lucknow in 1858, immediately after the Mutiny. The Rev. C. B. Leupolt was the founder of the Mission. Associated with or following him were Rev. Messrs. Fuchs, Reuther, Storris, French, Daeuble, Baring, Ellwood and Durrant: at present the staff consists of Messrs. Daeuble, Ellwood and Durrant. The Society has one out-station, Faizabad: it has catechists in various sub-stations along the railway. It has a small press in Lucknow, but, as no mention is made of this in the annual Reports of the Society, we infer that it does not do a large amount of work.

Both these Societies have native churches in Lucknow with Hindustani pastors; they are not as yet self-supporting. The members of the American Mission pay about Rs. 15 monthly to the pastor's fund, and meet the current expenses of the church. The others pay less.

The work of the Wesleyan Society has grown out of a chaplaincy at Lucknow, dating from 1864. But little was done until within the last three years; the chaplain has always been kept busy with his labors among the English troops. At present one missionary attends to the chaplaincy; the other gives his time to vernacular work, in which he is assisted by a catechist. At Faizabad no vernacular work has as yet been attempted.

From the table given on the next page it will be seen that at present we have but 1,000 native Christians in Oudh. After twenty years of effort this seems a poor showing; and when it is remembered that the majority of these have come from stations outside of Oudh the report does not indicate any great triumphs. Still there is progress—seed is being sown, foundations being laid, rocks of prejudice gathered out of the way; and while, with proud, fierce, stony-hearted Shias in the cities, and enthusiastic followers of the great Ram Chandra in the villages, the future is not over-promising, we are not discouraged. The truth—plainly, earnestly, lovingly preached—will win its way. Preaching, prayer, faith—these things, thank God! are not fruitless.

As may be seen, the progress in the last few years is quite encouraging. All three of the Missions need reinforcements. There is room among the eleven millions of Oudh for at least *forty* missionaries.

Statistics of Oudh Missions.

Society.	Missionaries.			Zenana Mission- aries.	Native Chris- tians.	Communicants.	Day Schools.	Scholars.	Sunday Schools.	Scholars.	Date.
	Foreign.	Others.	Total.								
American Methodist	10	3	13	2	547	222	70	2767	56	2957	Dec. 31 1877
Church of England.	3	2	5	2	444	168	11	620	4	200	Do. 1876
Wesleyan	3 ¹	...	3	...	19	10	6	200	7	250	Do. 1877
Total.....	16	5	21	4	1010	400	87	3587	67	3207	...
Total.....	12	3	15	4	628	208	42	1874	...	...	1871

¹ Of these, two are chaplains, not engaged in vernacular work.

ART. IV.—LIFE IN CHRIST. By EDWARD WHITE.
2nd Ed. London.

THAT branch of eschatology which relates to the condition of the soul after death has at all times been full of interest to the human mind. But whereas formerly the subject was mainly one of speculative and, therefore, limited inquiry, it is now felt so profoundly to affect our whole conception of the divine character and work in redemption that far larger numbers are compelled to study it. No theological subject is just now awakening such keen interest; and in no sphere of the Church's activity is the issue of the discussion likely to be more important and beneficial than on the field of Christian Missions. And when the one object in view is to ascertain the truth, to harmonize, as far as possible, the voice of God in the Bible and the same voice in the moral reason of man, we fail to see why honest and devout attempts to lessen existing and overwhelming difficulties should be condemned. The simple question is, Are we compelled by Scripture to bear the moral burden, or has it been imposed upon successive generations by misinterpreting or mistranslating Scripture? Surely, if two equally honest interpretations of the letter and spirit of the whole Bible are laid before us, our moral nature cannot avoid accepting the one that presents the least difficulty.

Considerable modification has taken place of late years in the views of those who still believe that the Bible threatens an everlasting punishment on the finally impenitent; while two widely divergent theories are claiming the acceptance of those who feel compelled to abandon the popular belief. These are, on the one hand, the ultimate destruction, and, on the other, the ultimate restoration, of sinners—the latter view being presented, chiefly in England, in the form of the "larger hope", rather than as a formulated doctrine of Universalism.

We propose in this paper to consider the first of these two theories, and for this purpose have selected the most important work advocating it that has yet appeared, viz., *Life in Christ*, by the Rev. Edward White, of London.

It is an octavo volume of nearly six hundred pages, so that all that can be attempted is the merest outline of its contents. The work is one of much learning and logical coherence, elaborately systematic in its treatment, but fervid and frequently witty in style. It is evidently the work of a trained thinker, and also, as has been observed, "of a moral nature consciously to itself in "harmony with the truth of things." We have here presented in five books a theological exposition of the doctrine on the

nature of man, the object of the divine Incarnation, and the source and conditions of human immortality, together with the bearing of the doctrine on the faith and practice of mankind.

It will be seen that the ground thus covered embraces much more than a "doctrine of annihilation", which is sometimes the only novelty conceded to the thinkers of this school. It contemplates, indeed, a radical revolution in the whole system of theology and psychology from first to last. "The popular doctrine of the soul's immortality is the *fons et origo* of a world of theological error"¹; and in combating this ancient belief, Mr. White maintains he is recovering a lost article of a creed earlier than the Apostles' or the Nicene, and so "clearing the way for the "right understanding" of the Incarnation, redemption, and the divine judgment on the unsaved.

On the assumption of man's natural immortality, two issues, broadly speaking, are conceived as possible for the race—either endless misery or ultimate restoration to blessedness; but, according to this school, both these positions are alike heretical. Establish a contrary psychology, and neither of them has any *locus standi* in theology. The first of the two issues has been the "popular" belief, and is the one against which the main attack is directed; indeed, the theory of Conditional Immortality is undoubtedly a reaction, to a very large extent, against the doctrine of eternal torment; and it is a question if it would ever have found the place it now has in Christian teaching—and the wonder is that it *has* found that place without exciting greater amazement and alarm—if it had not been first taught that immortality "secures to the *few* continuous union with good, and to the "many continuous union with evil." While, therefore, we have but little agreement with the dogmatic teaching of this book, but believe that what it seeks to construct will be found as wanting in the element of immortality as it finds the race to be, we appreciate the good service Mr. White has rendered in helping to disabuse the popular mind of many erroneous conceptions regarding future penalty, and so "clearing the way" for a better understanding of the teaching of Scripture on the subject.

The new theological system which the author attempts to construct is based on the firm assurance that the natural immortality of the soul has "no foundation in biology, metaphysics, or "Scripture" (p. 226). Science is unfavorable to any such faith, and the Bible is silent on it. Mr. White is no advocate of the theory of evolution (see chap. IV.), maintaining, as he does, that the specific difference between man and the lower animals points to a separate origin and a direct creation; but man is "*no higher* than the animals as to unconditional immortality" (p. 110).

¹ *Life in Christ*, p. 78.

The system of life on the earth is one. The sharp distinction between matter and spirit is vanishing. The mind of animals is *as real* as the mind of man (p. 17); and if either man's immateriality or the perpetuity of substance argues immortality, they must be extended logically to "the life-force of zoophytes and 'infusoria' (pp. 17, 80); "the *law of nature* for all living things "on earth is, and always has been, death, dissolution, *destruction of the individuality*" (p. 26). When man became "a living soul", he became simply a "living being or animal"; and there is nothing to show that "the soul of man is in its nature less "dissoluble than the 'souls' of animals" (pp. 101, 80). When "God made man in his own image", he made him "*designed* to "live for ever", but not "certain to live for ever" (p. 100). Man, however, disobeyed his Maker, and came under the law of death by sin; and "it is the Divine object in Redemption to 'create "him anew' in the image of the everlasting, by regeneration of "nature, and by a resurrection from the dead" (p. 14). The very purpose of the incarnation of Deity and of redemption is to change our nature. . . . from mortality to immortality (p. 128). Life everlasting means life everlasting, and not a bestowment of holiness and happiness (p. 129). The Holy Spirit, through the action of truth, communicates to good men the element of immortality (pp. 128, 296). Regeneration unto life unites us to Christ as to a second head (p. 287). We are saved from death by the "blood" of Christ. "The blood is the life", and so "drinking of his blood is drinking in the element of eternal life" (p. 262). Being "justified by his blood", we pass literally from death unto life, receiving "justification of life" (p. 253).

But just as the beasts are made for extinction, so evil men, who resemble them in irrationality, will be "*like them in their destiny*" (p. 415). "Dishonest and time-serving religious teachers"; the "hypocrites of every age"; "the sensual and "frivolous multitude who refuse to repent", will finally perish *everlastingly*—will suffer *ὀλεθρον αἰώνιον*, "eternal destruction of "body and soul in hell" (pp. 373, 374, 133). But before this black night of extinction comes, there rises an awful prospect. Divine judgment requires the whole humanity. The spirit at death is, therefore, preserved in some form, "with a view to "the resurrection of the man" (p. 120). At the advent of Christ there will be "a bodily resurrection of the wicked, *for the "endurance of physical suffering by fire*" (p. 375). Here men and women, in devotion to the truth, have felt "the violence of "fire"; "why should it be held incredible that bad men should "die even by fire hereafter?" (p. 376.) They rise in material bodies for this very purpose. The "Almighty God, outraged "at the ruin of His own image . . . has resolved on the direful "work of miserably destroying soul and body" (pp. 380, 378).

"A fearful monument of the effect of sin will be established on 'this globe', in the form of 'a perpetual fire', and there will 'be a fearful fiery infliction, though of limited duration'" (pp. 442, 376).

This frightful and material picture brings vividly to one's mind President Edwards' "fiery oven, all of a glowing heat", or his "glowing brick-kiln", where the body is to lie as "full 'of fire within and without as a bright coal'; the difference, however, in the horror being that in President Edwards' theory hell is to be borne "for ever and ever."¹

We have already expressed our disagreement with this school of thought. We would hail every devout attempt to construct a doctrine of destiny that shall be more in harmony with the Bible and with the truth of things than we consider much that passes as orthodox teaching to be; but we are unable to believe that the doctrine now under review is such an one. It seems to us to possess well nigh as many vast moral and metaphysical difficulties as those which have led to the rejection of the older view, and to be, as the *Westminster Review* has said, "a curious example of retrograde criticism and sceptical 'obscuring.'" Revelation and human nature will surely prove too much for a theological position whose only way of reconciling the divine love with the theory of "everlasting punishment" is by blotting millions of creatures out of existence altogether.

Mr. White and others of his school, in their concern for the scientific basis of their teaching, not unnaturally shrink from the term 'annihilation' being applied to their system. "Of an *annihilation of substance*", Mr. White says, "we know nothing." But when it is stated that "the death of which we speak is the *death of humanity*" (p. 120); that the "soul of man" is *no less dissoluble* than the "souls of animals"; that when the soul is broken up "its individual life will perish, and it shall be *no more a soul*" (p. 80); that "it is certain that the Hebrew language has no 'stronger terms to express a *ceasing to be*—what we call *annihilation*—than those used respecting the fate of the wicked"; that "the corresponding terms of the New Testament distinctly 'foretell *extinction*'" (p. 418), we feel we should be doing the writer and the system a worse thing than an injustice if we did not retain their own word in its place in the scheme of thought.

We will now state some of the objections which this view presents to our mind.²

1. With the ghastly picture with which we concluded our outline of this system still fresh before us, we note first the

¹ *Works*, Vol. III., p. 260, ed. New York, 1844.

² The Destructionist theory has been denounced with great power and pathos by the Rev. J. Baldwin Brown, B.A., in his *Doctrine of Annihilation*, and also by the Rev. C. Clemance, D.D., in his *Future Punishment*.

revival of the gross materialism and stern retributive vengeance of mediæval times. We thought we had heard the last of the horrors of a material hell and physical torture; but this monumental bonfire of which we read, whose lurid flames are to light up "this globe", is a tremendous discovery of our mistake. And this is to satisfy a "revenging Deity", who "burns to take vengeance" on the frail work of his own hands—to satisfy the nature of the Father of Jesus and of men! The souls that God has "made", and which the prophet Isaiah tells us "should fail before him if he were to be always wroth"—words which, Mr. White says, declare "that human souls are not made by God strong enough to endure an endless torment"¹—these human souls are not represented as wearing themselves out by a natural process, and at last, overcome by their vain antagonism, expiring by necessity; but the doom—external fire and physical torture—is, and must be, a divine *infliction*. "The ability to *kill* the soul outright will be exerted by that God who is a consuming fire."² By *that* God who is also a *Father*! Whatever a severe theology, in its supposed defence of the faith, may say, it was God, not man, who first proclaimed himself "the father of spirits"; and, having assumed the responsibilities of fatherhood, the idea of an avenging slaughter of his own children is horrible indeed.³ The divine Father "*kills*"—and kills by a *process* of destructive *torture*—the souls he has made and loved, and, in Christ, died to save. *He* puts them into the fire that he has arbitrarily kindled, there to be "scorched with great heat" *till* divine justice has been satisfied, and then he drops them into the pit of annihilation. We might stop to ask *when* divine justice will be satisfied, and the punishment come to an end, if the sinner continues to sin, as we conclude he will? Or if, after periods of

¹ *Life in Christ*, p. 197.

² *Ibid.*, p. 409.

³ See Deut. xii. 31. We know we shall be upbraided with the denial of God's power to kill both soul and body in hell. But Matt. x. 28, which is supposed to teach the Annihilation doctrine, is really one of the strongest passages on the other side. Not to mention the fact that such commentators as Stier and Olshausen maintain, with some show of reason, that the reference is to Satan, not to God, Christ here carefully guards against the error of the soul's annihilation, by drawing a marked contrast between the *killing* (ἀποκτεννόντων) of the body, and the ability to *destroy* (ἀπολέσαι) the soul and body in Gehenna. The words translated 'to kill' and 'to destroy' are not synonyms. When simply the *body* is concerned ἀποκτείνειν is used, but when the *soul* and the *spiritual* body are involved ἀπολέσει is substituted, or ἐμβαλεῖν, as in Luke xii. 5, which passage explains what is meant by the "destruction of the soul and body" of Matt. x. 28, viz., the being "cast into hell." Christ implies that the soul can *perish* but will not be annihilated. There will be perdition, *i.e.*, the destruction of the *well-being* of soul and body, but not the destruction of the *being* of either. As Bengel says on Matt. x. 28, "ἀπολέσαι, to destroy, to ruin.—It is not said to *kill*: the soul is "immortal." (*Gnomon of the New Test.*, Vol. I., p. 247.) For further remarks on these terms see Section 12 of this paper.

torment, he shall have paid the penalty of his sin, why doom him to destruction? It is the prolonged suffering existence, and not the deliverance by extinction, that is the punishment. But enough. We are told that many find this doctrine "full of comfort"—as a relief, we suppose, from the dogma of *endless* misery. "Great God," we would exclaim with Mr. Baldwin Brown, "was thy Gospel sent to give comfort to a man by the vision of the extinction of the great mass of his fellows, like gnats before a summer storm?"¹ And he reminds us that missionaries are told to take this Gospel to the heathen! For ourselves, we would rather close our Bible, and never preach again, if that is to be the interpretation of the "good tidings of great joy" sent to "all people." Would not the nations "turn away", still more "sorrowful" than they do now, "from so direful a Christianity"? The leading advocate of this view himself regards it as "a doom", which while "more credible than that of endless existence in misery, is yet in another aspect *not less awful*."² "Such is the horror", he says elsewhere,³ "arising from the prevalent creed, that it is seldom applied to living multitudes, or dead relations." Is it likely that the "not less awful" doom which he would substitute will be any the more frequently applied?

2. This dark view of the future thus reverses the process of creation, and introduces a retrograde action on the part of God. This we take, with Martensen,⁴ to be the ultimate difficulty—that beings created in the divine image, designed for immortality, should, after an unsuccessful trial here on earth, which is all that most of this school allow, or after a further age, it may be, of divine influence and endeavor, be at last abandoned and annihilated without their reaching the end of their existence. The divine economy, so far as it relates to man, thus presents the spectacle of a huge experiment and—must we not add?—a ghastly failure, a position which seems inconsistent with a thorough-going theism.

3. God's triumph is assured to us in the Word which cannot lie. His triumphs in redemption, here and now, are precursors and pledges of the final victory. Mr. White admits that the expression—God "all in all"—is "inconsistent with the eternal survival of any enemy or any evil"⁵; it seems to us equally inconsistent that this reconciliation of all things to himself should be effected by the destruction of millions whom Christ came to reconcile. At what a frightful cost has the evil been removed! So frightful that evil surely would have won the day. We read that the Son of man came, *not to destroy*

¹ *The Doctrine of Annihilation*, p. 78. ² *Life in Christ*, p. 404.

³ P. 505. ⁴ See his *Christian Dogmatics*, p. 481.

⁵ *Life in Christ*, p. 448.

men's lives, but to save them; that the Son of God was "manifested that he might destroy *the works of the devil*"—not the work of God. If the *victims* of evil are destroyed, if multitudes for whom the Redeemer died are swept out into the night of annihilation, then, surely, death and the devil, instead of being "abolished", gain a ghastly victory. The war against evil can truly end only when evil itself in the sinner is consumed.

4. Further, this theory appears to us to misrepresent redemption and the resurrection—if it does not, indeed, depose them. *Without* redemption, according to this school, men would "naturally go to nothing" at death; there is no future life out of Christ. As the *consequence* of redemption, the souls of the wicked survive death, to be united again with the body at the resurrection, when both are to suffer exquisite torment, and then be put out of existence. Truly, the last state is worse than the first! The Gospel, which is a revelation of mercy, has thus rendered the lot of men inconceivably more wretched than it was under the condemnation of the Law. We had thought that eternal life—"life in Christ"—was now every man's birthright, a father's gracious gift to all his children, through their being born into a world that has been redeemed. We believe in life *in Christ* profoundly, and know of no true life out of him; for did he not, by his resurrection, bring "life and immortality *to light*" for the human race—did he not make that which before was but dimly understood to shine out in the light of a perfect day? We had thought that in the glorious passage in 1 Cor. xv., where St. Paul says, "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall "all be made alive", the resurrection is referred to as a blessing; that Christ is represented as the bringer in of *life*, in contrast to Adam, who was the bringer in of *death*—not that he, who is the fountain of life, has, by his *victory* over death, added to the death which is already "the wages of sin", first, the most fearful torment, and then a second death into the everlasting night!

5. This so-called "survival" of the soul completely baffles us. We are told by Mr. White¹ that man is a "living soul", which means "a living creature or animal", "whose intellectual "powers partake of the *perishableness* of their organizations"; that the *spirit*, though "of a superior order", is yet shared "with "all animated natures"²; and that "the law of nature for all living "things is *death, dissolution*." What then *survives*? We are told that, "to permit of the re-constitution of the identical trans-"gressor"³, the spirits of the wicked *are* somehow "preserved", though we fail to reconcile this with the foregoing. But allow that they are. *What* is this spirit, which, in acknowledged violation

¹ P. 100.² P. 103.³ P. 130.

of the natural order, is preserved? "The departed spirit is not "the *man*," Mr. White informs us, "but only one element of his "being."¹ Man is "the identity of two distinct substances—body "and soul—which lose their identity in giving him his."² Similarly, man must lose *his* identity in giving them back; just as water loses its identity when resolved into oxygen and hydrogen. What, then, we again ask, survives? The humanity is dissolved; the person is lost; a flitting shadow—the *εἶδωλον* of Homer's Hadean world—alone remains. We are at a loss to see how, in this theory, there can be room for any doctrine of the intermediate state, such as Mr. White admits,³ and which affords scope for repentance and reformation beyond the grave. The majority of this school are surely more consistent when they hold either, with Prebendary Constable, that man has *no* soul, in the popular sense of the word, and that, therefore, he wholly perishes at death, and is nowhere till the resurrection, or that the soul *sleeps* till the judgment day. For, even according to Mr. White, there can be no real conscious existence out of the body, and therefore no development. The man, the person, is suspended from death till the judgment day. Judgment requires the whole humanity, so that Hades cannot be a state where men are judged, but simply a ghostly void. To say nothing of the disagreement of this view of the disembodied state with St. Paul's representation of spirits not "unclothed, but clothed upon", we would point out how here, at any rate, in more ways than we can stay to indicate, conformity to science is scarcely realized.

6. But, again, if it be conceded, as of course it is by us, that what is commonly understood by "the spirit" *can* live on through dissolution, and which Mr. White, if he would preserve his whole system intact—however inconsistently—is compelled to concede too, then the most difficult point connected with the nature of the soul is conceded, as Cicero urged against the Stoics. The soul, it appears, *can* survive the death of the body, and would *still live on*, even according to the present theory, if God did not blot it out; then, with reason it may be urged that what has survived so great a shock may well claim immortality.

7. Coming now to this question of immortality, which, in the system we are considering, is denied to all but a few select souls, we cannot but feel assured that a doctrine which does gross violence to that ineradicable sense of continued being, which clings to the heart of the worst, must estrange Christianity, of which it professes to be an exposition, more and more from the consciousness of mankind. Mr. White maintains that there is not a single expression of Scripture in which man's natural immortality is affirmed. We admit that the truth is assumed rather

¹ P. 192.² P. 104.³ P. 344.

than asserted; and for this reason, that a revelation to man itself implies it. But when one of the leading ideas of Scripture is man's kinship with God; when it is stated of man—not of animals—that he is made in the image of God; when God calls himself "the father" of the spirits of men, and does not call himself the father of brutes; when it is declared that all men, as men, "live unto" him, and that he is "not willing that any should perish"; when we read of the "mortal body", and never of the mortal soul; when we are told not to be "afraid of them that kill the body, and *after* that have no more that they can do"; when it is evident that man was constituted with a view to redemption, which requires eternity to work out its results; that his nature is full of mystery and capacity which it also requires future ages to unfold,—full of instinctive convictions and cravings in respect to the unseen and everlasting, which Christ justified and satisfied when he rose from the dead; when we remember it is man's destiny to be the permanent revealer of the divine power and Godhead, and think of the universality and imperishableness of conscience,—we feel that the Bible assigns a far higher place to man, and opens out for him a far more extensive future, than this school is able to discover. Mr. White admits that the Pharisees believed in the continuity of the soul's existence; and, as was pointed out in the May number of the *Contemporary Review*, that creed, so far as it was not formally set aside,—and Christ never denounced *their view of the future*, as he did that of the Sadducees, never once exposed the "fatal error",—passed into the belief of Christendom, and Paul, when he said, "I am a Pharisee", identified himself with the belief.

It is not the habit of the Bible to stay to prove, or even to assert, what are specifically human properties, involved in the very nature of man. The existence of God is not *proved*, not even taught; God *reveals* himself; he speaks and acts on the first page of revelation. So with the intuitive belief in the soul's continued existence after death. It lies, necessarily, at the root of all religion—at the root of our relation to the "eternal and invisible"; it is correlative with the truth that man is made in the image of God; it expresses itself in all the pious hopes and yearnings of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. Immortality is not, of course, *necessary* to man. Whether he will live on, or not, depends on the will of God who made him. *Absolute* immortality is predicated in the Bible only of God himself. Man, in a primitive state, is unable to grasp the abstract idea of immortality, any more than he can the idea of annihilation; but he always thinks of the dead as living somewhere, which is the seed-germ which afterwards flowers and fruits. This is why a doctrine of immortality does not plainly appear in the earlier

books of the Bible, and is not found in the infancy of other religious faiths. It grows up slowly by a process of religious evolution to satisfy a deepening need in man. And its growth is not so much the growth of a dogma of religion or philosophy as the growth of a great human faith, the ever distincter utterance of an instinct common to the race, a development involved in the development of our nature. As the idea of God becomes purer and larger, so the idea of immortality becomes more definite; till a true Theism can no more dispense with man's immortality than with God's personality. *Faith* in God generates *hope* of immortality.

One has but to trace the growth of the belief, by a process of natural development, in India and Greece,—as Professor A. M. Fairbairn has so ably done in his *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*,—from the indefinite and concrete form in which it gathered around the departed ancestors of Vedic times, to where, in Greece, it reached its culminating point under the “inspiration of the true prophet of the belief”, in order to understand how Christianity has made it “a living and commanding faith.” Mr. White sneers at the thought of Plato being a teacher to Christendom; but we are led to believe with Professor Fairbairn “that there is more of the essence and spirit of Christian theology “in the *Dialogues* of Plato than in the *De Civitate Dei* of Augustine.”¹ And perhaps the stern and exclusive theology of the school of Conditional Immortality, to which their meagre interpretation of those noble words ‘life in Christ’ has guided them, receives its severest reproof from the fact that, *outside* the pale of Christianity and the recognized circle in which the “immortals” move, there was found a nature so profoundly moral and religious as to give form and basis for the second noblest of human faiths—the perpetuity of souls and acts. With true Christian intuition, Plato's idea of immortality was involved in his idea of God. As with the devout Jew, so with the pious Greek, his idea was life *in God*.

Mr. White cites the case of Buddhism as affording an instance of the denial of the natural immortality of the soul, and thinks that his mode of presenting Christianity is likely to assist the faith of the Buddhists scattered throughout India, Siam, Japan, and China. “You will never succeed”, he says, “in persuading the 480,000,000 of Buddhists that man already “possesses by nature an indissoluble soul.”² Not to mention the fact that the number of Buddhists in the world is probably largely over-estimated, through its being customary to set down the Chinese as all Buddhists, whereas there are in China three

¹ See Professor Fairbairn's *Studies*, p. 224.

² *Life in Christ*, p. 555.

different religious sects,—Buddhism, Tauism, and Confucianism,—and outside China the Buddhist population is very scanty ; or that, according to such Orientalists as Colebrooke, Dr. Wilson, and, recently, Max Müller, *nirvana* denotes, not ‘annihilation’, but a ‘state of repose’, and that Buddha himself, though an atheist, was not a nihilist ;—it is to be remembered that Buddhism is, strictly speaking, not a religion at all, but essentially an atheistic system. The Buddhist revolution in India is a striking proof that the belief in a personal immortality can live only when rooted in faith in a personal God. The Brahmanical sacerdotalism had developed a false conception of God, and a false theory of immortality ; and so intolerable had these become to the Hindu spirit that for a time they gladly embraced a system based on the denial of both. A system without a God naturally lets go a belief in immortality, for it can have no right conception of man. But the old faith soon swept from the land the new ; and in China *now* we are told that Buddhism, *as a system of thought*, is dead, is a mere *superstition*—that in many parts of the country one now never meets with an intelligent Buddhist.¹ The world is too old and wise for such a negation of religious faith. Mr. White, we think, will look in vain, outside his little school, for a people *who believe in God* denying the permanence of soul ; and we cannot but regard his expectation of assisting the faith of non-Christian nations by his mode of presenting truth, as a fond delusion. And, more than that, we would deplore what we conceive to be an entirely retrograde movement, as lending a lamentable assistance to the cause of materialism and atheism. The attempt to sever the heart of the great world from a faith in immortality may end in severing it from all faith in God.

It is a departure, too, from what we take to be the highest science. It has been more than once pointed out that the impregnable position to be taken by spiritualists against materialists is that in man the “Ego” is a spirit animating the body, as God is a Spirit animating the universe. This for man is the highest stage of evolution, and so the most scientific form of belief. Mr. White says the man, as man, is destroyed at death ; but it is the mind that makes the man, and if *he* ceases to be when the senses cease to be, then the signs that interpret the man are the thing signified, the accident is the essence.² This destruction of the Ego cannot possibly be verified. We exist at this moment, and there is nothing to lead us to suppose we shall not exist the next moment, and the next ; and it is no more difficult to conceive of our existing

¹ See Report of the Shanghai Missionary Conference held in May, 1877.

² See Fairbairn’s *Studies*, p. 121.

always—indeed it is far easier than to conceive of our ceasing to exist. A state of absolute non-existence is inconceivable; while, on the other hand, what can be conceived is presumably the realized.

“The history of a great human belief”, it has been said, “ought to have some significance for modern thought.” This doctrine of annihilation is not, at any rate, the doctrine for India. This land long ago awoke from that hideous nightmare, and is not likely to be lulled to sleep again. The Hindu nation is “sound” on the point of the absolute unity, the essential unity, of the human and divine. Man’s true self—that which underlies the Ego—is to be alone found in the Highest, the Eternal Self—that “One without a second” which underlies the whole world. Nothing that has issued from the Universal Soul can perish. Life is held to be a sacred thing,—even the life of the meanest reptile,—far too sacred to be annihilated. It is useless trying to make the Hindu, of all men, believe that he is more akin to animals than to God—that he, as a man, has no relation to a spiritual and eternal world. It is simply *maya* that prevents the realization of the profound—though in Hinduism much perverted—truth that the soul exists *in* God. It came from him, and unto him it is destined to return.

Neither, we are assured, is this the missionary theology for the nations generally. Christianity will triumph in the world, because the human heart is made for Christ, and destined for Christ—*O testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ!*—because his religion alone offers an expression of the highest truths—alone fulfils man’s deepest convictions and noblest yearnings. The Gospel saves the soul by *appealing* to it, not by *creating* it. We, as missionaries, must take our stand on the original susceptibilities and fundamental faiths of man’s spiritual nature; and our most serious contention with this school of thought is that it severs Christianity from natural religion, making light of its best instincts and inextinguishable wants, instead of treating it, as Butler did, as a natural development of it, and a necessary supplement to it. It is a dangerous move for Christianity when it cuts itself off from the stem of common religious instincts; when it changes the hard granite of man’s spiritual nature for the shifting soil of textual inference and theological expediency; when it sweeps away those articles of natural religion that form the stepping-stones of thought for faith in revelation, such as man’s belief in his own spiritual being, and his relation to a spiritual and eternal world—a belief so intimately connected with belief in a spiritual and eternal God. And the system we are considering is doing its best—so it seems to us—to dissolve the unity of the religious spirit; to *pull up with a violent hand* the deepest roots of the moral and

spiritual life; to split the rocky stratum of religious faith that underlies all the variety of religious forms throughout the world. But, thank God, it is a hopeless undertaking. Those longings, divinely implanted, which constitute an irresistible argument in favor of immortality, which, according to the analogies afforded by every other form of life, are surely meant to be satisfied, cannot be so easily slighted, or made out to be nothing but a gross deception. That on which the life of Christendom has been built for nineteen centuries cannot be so easily overthrown. The doctrine of immortality may be threatened by a false science on the side of matter, and by a false philosophy on the side of mind, and even by Christian theology in the supposed interests of truth; but for what is "the inalienable property of humanity we need not fear."¹

8. In Mr. White's book we meet frequently with such expressions as "the man-deifying dogma of natural immortality", "this pretension to native perpetuity of being", and so on—as though such perpetuity were the creature's *own* acquirement, and not the gift of God. If man by capacity is naturally immortal, and his nature is so constituted as to lead him to believe it and expect it, it is *God* who has made him so; and we fail to see how his being so should "deify" the man, or should puff him up with a self-conceit, any more than his being saved should do so, which we know is also "not of ourselves", but is "the gift of God." According to Mr. White, the doctrine of the soul's natural immortality is commonly based upon its immateriality or its perpetuity of substance. But, unassailable as this position may be, viewed philosophically, we think he has himself enunciated or hinted at the truer Christian ground of the doctrine when he speaks, as he often does, of Christ "witnessing as the Life of *the world*", of Christ being, "in the purpose of God, the life of the world from the day of Adam's sin", of "the everlasting nature" having "joined itself once and for ever to *humanity* in the Christ." These expressions, and the line of thought they lead to, remind us of that valuable chapter—in our estimation the most valuable—in Mr. Dale's very valuable work on the Atonement, which treats of Christ's original relation to the human race; and we have often wondered how the writer of that chapter could ever have thrown in his lot with the Annihilationists. Mr. White says, "If men live without Christ, they will die eternally." We thoroughly believe it. But we hold that Mr. White, by his view of the Incarnation, makes too much of a point in history. We maintain, as we have before intimated, that there is *no* life for man but "life *in* Christ." But we gather from the Bible that Christ was more than the

¹ A. M. Fairbairn.

founder of an historical religion ; that he has held, and holds, an *eternal* relation both to the Father and to mankind ; that he had being, not only originally in the Father, but also in the world, in creation ; that he is the head of creation and the head and prototype of the human race ; that "in him all things consist" ; that he is not only the Redeemer, but the *Perfecter*, of the world—so much so that, apart altogether from sin, we may suppose the incarnate Logos would still have appeared, the doctrine of a world-redeeming and a world-completing Mediator being based on the prior fact of the cosmical significance of Christ. *Christ*, then, is the ground of created human life and of human immortality. As he is "the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world", so he is the life which inspireth every man. If this be so, where is "the pretension to *native* perpetuity" ? What have we, as men, that we have not first received ?

9. We cannot understand this depreciation of human nature, whether it has reference to natural life or natural goodness. In disparaging whatever truly belongs to man, we dishonor the hand that gave it. Life and goodness, however faint and feeble, are divine gifts, and properly belong to human nature, as God made it ; evil is not of God, and is alien to our nature. The doctrine of Conditional Immortality revives in its grossest form the doctrine of Total Depravity. Man, as man, is wholly bad and wholly dead. It is rooted in a miserable unfaith in human nature—so much so, that it almost represents, as does the doctrine of total depravity, not merely the evil in him, but the man himself as one of the works of the devil, instead of the work of God. As the Rev. John Laidlaw said not long since, in his *Cunningham Lectures*, the whole doctrine is a hopeless divergence from the Scripture view of man, and sadly exaggerates the effects of the Fall. Man, though fallen, is human still. Evil entered into him, but, on the other hand, through the knowledge he acquired, costly as some of it has been, he took a direct step in the development of his being. Though needing to be redeemed, there are still many things in man by nature—and which we are sure Christ claims as his—too precious to be swept into annihilation. Human nature is still akin to Christ—and doubly so now that it has been redeemed. A slight on that nature, we repeat, is a slight on Him who made it and redeemed it. The antagonism that has been brought about by sin has practically denied the essential unity of the human and the divine ;¹ but it is a truth nevertheless, and one that has recovered its reality in the person of Christ. If man is made *in* the image of God, and Christ is that image in its eternal

¹ "Εν ἀνδρῶν ἐν θεῶν γένος—Pindar.

and divine reality, then the divine and human differ, as the ideal differs from the actual, and the prototype from the copy.¹ The possibility of a revelation of God *to* man, the possibility of an incarnation of God *in* man, is based on this essential unity; and humanity is traced in Christ to its true original, and to its eternal existence in the Godhead. All, then, that is noblest in man—and he has nothing nobler than spirituality and immortality—is thus based on Christ, and on man's being created, in Christ, after the image of God.

10. If our view of human nature be correct, it follows that what misrepresents that nature misrepresents also—and that to a most perilous degree—the Incarnation. Christ took not the nature of angels, but the nature of man. Was the Son of *man*, then, we ask with all reverence, with Mr. Baldwin Brown, the son of an *animal*? Are we to think of him as allied to a highly developed brute? He is not ashamed to call us brethren. Had he, then, and have they, no human soul? Can we conceive of Christ, not assuming, but *becoming*, man, if man, as man, is what this school would represent? If he is such, Dr. Clemance, in his recent work on *Future Punishment*, does not exaggerate when he says that if the advocates of their system dared to put it “in all its ghastly deformity, some of them would say, *Christ finds us brutes, and makes us men!*” We believe that Christ explains man to men; that he was an embodiment of human nature in its pure, archetypal form; and that because in that form man is akin to, and reveals, God, the Incarnation was possible. For the Incarnation to take place, human nature, as human nature, must be capable of being a revealer and partaker of the divine attributes.

11. This doctrine of Conditional Immortality destroys the *unity* of the human race. Hitherto we had thought, and rejoiced to think, that we had a oneness of nature with the worst and weakest of mankind; that a common nature, a common origin, common impulses, and a common destiny, bound us together, amid all our differences, in the unity of a universal brotherhood. But now we find there are two essentially different species; the old Manichæan division of mankind into spiritual men and animal men has been revived; human beings differ radically in constitution; an elect few are the immortals, though we may fail to see the celestial light; the great outside mass, though it may not be vastly different from the other in many valuable and moral virtues, is mortal, like the brutes. It is really destitute of spirit, of personality, and can have no consciousness of God, except as its units pass, in a slavishly literal sense, from death unto life.

¹ On this subject see *Christ and Humanity*, by H. M. Goodwin. (Hodder and Stoughton, London.)

Regeneration is thus not the rectifying of the will, but a physical and constitutional change. As in Mr. White's exposition of the first chapters of the book of Genesis, Adam's immortality is made to depend on the virtues of a tree,¹ so conversion, though effected through the agency of *truth*, is a physiological rather than a moral process. Those who have passed through it are specifically different—organically, psychologically different—from those who have not. Surely there should be some very conspicuous *differentia* marking off this assemblage of individuals from the great genus *man*. Let those believe this doctrine, and be complacent over it, who can. For us, it is experimentally untrue, and opposed to facts, science, metaphysics, and Scripture. Its tendency is to break asunder the social life of nations; to change and sever the one appeal the Gospel has hitherto made to man as man; and to leave the mass of mankind in deadly peril of becoming cut off from the spiritual and divine.

12. Lastly, it has been pointed out by Professor Bartlett, a distinguished American divine, and well insisted on by Dr. Clemance, that "the fundamental vice of the whole system" we have been considering consists in this—that whereas "the Scriptures constantly set forth the most thoroughly spiritual facts by means of such sense images as the common people always use and understand"—it being their "universal custom to speak of men as 'overthrown', 'broken-up', 'consumed', etc., to denote purely spiritual phenomena, which leave the entire being of the man unimpaired"—Annihilationism argues, and tries to make men believe, that such words "imply extinction." The whole theory is made to rest on a "rigid literalism", as Canon Farrar has pointed out, and which argues, Professor Tulloch said in the April Number of the *Contemporary Review*, "a misunderstanding of the idea of Revelation, more fatal because less excusable than the old literalism from which theology has suffered so long." It starts with a literal interpretation of the first chapters of Genesis, which, though designed, as Mr. White admits, "for the Church in its childhood", are treated as though they gave a strictly scientific account of the nature of man, and expressed other facts in the formula of modern times. Supposing the Church, in days that are coming, has to re-read these chapters in the light of increasing knowledge, and concludes they are not so much a record of history as typical presentations of deep moral and spiritual facts,—a position for which there is shown to be considerable presumption in a very interesting paper in the *Expositor* for February, 1878,—much of the rigid deduction of this school would surely have to give way. Mr. White, of course, deals with these chapters "as a narrative of truth, of

¹ *Life in Christ*, p. 109.

"equal value with the Gospel history", and maintains that "the historical meaning of *death* is illustrated in the narrative of the Fall of man, on which redemption is founded."¹

When he comes to the definition of terms, the author informs us, with charming plainness, that "Life signifies life, and 'to live for ever signifies to live for ever; and to *perish* signifies 'not to live for ever, but to lose organized and conscious being.'" Did the prodigal son—the "lost", "dead" or "perished" (ἀπολωλὼς) son—"lose organized and conscious being" in the far country? We thought it was the very intensity of a painful consciousness that made him to be "alive again" and to be "found." Is it possible in either of those three matchless parables of Luke xv.—the lost coin, the lost sheep, the lost son—to connect the word "lost", τὸ ἀπολωλός, which is the word also translated "perished" and "destroyed", with the idea of the cessation of existence? Is not the root idea of the word rather that of existence which falls short of the end designed for it? The "perished" are often the lost *who are* "found." We read in Scripture of the *righteous* "perishing", and no man laying it to heart; of a man "losing" his life, and "finding" and "preserving" it; of One who came to "seek" and "save that which was lost."

Again, Mr. White says, "If man had always everlasting life, 'Christ cannot be said to 'give eternal life.'" This statement could be made only by one who confounds *life* with *existence*. "The physical ideas of existence and non-existence are at the 'basis', Mr. White says, "of the terms Life and Death."² Rather would we say with Dr. Clemance that "life in Scripture postulates 'existence as its basis'; while the absence or opposite of 'life', though there may still be existence, is called 'death.'" "There 'may be a dead Church, a dead man, a dead *soul*, and yet existence, and even reputation."³ In Rev. iii. we read, "Thou hast a 'name that thou *livest*, and art *dead*.'" Elsewhere we read of the *dead* burying their dead, and of men being "dead in trespasses and sins." These and similar passages even Mr. White is obliged to quote in order to explain that "there is a figure in 'the Scripture use of the term 'dead' which cannot be disputed"; but he adds, with refreshing *naïveté*, "the figure is in the *tense*, 'not in the meaning.'" There is a "proleptic use of 'death,' and the unregenerate are described as the dead, 'because they are *certain to die*'!"⁴ "Certain to die", and yet he admits that *the dead* may be "evangelized" in an intermediate state; and that when Paul spoke of the Gentiles as perishing without law, "perish" did not there mean "perish", since some might turn and *live* in Hades.⁵

¹ P. 402.² P. 225.³ P. 403.⁴ *Future Punishment*, by Clement Clemance, B.A., pp. 39, 40.⁵ *Life in Christ*, p. 306.⁶ P. 346.

In another place he makes the following admission:—"In popular language in every country the slight possession of any power or faculty is described as non-possession. Thus we say of a very unfeeling man that he is heart-*less*, or that he has 'no soul.'"¹ Precisely so; and in the same way we say of a man lacking the quickening of the divine Spirit that he is *dead*. Then why does he insist that "death", "destruction" and "ruin" *must* mean annihilation for the souls of men? They do not mean it here, then why should they be made to mean it hereafter? Mr. White cites Rom. vii. 11, where the apostle speaks of sin deceiving him and slaying him, to show that he uses the verb "to kill" (*ἀποκτείναι*) as explanatory of the *death* spoken of in chap. v. as the prospect of sinners. But in what sense, we may ask, was Paul "slain"? The law and sin condemn and slay, not to annihilate, but to bring forth a better life. Not one of the varied "deaths" referred to in Rom. vi.-viii. is non-existence; but, as the Rev. A. Jukes has pointed out, they are "simply an end to, and separation from, some given form of life which man has lived in." Conversion is "a death unto sin and a life unto righteousness"—the death not annihilating the spirit, but being the appointed means for giving birth to the new life. So when the body dies, death to this world of sense liberates the spirit into the world of unseen realities. There is also a "second" spiritual death beyond, for those who have not died here; but if the "first" does not involve extinction, why should the "second" be made to do so?

The superficial fidelity of this school to the letter of Scripture, to the violence of the spirit that pervades it; its Christian pass-word, "Life in Christ"; and the stern aspect of its theology—which is, however, really a neology—may give it for a time an acceptance with certain Christian minds; but we feel persuaded that reaction and alarm will ere long set in on the side of Christian thought; while its disregard to the progressive character of revelation, the way in which it studies the different books of the Bible, and the mode of exegesis it adopts, appear to be altogether out of harmony with the ripest criticism of the present day. And it must be remembered that "all systems built wholly or chiefly on the philological analysis of single words are, through the inevitable elasticity of human language, more or less precarious."

We take leave of Mr. White's book, valuable as much of it is, with the deepest disappointment. We acknowledge he has, to some extent, 'cleared the way', by combating long cherished and, we believe, erroneous views respecting the future life, for which service he places us under large obligation; but we are

¹ P. 301.

unable to accept what he would substitute in their room. His theory is, only by comparison, a little less horrible than the one he would supplant; while, to us, it is fraught with even deeper difficulties, and plunges the great world of men into an abyss of even more absolute hopelessness; and we feel we must look for something better than a black funereal pall to throw over and close the destiny of the human race.

T. E. S.

ART. V.—THE LAST SEVEN YEARS OF DR. DUFF'S INDIAN CAREER.

1856-1863.

DR. DUFF returned to Calcutta February 16, 1856, and on the 3rd of March the Rev. Dr. Boaz, in the name of the missionary brethren assembled together in Conference, expressed the great delight and satisfaction experienced by them in seeing him again among them. They hoped and prayed that God would long preserve him, and increase his usefulness in India; and Dr. Duff expressed the great satisfaction he had in being again in the midst of the brethren. In the Calcutta Missionary Conference he had spent, so he assured them, some of the happiest hours of his life. He looked back with pleasure to its original establishment in the house of the Rev. W. H. Pearce, to the great good it had since then effected, as well as to evils it had prevented. For six more years it was still to profit from his wisdom, piety, zeal and experience. At that very meeting he propounded as a subject of discussion the question, "What is the nature and amount of the requirement embodied in the words of Paul, 'Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him'? and to what extent is practical compliance to this requirement given by professing Christians in the present day?" This subject was discussed at the June meeting; but it was considered of such importance that it was unanimously agreed to resume the consideration of it at the July meeting, when, after a full and "a very interesting discussion", the immense importance of the injunction was unanimously acknowledged, and recorded on the minutes. At the April meeting, of which he was chairman, he very feelingly advocated greater punctuality and more regular attendance at the Conference prayer-meeting, an advocacy which many a missionary has had to undertake since then. It was at the same meeting that Lord Dalhousie's answer

to the Conference's parting address to his Lordship was read ; in the address they had thanked him for that Act which had secured that the natives of the country on becoming Christians should not be disinherited, or lose their ancestral rights and privileges. They had also congratulated him on the introduction of railways, electric telegraphs and a uniform system of cheap postage, as also on his successful efforts to suppress female infanticide and to introduce female education. They had pressed on his attention, for consideration after his return to England, the lamentable condition of the peasantry of Bengal, as a subject requiring the immediate and the most careful attention of Government. Lord Dalhousie's reply is dated from "on board the "Feroz, March 7, 1856", and contains these gracious words, addressed to the now venerable Dr. Wenger ;—

"I request you to take a fitting opportunity to assure the Conference that I have felt sensibly the compliment which has been offered to me by that assembly. Standing apart from the influences of secular politics—calm spectators of the course of events—and unbiassed judges of the acts and motives of those who are set in high places and sustain the responsibility of rule, the members of your profession are able to bear a testimony distinct in many respects from that which may be given by other bodies in the community. It is therefore most gratifying and encouraging to me to learn from yourselves, through the honorable channel of a public address, that my conduct, during my rule among you, has earned your approbation, and drawn forth an expression of your good wishes for me. Wherever I have gone in India I have found your missionary brethren giving devoted and faithful labors to the service of their heavenly Master, and I pray that their labors may produce abundant fruit in due season."

Signed—"DALHOUSIE."

At the same April meeting at which this reply was read, there was also read a letter from Cecil Beadon, Esq., C.S. (afterwards Sir Cecil), Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, informing the Conference, in answer to an address of theirs dated August, 1852, that the Rs. 23,321 given by Government to the temple of Jagannath was not a donation, but simply a compensation for lands and duties at one time belonging to the temple, but by the British Government resumed; of which sum Rs. 6,804 was appropriated by the local authorities for the maintenance of the police. The remainder (Rs. 16,517) was to be obtained from lands to be entrusted to the Raja of Khurda and his successors, as superintendents of the temple. The deed by which a part of the Khurda estate, in accordance with the above promise, was transferred to the temple of Jaggannath in lieu of the Rs. 16,517 was referred to at the March meeting as an accomplished fact. Thus the connection of Government with the idolatry practised at Puri was severed for ever.

In 1856 the Sultan of Turkey professed to give full religious toleration to his subjects, contrary to the traditions of all Muham-

madan rule, and, what is more, contrary to what was generally understood as the rule of the Koran. Sir Culling E. Eardley, Bart., a well known and excellent gentleman, interested himself very much in the matter. He had heard from some "old Indians" that the Indian Musalmans were ready to declare that they did not consider that the death penalty for apostasy from Muhammadanism was demanded by their religion. Believing this, he thought that if an authoritative declaration was obtained from Indian *maulavis*, etc., to the effect that the infliction of death on apostates is not a necessity of Muhammadanism, but only an incident of the connection between the Muhammadan religion and the Government of Turkey, and if this opinion was in every way satisfactory, it would do great good to circulate it among Muhammadans at Constantinople, Beyrout, Jerusalem, and other places in the Turkish Empire, by strengthening the reforming party in Turkey, including the Turkish Government itself. Dr. Duff had been one of eight or nine representative men of various nationalities who had signed at Paris memorials to the governments of Christendom and to the Sultan himself on this very subject. As one who was also identified, among Christians of every name, with the cause of the Gospel in the East, Sir Culling thought that Dr. Duff was the man to collect the necessary information, and to obtain and forward the required declaration. Dr. Duff was accordingly written to, on behalf of the Evangelical Alliance, by the worthy baronet; and he at once entered most heartily into the scheme. He brought the matter before the Missionary Conference in June, when it was resolved that all missionaries qualified by personal knowledge of Muhammadanism, and other learned men accessible to them, be applied to for the required information; and more particularly (1) as to whether Indian Muhammadans regard it as their law that a convert from Islam to another faith must be punished with death; and (2) if such be the law, whether it be ever carried into effect in India. Dr. Duff records the names of a large number of missionaries, scattered all over the country, who helped him in this matter, but particularly the Rev. Mr. Pfander, of Peshawar, and Mr. (now Sir) William Muir, C.S., of Agra, who of all men in India, without disparagement to others, were the most conversant with Muhammadan literature and religious opinion. Dr. Duff and his friend Mr. Lacroix took every means in their power to obtain the most correct information on the subject from the highest Musalman authorities in the country; and the result of it was that it was declared that always the understood law of all Muhammadan states in India was that apostasy from Islam on the part of a born Muhammadan, even were he to repent, was to be punished with death; and that apostasy on the part of the convert to Islam was to be punished with death unless he sincerely repented

—the only difference of opinion being as to the space of time that ought to be allowed for repentance. This was the case in regard to all *male* apostates. The *female* apostate, on the other hand, should she repent, was to be spared and restored; but should she not repent she was to be incarcerated, and usually to be daily chastised, until she became penitent or died. The Indian Musalman authorities asserted that it is, and ever was, the duty of Moslem rulers to punish with death both unbelievers and apostates; but that, as in India the Muhammadan rule was never fully complete, it could not be fully acted on. Still, the unanimous opinion of all learned Musalmans was (and we suppose is) that the law, as generally understood, still existed, and authorized the punishment of death to be inflicted on apostates, whether they were converted Hindus or born Moslems. Further, Muhammadans generally considered the religious liberty granted by the British Government as opposed to their law; and they regarded it as a grievance that they were restrained by the British Government from the use of physical force either for the propagation of their religion, or the punishment of born Muhammadans who renounced it, or of those who having embraced it apostatized from it. All their inquiries went also to show that the Muhammadans in India when in power did not make any exception from the rule of all independent Muhammadan governments, viz., the putting to death of all apostates. Though the duty was generally regarded as *public*, and not *private*, yet they came across one instance in which it seemed to be regarded as a *private* duty:—

“A maulavi of Dacca belonging to the Ferazi sect, having embraced Christianity, excited their intolerant hatred; a number of the Ferazis met the apostate, shortly after, in some part of the Dacca district, in company with one of the Baptist native preachers, and *demanding the right to take away his life*. They even brought with them a copy of the Koran, and, opening it at the passage where it inculcates the death of every apostate, attempted to satisfy the preacher that *they were about to perform a religious duty*. It was after much difficulty and sundry threats, that he succeeded in diverting them from their object for the time being. No time, therefore, was lost in returning to the town, where the interference of the British magistrate was sought to protect the new convert from the persecution of his former co-religionists. Of course this *interference* of the British authorities with what they believed to be *the religious requirements of their faith* was regarded by them as *a sore religious grievance*.”

The next subject associated with Dr. Duff's name in the Missionary Conference minutes is also of perennial interest. After discussing the principles which should guide missionaries and missionary societies in fixing the salaries of native catechists, preachers and ministers, Dr. Duff proposed the appointment of a small committee to consider the whole matter and report. Of this committee he himself was requested to act as convener. At the following meeting he reported, but the committee was re-

appointed, with instructions to prepare a statement of principles, and also another on the maximum and minimum rates of salary. At the October meeting the statement of principles was unanimously adopted by the Conference; but though it was also moved and seconded that the declaration as to the application of these principles, so far as agreed on by the committee, be also adopted, yet, after some conversation on the subject, it was agreed that it be only received, entered on the record, and printed in the *Observer*, along with the statement of principles. These papers are of great practical importance, but the space at our disposal will not allow us to give even a summary of the principles laid down by Dr. Duff. Both statements are in the Conference minutes and in the *Observer*.

Dr. Duff's mind, though at home in the consideration of such high questions, could also bend to take deepest interest in such a question as he proposed at the September meeting:—
“What rational recreations of a social kind might be suggested in the case of native Christians in lieu of the irrational recreations of heathenism?” This was discussed at the October meeting, when it is recorded that Dr. Duff expressed his satisfaction that it had been brought before the Conference, inasmuch as various suggestions of a useful and practical kind were thrown out. He hoped, therefore, that the discussion would not prove barren of results. Long before such athletic exercises as are common at home had been introduced into any other Indian schools, the Free Church Institution provided apparatus for the amusement of the children, which were also serviceable for gymnastic and athletic purposes. Such and other similar apparatus are now common in Calcutta schools and colleges, and also in some of the provincial colleges; this movement, which has been so largely successful, is later than Dr. Duff's time, but is greatly due to help and encouragement received from the Free Church Institution, and the spirit and traditions which Dr. Duff left behind him there. Intimately connected with this was his reference, at the following February meeting of Conference, to the *charak* (or swinging) *puja*, when he asked the Conference to memorialize the Legislative Council of India on the subject. The Conference unanimously agreed, and Mr. MacLeod Wyllie was appointed to draw up the petition. It was accordingly prepared, and ordered to be presented to Government, but, the Mutiny having broken out, it was afterwards agreed to postpone its presentation for six months. The matter was not allowed to sleep, but we need not follow its course to the ultimate success which it attained. At the meeting of April, 1860, Dr. Duff had the satisfaction to draw the attention of the Conference to the minute of the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject, and proposed that the Conference should

acknowledge the movement on the part of His Honor, but should take occasion to remonstrate at the same time against the granting of *charak puja* holidays as public holidays. A paper was accordingly drawn up on the basis proposed by Dr. Duff, and sent up to Government. This movement proved ultimately successful; the evils complained of have been put down by the strong arm of Government, and the *charak puja* holidays are things of the past.

At the same meeting of Conference at which Dr. Duff had brought up this subject, and at his suggestion, Mr. MacLeod Wyllie was requested, in the name of the Conference, to draw up a petition in favor of what was called the *Sale Law*, relating to the insecurity of the tenure of land in Bengal, a bill which was expected to greatly improve the condition of the ryots. This petition was presented through Mr. John Peter Grant, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor, a great friend of the ryots. Another petition was presented at the same time, in the interests of Christians and Christian missionaries, against the supposed over-severity of the religious clauses (chap. XV.) of the Penal Code, just published. Dr. Duff read a statement on the subject before the Conference of September, 1860, and a committee, of which he was convener, was appointed to consider the matter, as also a proposed Act for a summary process to give access to children; they failed in their first object, in mitigating the severity of the Penal Code clauses on religion, but succeeded in securing that the process complained of in the matter of access to children should be materially simplified. On one occasion, shortly after my arrival in the country, Dr. Duff sent me to Mr. Wyllie, requesting him to instruct me as to the best method of protecting the person, the family and the property of a young man just baptized by Dr. Duff, whose wife the villagers had taken away, and who threatened to stone the man himself if he attempted to occupy his house after his baptism. At Mr. Wyllie's advice, I read to them those very sections of the Code which some had expected would be used against Christians and Christian missionaries, and told them that the young man would, as heretofore, do all in his power to further the best interests of the village, but he would not allow himself to be deprived of his civil privileges and his ancestral rights and property. By the combination of firmness and kindness we succeeded in pacifying the enraged crowd gathered around us. And since then the young man has been allowed to live peaceably among them, and to help forward, in various ways, the best interests of his fellow-villagers, a number of whom through his influence have since then become Christians.

At the September (1856) meeting of Conference, the missionaries agreed to a memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal,

praying for a commission to inquire into the influence of the indigo cultivation on the well-being of the native rural population of Bengal. The Conference had collected a mass of information on the subject, from which they had come to the conclusion that the cause of truth and justice was suffering, that the rights of the cultivators of the soil to equitable and humane—not to speak of Christian—treatment were practically denied to many of them. The British Indian Association sent up a similar memorial to Government. These memorials were forwarded to the Governor-General by the Bengal Government, recommending non-compliance with the petitions. This recommendation the Governor-General adopted, in these words :—

“The Governor-General in Council has read and deliberated upon these documents with the care and attention due to the importance of the subject they treat of, and to the excellent and earnest men by whom the memorial has been presented; and he has arrived at the conclusion that the course recommended by the memorialists, while likely to give rise to very serious evils, would fail to secure or forward in any degree the end at which the Government, no less than the memorialists, aim, viz., the moral and social improvement of the people.”

The Lieutenant-Governor was accordingly requested “to inform the reverend missionaries that His Lordship cannot consent to the appointment of a commission for the purpose indicated in the memorial.”

On the motion of Mr. Wyllie, seconded by Dr. Duff, the Missionary Conference unanimously resolved that, inasmuch as the Government of Bengal had in an unqualified manner refused to accede to the reasonable request of the Conference, a petition be prepared for the ensuing meeting of Parliament, embodying the facts stated in the memorial, and praying for the appointment of a royal commission to secure the ends sought by that memorial, and that A. Kinnaird, Esq., M.P., be requested to present the petition to the House of Commons. The petition was accordingly prepared, and forwarded to England by the close of December, and discussed in Parliament in June, 1857. The missionaries continued to agitate the matter until their petition was granted. A minute of April, 1860, represents Dr. Duff as bringing up again before the Conference the state of the agricultural districts, and the proposal in the Legislative Council to appoint the long-demanded commission of inquiry, and asking the Conference to come to a clear understanding as to what they should do in order to make such an inquiry effective; on which they agreed on a committee to draw up a short memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor, and to note down and collect information of all kinds. The commission was appointed, and included as one of its members the Rev. J. Sale (a Baptist missionary and a member of the Conference). It resulted, we believe, very largely in the amelioration of the condition of the

poor ryot. The other members were Sir Richard Temple, the present Governor of Bombay, W. F. Fergusson, Esq., and Babu Chand Mohan Chatterjea, Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr, C.S., being president. Among the most valuable evidence taken before it was that of Sir Ashley Eden, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

At their meeting in November, 1860, Dr. Duff gave a narrative of the circumstances that had led to the appointment of the Indigo Commission, and of the highly satisfactory manner in which these gentlemen had discharged their important duties. He then moved that the Conference adopt the report submitted by their own committee on the subject, and offer their thanks to the committee for their diligence, and in particular that the warmest acknowledgments of the Conference should be presented to the Rev. Mr. Sale for his very valuable and efficient services as one of the members of the Indigo Commission. This motion was unanimously agreed to. The excitement occasioned by the part the Conference, and more particularly individual missionaries, had taken in this matter was most intense. The missionaries came in for a great deal of abuse and calumny from their own countrymen. One of them, the Rev. James Long, was prosecuted, and, as it was immediately after almost universally admitted, most unjustly sent to an Indian common jail, for the part he took in the matter. As the subject is one of the *causes célèbres* in Indian missions, and indeed in Indian history, we will go a little into the details of it.

In the beginning of 1861, when the indigo controversy was at its height, a copy of the Bengali drama called the *Nil Darpan* (the "Indigo Mirror") was sent to Mr. Long (C. M. S.), who had before this distinguished himself in the work of improving, purifying and classifying vernacular literature, and who had frequently called the attention of Government and of others to the immense and growing importance of the native press, as well as to the nature and character of its contents, "considering "it", as Lord William Bentinck called it, "an index and safety-valve for the public mind." Mr. Long regarded the *Nil Darpan* as an expression of native opinion; and he and others thought it desirable that native feelings and interests on the subject should be known. It was accordingly translated and published under the editorship of Mr. Long. About a dozen copies were sent from the Bengal Office to persons in India, and a hundred and fifty copies sent to England, all of them very unwisely franked by Government. Almost all the most objectionable passages in the original were struck out from the translation, though some passages were left giving the very common opinions of natives concerning the freedom accorded to European ladies. In the author's preface there was also a charge preferred

against two newspapers of being in the pay of the planters to the extent of Rs. 1,000. The planters and their friends met and resolved to pay for an indictment against Mr. Long, in the name of the editor of the *Englishman*. On the 19th of July the Supreme Court held, as it is called, "its first State Trial." And, singularly enough, the first indictment for libel in the courts of India was in the name of the editor of an English newspaper, who had the advantage of forbidding the defendant to attempt the proof of his statements. The prosecutors had it, therefore, all their own way. Mr. Long admitted that he had published the work in question. The Judge, Sir Mordaunt Wells, told the jury that he would not pronounce whether the work was a libel or not, and then called it "a foul and disgusting libel", and proceeded to abuse both the book and its editor in very violent language. In arrest of judgment Mr. Long read a calm, well reasoned statement of his connection with the native press in general, and this work in particular, and his motives in publishing it, but the Judge prevented his reading the whole of his statement, as he contended that the defence on which he was entering was irrelevant. He was found guilty "of wilfully and maliciously libelling the proprietors of the *Englishman* and *Harkaru* newspapers, and, under the second count, of libelling with the same intent a class of persons designated as the indigo planters of Lower Bengal." He charged him with having been "actuated by a feeling of animosity towards the indigo planters in publishing and circulating such a gross and scandalous libel." "It is quite impossible to realize", said he, "fully the irreparable mischief you have occasioned by causing this to be circulated in England." The sentence pronounced was in these words:—"The sentence is that you pay a fine of Rs. 1,000 to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and that you be imprisoned in the common jail of Calcutta for the period of one calendar month, and that you be further imprisoned till the fine is paid." The fine was at once paid by Babu Kali Prosunno Singh, and it is asserted that there were many other native gentlemen in Court anxious to pay it. It was a most remarkable circumstance that not only was Mr. Long himself engaged largely in purifying, as we have said, the native press of everything that was offensive, but that it was he also who had applied for, and had obtained, the enactment of the law for the suppression of the sale of vile books of all kinds. The prosecution had warned the missionaries by the example of Mr. Smith of Demerara, as one who had incited the slaves to disaffection, and had suffered the extreme penalty of the law—forgetting that very soon after the walls of the House of Commons resounded with the eloquence of Sir James Mackintosh and Henry Brougham, and the spirit of England was aroused, so that

nothing probably contributed so much to the downfall of West Indian slavery as the death of the missionary Smith. Has it not been largely so in the case before us? Mr. Long during his confinement in jail wrote a bulky pamphlet, entitled *Strike but Hear!* in which he says:—

“The ryot knows not *his ruler's language*; he has long been accustomed to be treated as a man who must submit to the requirements of the planter; and he has no political influence to support his petitions. The missionary sees him reduced from his rightful condition of a peasant proprietor to that of a serf; he finds him ignorant, and unable to read those blessed records which impart light to the conscience and to the understanding; and so depressed that he will not listen to the Gospel, or so suspicious of the British settler that he can scarcely believe that his religion can be a blessing. Then, I ask, is the missionary not to plead for him, not to make his sufferings known—not to try to elevate, enlighten and protect him?”

Many of the planters of Lower Bengal, it was believed, were not in circumstances to give up the cultivation of indigo without ruin; and it could not be carried on without loss. It was not a paying concern. The question then was, who should bear the loss, the planter or his ryots? The missionaries therefore believed that in very many cases the ryots were forced to bear the loss; they consequently justified Mr. Long's motives in seeking to draw the attention of Government here, and of influential men at home, to the ryot's view of the matter, though they did not wholly approve of all the steps taken by Mr. Long and his Government friends in the matter. At a full meeting (twenty-five members present) of the Conference, called at Dr. Duff's suggestion to consider this matter, and held on the 30th of July, 1861, Dr. Duff in the chair, a number of resolutions were adopted on the subject. In the first the members of the Conference expressed their regret for the prosecution, their confidence in the perfect accuracy of Mr. Long's statement, and deeply regretted that “after
“that statement had appeared he should have been subjected to a
“prosecution, especially by a form of procedure which has been
“characterized as the harshest known to English law.” While regretting that Mr. Long had not sufficiently guarded the reader against supposing that the sentiments of the drama were the editor's own, they expressed their sympathy with him and assured him of their continued affection and respect. In their second resolution they expressed their entire concurrence with Mr. Long in “his appreciation of the importance of the native press, and
“of a watchful attention to its productions. If the action of the
“recent trial should be to restrict freedom of action in the trans-
“lation and republication of native works, the Conference have
“reason to believe that serious detriment may ensue.” In their third resolution they lament exceedingly any estrangement between different classes of the community. Still they claim their right to point to the social condition of the

millions of Bengal. "And they cannot but believe that their motives in giving due attention to these and similar questions, as providential circumstances may suggest, will not be misconstrued by any who take into account the very peculiar circumstances of this country, or have at heart the welfare of its inhabitants." These resolutions are signed "Alexander Duff, *Chairman*, Joseph Mullens, *Secretary*."

The drama which caused all this storm in the political and missionary world of Bengal continues to be, every now and then, acted, with impunity, on the Bengali stage in Calcutta, even after the Dramatic Performance Act has become law.¹

¹ A gentleman of Calcutta, now a merchant, then an indigo planter, has kindly furnished the following note with reference to the "indigo controversy" of 1860. He was at the time a lay member of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, and naturally took the side of the planters in the discussion. We may add that the note which follows was written in perfect ignorance of what has been stated in the text above, and is consequently a perfectly free and unbiassed expression of opinion; and there is no one, we are sure, whose judgment is more entitled to confidence than that of the author of this note:—

"Many years have passed since the indigo question ceased to interest the public in Bengal, and those who lived in Calcutta in 1860 are scarcely credited now when they describe how the English society of the Presidency town was divided by it into two parties, between which little love was lost, one supporting the planter, the other in favor of the ryot; so that when the lady of a house was about to give a dinner party she had to ascertain from her husband which of the two sides this or that proposed guest had espoused, before issuing her invitations, so great was the risk of acrimonious discussion if those holding opposite views met at the same table. The writer, who was a resident of Calcutta at the time, well remembers that such was really the case. Into the forgotten merits of the question, it is not our province to enter. During the year 1860 so numerous and serious were the outbreaks on the part of ryots against planters throughout the indigo districts that a series of Acts was passed by Government, under the operation of which the disturbances gradually ceased, and the Province enjoyed throughout its borders peace and quiet to a degree probably unknown at any previous period of its history, nor has that peace been disturbed to this day.

"That the ryot has been the gainer, the planter the loser, by the legislation referred to cannot be gainsaid, and there can be no more unanswerable proofs of this than the ruined indigo factories to be met with throughout the indigo districts, known to have been in full operation till within the last fifteen years. We have it, however, on the authority of an English planter of much experience, who took an active part in the discussion of the question at the time referred to, and has been compelled to abandon indigo cultivation, owing to the changes introduced in the system under the Acts to which we have alluded, that he is unable to say what the ryots have gained more than they were entitled to as our free fellow-subjects, or what rights or advantages the planter has lost which it would have been for the good of the community at large that he should have retained, seeing that no community can really benefit by the continuance of a system the support of which necessitates injustice or oppression towards any portion of it.

"It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that the ryot has been the only gainer, as it would be difficult to name a single class of the population which has not benefitted by the legislation of the years 1860, 1861,

In their petition against the Bill on Contracts, dated March, 1861, the missionaries, headed by Dr. Duff, represented themselves as having on several occasions presented petitions, both to the Executive Government and the Legislature, respecting public measures that affected the conditions of various classes of the community, especially when the peculiarities of that condition have had an important bearing upon the progress of Christianity. The missionaries of the present day, however, seem unwilling to touch anything which does not bear directly on Christianity. The contention of the missionaries of 1861 with Government was that the Contract Bill would "complicate" prevailing difficulties, and still further endanger the peace of "the country, by exciting new fears respecting the future in the" minds of the people, already embittered by the experience of "the past." They expressed their conviction that while wise

and 1862. The multiplication of civil and criminal courts, bringing justice within reach of the dwellers in almost every part of the country; the establishment of a numerous and disciplined police force, so employed that river dacoity and agrarian outrage, so frequent of old, are alike things of the past; these are but a sample of the points of that legislation, but it needs not that we should pursue the subject.

"The missionaries would have been more than men had they manifested no interest in a controversy which was taken up with such warmth by their countrymen, nor is it surprising that they were found on the side of those whom they had been led to regard as the oppressed. Several of them had lived at missionary stations in the neighborhood of which indigo cultivation was carried on, and bore personal testimony to what they had witnessed of the evils connected with it. That some of these exhibited more zeal than discretion in the part which they took in the controversy is not denied, but the majority contented themselves with supporting the memorial submitted to Government by the Missionary Conference, drawing its attention to the oppression which accompanied the system of indigo cultivation in many quarters, and praying for its interference in order that such oppression might be put down.

"Amongst those whose views were expressed with caution and moderation was the subject of this article, Dr. Duff, who signed the memorial as Chairman of the Conference. Though the well known ardor of his nature, and the sympathy with which he was ever ready to espouse the cause of the weak and oppressed, would have led to the expectation that he would be amongst the most outspoken of the supporters of the ryot, the survivors of those who were members of the Conference at that time testify how earnestly he sought to make himself master of the whole subject, how ready he was to be corrected as to any misapprehension which he had formed, to make every reasonable allowance for the difficulties of the planters' position, and to give full credit to the efforts of those of their number well known to be honestly endeavoring to act fairly by their ryots. He made no secret of his conviction that the system was one which stood self-condemned, though he would no more join those who condemned the whole body of indigo planters as equally guilty, than he would be found with those who accepted as true every complaint of oppression brought forward by the ryot. His attitude throughout, in regard to this question, was in every respect worthy of the honesty of his purpose, as of the womanly tenderness of his nature."

measures might tend to mitigate existing evils, no effectual remedy could be found for their complete removal except in the intellectual, moral and spiritual improvement of the masses by a course of sound Christian education, which the petitioning missionaries promised to do their utmost to promote.

The relation of missionaries to social and political questions was dwelt on in an address by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society to a company of missionaries starting at this time for India, China and Turkey. In this address they tell very plainly that their missionaries' message embraced the temporal, as well as the spiritual, interests of their converts, for godliness hath the "promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come"; and that the missionary has also a message to declare, on proper occasions, to those in authority, on their responsibility to God, by whose ordinance they exercise the right of government. "However earnestly, therefore," said the Committee, "the faithful missionary may strive to confine himself to his one great work, he is liable to be involved in many questions of a social and political kind; and he cannot always escape the reproach cast upon his divine Master and upon his apostles of being the enemy of Cæsar, and of turning the world upside down." The difficulty which a Christian missionary always finds in shaping his course in such matters is much increased in seasons of national, political or social excitement. Dr. Duff opened a discussion on this very subject in the August (1860) meeting of Conference,—“To what extent may missionaries interfere in social questions?”—when a lengthened conversation, we are informed, ensued, and there was a general agreement on all great points, but we are not informed as to what those great points were.

Dr. Duff took the greatest interest in the Mutiny of 1857. He supplied the *Edinburgh Witness* with full accounts of it by every mail. His letters were afterwards printed in the form of a good-sized volume. We believe he supplied his own house at Cornwallis Square with rifles, and learned how to use them. The Institution in Nimtollah Street he also offered for the use of Government, if required. Fortunately neither the Institution nor his own services were needed. At the June meeting of the Conference he opened the discussion on the "Feelings with which Christian men should view the crisis in Indian affairs", when it was resolved that a special prayer-meeting be held in connection with it. At the following meeting he proposed two questions:—(1) "What sins on our part as a Christian people and nation may have provoked these judgments on the part of God?" and (2) "The light cast by these mutinies on the state of feeling and sentiment among the Muhammadan community, and the duty of Christians in reference thereto." It is in connection

with the first of these that we read that at the October meeting Dr. Duff delivered an address on the sins committed by the English nation in their dealings with India, and that the Conference suggested to Dr. Duff that it would be useful to prepare an address to the people of England, or a memorial to Parliament, describing the national sins, which ought to be corrected in the future government of the country.

At the following meeting he proposed for discussion the question,—“To what extent might the pretensions of Caste, whether in connection with the army, or the courts of law, or domestic economy, be utterly repudiated without infringing the rights of conscience?” The subject was fully discussed at the December meeting, when it was resolved to prepare a memorial on the subject, suitable for the people of England. Dr. Duff's practical recommendations were—(1) “that caste should be ignored, as far as possible, in army and school lists, in the description of witnesses, in courts of justice, in jails and the like”; and (2) “that all Government work should be given to men who possessed the best qualifications of intellect, heart and bodily vigor, without any reference to their caste origin; and caste ought never to be allowed as a plea for not doing any duty which the service of the State required to be accomplished.” All this, we believe, is now attended to, much more in Bengal than in any other part of India. No caste mark is seen in our schools or colleges, seldom on any native in a Government or merchant's office; many are even dispensing with the *poita*, or sacred thread. At the March (1858) meeting Dr. Duff read a full and elaborate statement on this subject, describing its evil influences, its powerful hold on the people, and the measures which should be adopted by the Government respecting it. The Conference adopted the paper with thanks, and requested Dr. Duff to endeavor to secure its publication at home in the way which he thought best.

At the February meeting (1858) Dr. Duff had the sad duty of drawing the attention of the Conference to the recent death of good Bishop Wilson. After describing his intense attachment to the leading principles of the Gospel, his decided stand against Puseyism from the first, his strong opposition to the demands of caste in the South India missions, and the growing catholicity of his spirit during the later years of his life, Dr. Duff suggested that some expression should be given by the Conference to the respect entertained of the venerable Bishop's memory. At the request of the Conference, Dr. Duff and Mr. Lacroix prepared a minute, which is recorded in the proceedings of the March meeting. There was always great cordiality and much coöperation between the two great leaders of Episcopalian and Presbyterian evangelism in Calcutta. Dr. Duff was ever

ready to welcome any signs of cordiality or coöperation, even from the more exclusive and less sympathetic representatives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, whenever he had the opportunity. And such an opportunity presented itself at the August meeting, when as Chairman he cordially welcomed the Rev. C. Driberg, of that Society.

Dr. Duff's interest in prayer and revival meetings was always warm. On hearing of the remarkable revival going on in America in 1858, he, along with several like-minded men, set about to do all in their power to bring down a similar blessing on Calcutta. One of those so-minded men was Mr. MacLeod Wyllie, a lay gentleman, already several times noticed in the course of this paper, who was ever ready to interest himself actively in every good work. In September, 1859, he introduced at great length to the Conference the subject of *Revivals*, after which, on the proposal of Dr. Duff, it was resolved to have social prayer-meetings every morning of the Durga Puja holidays in the large room attached to the Old Church (C. M. S.), where Mr. Somerville afterwards had his mid-day prayer-meetings. It was also resolved, at Dr. Duff's suggestion, if arrangements could be made, to have a series of meetings in the beginning of January, in answer to the invitation of the Ludiana brethren. A committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements, Dr. Duff being convener. He was at the same time on another committee appointed to take the whole matter of the monthly missionary Monday prayer-meetings into consideration, with a view to proposing such alterations as might appear to the committee proper, or likely to increase the interest of the public in these meetings. At the December meeting Dr. Duff laid on the table a lengthy report of the prayer-meetings held during the Durga Puja holidays, and the subsequent holidays in November. At the February meeting he proposed that prayer-meetings should be held at the Old Church Room on every Hindu holiday throughout the year. This was agreed to, and arrangements accordingly made for carrying out the proposal. In July, 1860, we find him again suggesting to the Conference that a proposition should emanate from the Calcutta missionaries in support of the proposal of the Ludiana brethren to hold prayer-meetings in the beginning of January throughout the world. This also was agreed to, and a committee (Dr. Duff convener) appointed to prepare a statement on the subject, to be forwarded to Europe and America. The report was given in at the next meeting, unanimously adopted, and arrangements made for forwarding the proposal to all parts of the world. In February, 1861, Dr. Duff introduced the subject of the morning prayer-meetings held on native holidays, and asked for the views of the Conference on the question whether it would be well to continue

them, or to intermit them for a time, stating various considerations that might be advanced on both sides of the question. Mr. Wyllie mentioned the arrangements lately made by Government (Act LIII. of 1860) with a view to discourage the observance of these native holidays. After full consideration of the whole case, it was resolved that these prayer-meetings be in the mean time suspended, the question of their renewal on special occasions being reserved for another day. At the following meeting of Conference Dr. Duff recommended that the Missionary Conference prayer-meetings be held, as of old, in the four places of worship—Circular Road, Union Chapel, Lal Bazar, and the Free Church; that from the close of the rainy season a special series of missionary lectures be commenced on a definite plan, and that meanwhile every effort should be made, both by preparation on the part of men, and of subjects of missionary addresses, to render the plan as efficient as possible. Dr. Duff himself was put down for the first of these lectures—subject *The Origin, Objects and Consummation of Missions*, for the 4th of November. Unfortunately, owing to a very severe attack of illness, he was unable to deliver it. He, however, delivered the first of the course for the following cold season, and it was my privilege to be present on the occasion. The subject was the Mission of John the Baptist and of Christ himself as preparatory to the Pentecostal conversions and the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. He held that a great deal of the work now done in India was of this character, and especially much of the work done in educational missions. In spite of much bodily weakness, he spoke with extraordinary energy, spirit and fire. Union Chapel was crowded on the occasion.

A committee of the Conference, of which Dr. Duff was convener, had been appointed in September, 1858, to arrange a series of lectures, on the model of the Exeter Hall plan, to be delivered to young men in the ensuing cold weather, with the view of moving the Christian community to pray for the outpouring of the Spirit.

At the following meeting Dr. Duff stated to the Conference that the Rev. Thomas Smith (now D.D.), his learned and laborious colleague in the Free Church Mission, and fellow-member of the Conference for nineteen years, had been suddenly obliged to return to Europe, on account of serious illness, leaving little room to expect that he would ever return to labor in India. Dr. Ewart was at this time at home, but returned by the close of the year, only, however, to die in less than two years thereafter. A little more than a twelvemonth afterwards the Rev. Dr. Mackay left the country, never to return. So that when I joined the Mission, early in 1862, none of the great fathers of the *Mission* remained save Dr. Duff himself. Dr. Thomas Smith is

still living in Edinburgh, the last of that illustrious band. But I am anticipating.

Though Dr. Duff's own work and that of his European colleagues was almost exclusively carried on in the English language and within the walls of the Institution, he gave a good deal of time to the study of Bengali, and with considerable success. I question, however, whether the time thus spent was spent to the greater good of the Mission, or the cause of Christ. It was spent, I have no doubt, very largely under pressure from without. Dr. Ewart spent still more time and money in the acquisition of Bengali, and he sometimes preached in it. I do not know that Dr. Duff ever preached in Bengali, but I believe that if the time which he and Dr. Ewart had given to Bengali had been devoted to English work the cause would have profited more than it could have done from anything which either of them could have done in Bengali. There are, in my opinion, greater and more hopeful openings in Calcutta to European missionaries of zeal, piety, talent and scholarship, in the English language than in the use of Bengali. Larger congregations of intelligent natives can be gathered on the streets of Calcutta to hear an English address than to hear a Bengali address. Such has been the experience of members of the Missionary Conference of late whenever they have tried it. But European missionaries can do a great deal in encouraging Bengali preachers and in training such. So when, at the April (1858) meeting of Conference, the measures that might be desirable and practicable for the extension of vernacular education on Christian principles were considered by the Conference, with special reference to a plan for the establishment of a normal school for the training of Christian teachers, Dr. Duff was made convener of a committee appointed to consider and report on the subject. At the June meeting he read his report, which was intended chiefly for the use of those Christian friends in Britain who were endeavoring to devise means for the furtherance of vernacular education in India. The report was adopted, with thanks to Dr. Duff and the other members of committee, and printed in the *Observer*, Dr. Duff undertaking to transmit copies to friends in England. This report issued in the establishment in the same year of the Christian Vernacular Education Society, so efficiently represented in India by its general Educational Agent, Dr. John Murdoch. Of this Society Dr. Duff before leaving India was on the committee of the Bengal branch, and after leaving India for good was one of the vice-presidents for many years. Dr. Duff was anxious, not only for the proper training of native missionaries, ministers and teachers,—to which purpose, to some extent, he made his Institution in Nimtollah Street subservient,—but also for the proper training of European missionaries. At

the July (1860) meeting of Conference this subject was brought up, and Messrs. Lewis, Long, Duff, Storrow and Woodrow were appointed a committee to prepare a list of books that might be useful in the training of missionaries intended for India. When their list of books was reported in November (1860), the Conference unanimously agreed that Dr. Duff, whose rare acquaintance with the books in question eminently fitted him for such a task, should be requested by the Conference to write out, at his convenience, such remarks as might appear to him calculated to indicate the value of these works, and the use that might be made of them in the training of missionaries, and afterwards that copies of this list, interspersed with these remarks, be sent to the directors of missionary societies in Europe and America. After returning to his own native land, he devoted a very large portion of his time to this very training; and one of his last wishes was that an Institute of a catholic character be set up for this purpose.

The Mutiny had now been suppressed, and the government of the country assumed by Her Majesty, and a Proclamation to that effect published among the many subject millions of the Crown. Dr. Duff thought that the attention of the Conference should be seriously directed to the new state of matters, and more especially to the Proclamation itself and its religious policy. This subject was accordingly introduced by Dr. Duff at the November meeting, when the Conference, while feeling that there was much to be thankful for in the Proclamation, regretted the statement that the interference of persons in authority with the belief or worship of the people would be visited with displeasure. It was not, however, deemed expedient to adopt any formal resolution on the subject, or to take any other step. The British Indian Association took up the other side of the question, and threatened to memorialize the British Parliament against any countenance whatever being given to missionaries. Dr. Duff drew the attention of the Conference to the fact, but apparently nothing came of it. A memorial, very numerously signed, was sent up from Madras to Government about the same time, praying that grants-in-aid be taken away from mission schools, as they tended to make the missionaries "elated", "arrogant", "offensive" and "irritating"; and that "Government officials might be restrained from taking part in "missionary proceedings on public anniversaries and meetings", inasmuch as the Proclamation contains "a clear, definite pledge", an "irrevocable guarantee for the inviolability of Hinduism."

The Conference took much interest in the subject of divorce and remarriage of converts. At their meeting of May, 1859, Dr. Duff and Mr. Lacroix were appointed to bring up *the matter* formally at the next meeting, when it was agreed that a

committee, of which Dr. Duff was convener, should wait on Sir Charles Jackson (who was supposed ready to bring in a Bill on the subject) for the purpose of ascertaining his views. At their meeting in December (1859) Dr. Duff reported that he had forwarded to Sir Charles the draft of a Divorce, etc., Act, with the amendments proposed or suggested by the Conference. After various discussions and delays, an Act was passed, and amended more than once, but the law on the subject is still far from satisfactory.

We have shown in our second Article on Dr. Duff that the native brethren on their being ordained by the Free Presbytery of Calcutta were at once, and as a matter of course, considered full members of Presbytery, as much entitled to enjoy all its rights and privileges as their venerable father, Dr. Duff. In the beginning of 1861 three native brethren having been ordained by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society as pastors of churches, or missionaries, the question was proposed to the Conference whether those brethren were eligible as members of Conference, no distinct rule having been laid down on the subject. On the motion of Dr. Duff it was unanimously resolved that these brethren and others similarly situated were quite eligible to become members of Conference, and that the Conference would offer them a hearty welcome. From that time native brethren have taken an active part in the proceedings of the Conference. The only regret is that they do not attend in larger numbers.

Two distinguished and most attached friends of Dr. Duff, and most valuable members of the Conference, entered on their rest, within little more than a twelvemonth of one another, about this time—the Rev. A. F. Lacroix, of the London Mission, a most efficient and devoted vernacular preacher, and the Rev. Dr. Ewart, of the Free Church Mission, a greatly beloved and most laborious educational missionary. The first died on the 8th of July, 1859. On the 24th, Dr. Duff preached his funeral sermon in Union Chapel, to an overflowing audience, on the words “A prince and a great man fallen in Israel.” The sermon was afterwards published, and had a wide circulation.

The same year Dr. Duff delivered one of a series of lectures in the General Assembly's Institution, Cornwallis Square. His subject was *Menu and Education*. Having been compelled to deliver it a week before the date fixed for it, he had not time to write it out in full, and it was not printed along with the others, which were delivered by MacLeod Wyllie, Esq., Dr. Kay, Professor Cowell, and the Bishop of Calcutta.

Dr. Ewart's death in September, 1860, was a great blow to Dr. Duff, in the removal not only of his dearest colleague, but also of him who was his most efficient helper in the great educational

work in which the Mission was engaged. The suddenness of his removal by cholera added to the poignancy of his grief. At the October meeting of Conference Dr. Duff expressed his own great thankfulness, as well as of the other members of the Mission with which he was connected, for the deep sympathy which had been manifested towards them in their affliction, both by the brethren of the Conference, and also by many others in Calcutta.

At the meeting of Conference held March 5, 1861, Dr. Duff, followed by Mr. MacLeod Wyllie, laid before the brethren the tendencies of the *talukdari* system, then so much in favor with Government, especially when viewed in connection with the wish of the Government to give to landholders the appointments of honorary magistrates, and desired the Conference to enter a *caveat* against any sacrifice of the rights of the poor. The Bill also providing imprisonment for breaches of contracts in growing and delivering agricultural produce was described, and the Conference, after some discussion, resolved that a petition should be presented against it. To this petition we have referred above. At the same meeting Dr. Duff gave for discussion the question, "What are the causes which render it more difficult to Christianize already civilized nations than nations which are barbarous?" He introduced this question at length at the August meeting, but the full consideration of it was adjourned till the September meeting, when it received justice from all the members present.

At the August meeting he pleaded in behalf of the American missionaries, whose missions were in pecuniary straits because of the fratricidal war carried on between the Northern and Southern States of America.

The Indigo Commission restricted its operations to inquiries concerning the cultivation of indigo, the evils resulting therefrom, and the suggesting of suitable remedies. The missionaries believed, from information in their possession, that there were many other evils to be redressed, to which the attention of Government should be directed in connection with the state of the peasantry in Lower Bengal. We read accordingly that at the meeting of Conference held June 4th, 1861, Dr. Duff suggested whether, considering what the Conference had already done in reference to the dissatisfaction which had long existed in Bengal, and which had now broken out in a very alarming manner, the Conference, in order to follow up its previous measures, should not request the Government to issue a commission to inquire into the state of Bengal. He accordingly gave notice that he would bring the subject specially before the next meeting. This he did, and explained at length his views respecting the transmission of a memorial to the

Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, asking for a full inquiry into the social state of its many millions of people. He laid on the table such a memorial as he would recommend, and proposed it for consideration. After a full discussion of the matter, the memorial was adopted, signed, and sent to the Lieutenant-Governor. In this memorial, as in that of 1856, the missionaries declared the sorrow with which they regarded the social condition of the native population of the Bengal Presidency; and they prayed for—

“A searching inquiry into all the causes that affected the condition of the people, especially into the state of the police and the judicial systems; the power and influence of the zamindars and planters, and how those powers were used; the resources and earnings of the laboring classes, and the proportion which they bore to the rent that they were compelled to pay; the harassing exactions and oppression to which the poor were subject; the landed tenures, the extension of the Government sales of ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs among a people once celebrated for temperance; the actual extent to which education was provided for the masses; and the means of alleviating the sufferings and elevating the condition of the people.”

Since their memorial of 1856 had been sent up, the native army had mutinied and had been put down; the Sale and Rent laws and the Small Cause Court Act had paved the way for material changes in the relations of different classes of the community; the first railway through the country had been opened; prices had risen greatly; there was increasing activity manifested in several branches of agricultural and commercial industry; the Indigo Commission had sat, searched, examined and reported; and there were other valuable reports from public officers. All these combined, it was thought, to make the appointment of a commission of inquiry expedient. The memorial was signed by twenty members of the Conference. On the 30th of July Dr. Duff and Dr. Mullens waited by appointment on His Honor, and explained to him the aim and objects of the memorial. In the beginning of 1862 the Bengal Government sent in their reply, which was to the effect that the Lieutenant-Governor had contemplated asking the Government of India to place the subject of the memorial in the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Baird Smith, to be treated somewhat in the manner in which that officer had treated the matters which came under his review in the course of his deputation to the N. W. Provinces. But Colonel Baird Smith's death had prevented the execution of that plan. This intention the Lieutenant-Governor had formed as the result of his interview with Dr. Duff and Dr. Mullens. The matter was up, as far as I can learn, for the last time at the meeting of May, 1863, when, on the proposal of Dr. Duff, it was agreed that as the subject was not one of immediate importance, and as several measures of amelioration were then at work, it was better to defer the renewal of the memorial till it was more urgently

called for. A few months thereafter Dr. Duff left Calcutta, never to return. Before leaving, and while this matter was still before the Conference, Dr. Duff's attention, as a member of sub-committee, was directed to the Christianization of Indian emigrants in the colonies, with the view of finding out what openings there might be in the Mauritius and the West Indies for the reception, employment and support of such native Christian agents as might be found willing to proceed thither. He also brought before the Conference the subject of the exposure of the Hindu system in the Maharaj Libel Case at Bombay, and offered copies of the report of the trial, which a gentleman had reprinted for that purpose, for distribution among missionaries. Circumstances connected with his own work as a missionary directed his attention to the question, "Under what circumstances would the baptism of adult heathen in private, with or without witnesses, be warranted?" He accordingly brought it before the Conference, and it was discussed at length in the November meeting, when it was agreed that a resolution embodying the views of the Conference be drawn up by the Secretary and submitted to a future meeting. But there was no minute on the subject even recorded, as far as I am able to discover.

A few months before Dr. Duff left Calcutta he was brought into very undesirable prominence through the action of one of the Judges of the High Court—the same who had passed judgment a few years before on Mr. Long. He, in the most gratuitous manner, thought fit to bring the most unfounded charges against Dr. Duff in open court. A young man of the name of Heru Nath Bose had been brought under the power of Christian truth, through friendly intercourse with a native Christian student. Heru Nath made repeated application to the Rev. Lal Behari Day to be received into the community of Christians. At last, with the approbation of Dr. Duff, he was received into a house set apart for young converts and candidates for baptism, under Mr. Day's charge. Heru Nath at the time wanted a few months of being sixteen years of age. He was very intelligent, and had made good progress in his studies—for he was in the highest class of the senior department of one of the best Hindu schools of Calcutta, a class corresponding to what is generally known as the University entrance class. He remained in the Mission house for some days, during which his father and other relatives had the freest access to him. But, in spite of all their efforts to persuade him to forsake his Christian friends, he persisted in declaring his determination to be a Christian, and refused out and out to go with his father. The latter at last seemed to acquiesce in the son's decision. He departed, saying to Dr. Duff that he himself had no objection to his son becoming a Christian,

but adding, "I am glad to get rid of my son. He is a very wicked boy." The matter was not, however, to end so. For, two or three days thereafter, a writ of *habeas corpus* was taken out against Dr. Duff and Mr. Day by the father, who accused them of detaining his son in order to induce him to "abjure the Hindu religion, his son being still a minor (15 years 2 months and 9 days), and incapable of forming a correct judgment on the step he was advised to take." The writ was returnable next day (June 23), and Dr. Duff and Mr. Day proceeded to the Court, accompanied by the young man. According to the last decision given by the High Court on a similar case, only a few years before, the law seemed to be very plain. Heru Nath would be examined, and if found intelligent, fully understanding what he was about, he would be allowed to choose his own domicile; and he would certainly choose to live with the Christians. Dr. Duff, through his lawyer, accordingly asked that the boy be examined. The Judge, however, absolutely refused to examine the youth, but proceeded at once, in the most offensive manner, to "regret extremely", with pious horror, "to see a gentleman of such extreme philanthropy and kindness placed as Dr. Duff is to-day." He hesitated not to call in question the veracity of the solemn statement made by Dr. Duff in his return to the writ; he accused him of "taking away" the youth, and of "keeping him away", and of using illegal influence over him, to "induce him to abjure the Hindu religion", insinuated that "the child" had been entrusted by the father to Dr. Duff with the view of his being trained, on a tacit understanding that the youth's religion was not to be interfered with; though every one who cared to know anything about the matter knew that the lad had never been to a mission school, and had never received a lesson from Dr. Duff on Christianity or anything else. He further charged him with "cultivating unnatural feelings in the bosom of the child, and of repressing the love of the parent." He insinuated that missionaries as a class were kidnappers. "He thought that the time had come" when a stop must be put to this; otherwise "we should have a system of forcible conversions carried on in India, the consequences of which would be lamentable indeed." "A mother", however ignorant or idolatrous she might be, was "ten thousand times more *useful* than all the missionaries in influencing the religion of a child." Not satisfied with abusing the two missionaries before him, and then the whole class to which they belonged, he proceeded to abuse the converts to Christianity. "Every one", said he, "knew that there were hundreds in the country professing Christianity who were Hindus in heart." Such are samples of the style and matter of the judgment delivered in connection with this case. Those who heard it support us in saying that the *reported* speech, from

which the above is culled, was very materially softened down, the more declamatory *ad captandum* passages being omitted altogether; while the gesture, attitude and tone were, if possible, still more expressive of the animus that influenced the Judge. The Hindu community were, however, in ecstasy—the missionaries were condemned on that very point in regard to which they were most offensive to them; and the young man was handed over to the Hindu father. Their rejoicings were but short-lived. The Missionary Conference recorded and published their sense of grief and indignation at the Judge's insinuations and charges against Dr. Duff and Mr. Day, and offered them their cordial sympathies; repudiated the charges brought against themselves and against the converts; contended that law and equity were on the side of Dr. Duff and Mr. Day, and the youth, and not on the father's side; they deplored the animus and want of dignity and calmness which become Her Majesty's judges, and the solemnity which in the performance of so sad a duty would have graced the brow of a Christian judge. They dwelt upon the fact that the youthful heart is preëminently capable of appreciating both the love of Christ in giving his life as a propitiation for our sins, and the consequent claims of Christ upon our confidence, our gratitude, our obedience, and our public profession of his name; and that when a Hindu youth is convinced of his duty to renounce idolatry and every other sin, and to become a disciple of Christ, no man has a right to absolve him from the performance of that duty; and that, if it is his duty to become a disciple of Christ, no minister of the Gospel has a right to tell him that he must abstain from doing what God commands, even though man should forbid. As to the age at which the youth's responsibility is taken upon himself, the missionaries referred to the facts that among Hindus young people at fourteen, and earlier, are allowed to select their own tutelary deity, even though it be different from that of their parents; that Protestant Christians are confirmed and allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper at fifteen and earlier; that in England the responsibility in the matter of crime is fully established at the age of fourteen, and that the Indian Penal Code has fixed on the close of the twelfth year. Even the counsel retained by the father is quoted as saying—"that the simple inquiry ought to be as to whether 'the child' had, or had not, arrived at years of discretion. The English age of discretion was twenty-one; but this was so late that the Court thought fit to admit that 'the infant' was capable of some discretion at an earlier age, and this age was fixed at fourteen." The Judge, however, as we have seen, fixed it at sixteen, and gave Heru Nath over to the custody of the father. That the Judge was wrong in point of law seems now to be generally admitted. The Calcutta University Tagore Law Lecturer for

1877, Ernest John Trevelyan, in his Lectures on *Minors*, says :—

“ It is not very clear from the judgment *In the matter of Heru Nath Bose* what reason the Judge had for saying that the English rules as to the exercise of his discretion by an infant did not apply in this country. . In this case the boy had attained the age of fifteen years, which is the age of majority of Hindus subject to the Bengal school of law. This is also the age of discretion under the Hindu law. . . . In several cases it has been held by English Courts to depend on the degree of intelligence of the infant, and to be quite independent of the age of majority. It is now settled law in England that no choice can be made, at all events by a female infant, under the age of sixteen. This age was fixed with reference to the Act rendering penal the abduction of unmarried girls under that age. Applying to India the principles which guided the English Courts in fixing this age, it is clear that a male infant cannot exercise any choice with reference to the custody of his person until he has attained the age of fourteen years, and that a female infant cannot exercise such discretion until she has attained the age of sixteen.”

As we have seen, when Heru Nath was produced before the Court he wanted some ten months of completing his sixteen years. Before the ten months were over, Dr. Duff had left India for good. But as soon as they were over, the young man came forward again seeking baptism, and he was baptized by Mr. Day in the presence of an enormous crowd of excited Hindus, pretty determined on doing mischief. However, some of us, by an innocent display of muscular Christianity, were enabled to prevent a breach of the peace. During the fifteen years that have passed since then, Mr. Bose has adorned his Christian profession by a consistent walk and useful life. A few months ago a conspiracy was made against him, very plainly on account of his faithfulness to his masters, and after a most tedious and searching trial, extending over some months, he was honorably acquitted, and his prosecutors severely reprimanded. We refer to the prosecution against the Howrah postmaster. Mr. Bose has left the Post Office Department for another Government appointment, for he could not feel safe any longer in the Post Office.

At the meeting of April, 1863, Dr. Duff addressed the Conference on the great services which Mr. MacLeod Wyllie had rendered to the cause of missions, and the spirit in which they had been performed, stating his conviction that his labors in connection with the Conference had been one of the greatest blessings which the Conference had enjoyed. He therefore proposed that a resolution be drawn up expressive of the feelings of gratitude, confidence and affection with which the Conference regarded him, and their deep regret at his removal to England. This was accordingly done.

At the August meeting the attention of the Conference was directed to his own contemplated departure. A committee was at once appointed to take some steps to mark in a special man-

ner the high esteem of the Conference for his character and labors. At the following meeting a resolution was adopted, and ordered to be presented to him at a special meeting to be called previous to his departure. This special meeting was held at Dr. Ogilvie's house, General Assembly's Institution, Cornwallis Square, December 1st, 1863, when there were thirty members present. An address, agreed on beforehand, was then presented; and Dr. Duff, while laboring under much physical weakness, replied at considerable length.

The resolutions or address agreed to ran in these words :—

“The members of this Conference desire to record their deep regret at being called to part with their beloved and honored associate, Dr. Duff, in his final departure for Europe.

“Dr. Duff was one of the founders of the Conference, and as a member of it for thirty-three years has, by his large experience, his great ability and devotional spirit, ever contributed largely to the profit of its meetings; while by his extended views and his wise counsel he has often given an enlarged direction and a holy stimulus to the zeal of its members, and contributed to secure comprehensiveness and efficiency to their common missionary plans.

“In the important public questions which have from time to time occupied their attention he has undertaken a leading part, and contributed much to the successful issue of those discussions and practical measures to which they gave rise. He has thus had a large share in making the Conference influential both in its testimony to evangelical truth, and its endeavors to remedy great public evils affecting the progress of the Gospel in India generally.

“While dwelling on the aid given by Dr. Duff to the various public objects they have themselves sought to accomplish, the Conference can only allude in the briefest terms to his usefulness in his direct sphere of labor. They cannot, however, refrain from bearing their testimony to the distinguished service he has rendered to the cause of Christian education, by means of the Free Church Institution, during the entire period of his missionary life, and by his valuable counsels in the establishment of the University of Calcutta in recent years. Nor do they forget the powerful influence exerted upon the Christian Church during his visits home by his able advocacy of the claims of missions.

“In parting with their beloved friend and brother, the Conference desire to convey to him afresh the assurance of their warm affection and esteem. They glorify God in him, and while they regret that missionary work in India is deprived of his personal services, they wish him, in the new sphere opened to him at home, the continued enjoyment of the Master's favor, and the possession of divine peace, so long as life lasts.”

ART. VI.—NOTES AND INTELLIGENCE.

INDIAN NOTES.

[T is very much to be hoped that another missionary census of India may be taken in 1881. We have the statistical returns for 1871, and less complete statistics for 1861 and 1850. Similar tables if prepared in 1881 will give us a more accurate conception than it has yet been possible to form of the numerical growth, absolute and relative, of the Church in India. Meantime we do what we can, from year to year, by arranging baptismal statistics collected from reports, missionary magazines and private letters, to show the numerical progress of Missions in Hindustan. The result for 1877 we have the pleasure to give on the next page. These returns, while more or less imperfect, are, we think, more nearly complete than any we have ever published before ; they do not, however, contain the figures for Burma. The American Baptist Mission in that province baptized 933 converts in 1877. How many were baptized in connection with other missions we cannot say. We are obliged to omit these figures from our table, in order to secure uniformity, since we have not had returns from Burma in previous years. At the best these figures are but approximate ; and even if absolutely perfect numerically, could not be trusted as exhibiting a wholly truthful statement of the progress of Christianity. There is so much involved in the work of missions which cannot be counted or measured or expressed in statistical tables, that we can never allow ourselves to publish a column of figures without attaching thereto a *caveat*.

In this connection we repeat what we have said in previous issues of the *Review* :—

"The baptisms thus reported are not in all cases directly from among the heathen ; some of them are those of the children of native Christian parents, who, for one reason or another, were not baptized in infancy. The different tests applied by different missions to determine a candidate's fitness for baptism should also be remembered ; while in one case a baptism may indicate that the recipient of the rite has, in the best judgment of the missionary, become really regenerated by the Holy Spirit, in another case it may simply mean that he has expressed a readiness to receive Christian instruction, with a view to making an intelligent profession of his faith at another time. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that many *who were baptized in infancy* are constantly becoming communicants, and that most of these are not included at all in our returns."

These are the figures, then, to be taken *cum grano salis* :—

Mission.		Baptisms in 1877.
Gossner's Mission, Bengal (inquirers baptized)		2,595
S. P. G., Chota Nagpore.....	1,259	
„ other Bengal Missions	137	
„ South India ¹	425	
„ West India	220	
		2,041
C. M. S., North India.....	181	
„ West India.....	31	
„ South India	1,153	
		1,365
American Baptist, Assam	250	
„ Telingana	298	
		548
L. M. S., South India ²	109	
„ Travancore	142	
		251
American Methodist, North India		304
American Evangelical Lutheran, Gantur.....		276
German Basel Mission, South-west India		128
American Mission, Madura ³		112
Twelve other Missions, less than 100 each		505
Total.....		8,125

WHEN giving the figures for 1876, which we did in our Number for October, 1877, at p. 208, we added a comparative statement showing the rate at which the numbers of the Christian Church had been increasing since 1850. We repeat the table now, with a few additions :—

Year.	Description.	Number of Baptisms.
1850-61.....	Annual average increase of communicants.....	938
1861-71.....	Do. do.	2,784
1873	Adult baptisms (approximate)	5,000
1874	Do. do. do.	7,400
1875	Do. do. do.	6,000
1876	Do. do. do.	7,000
1877	Do. do. do.	8,000

¹ S. P. G. returns from South India embrace the twelve months from July, 1876, to June, 1877. Some of our other returns embrace one or two months in 1878, but exclude the corresponding months in 1877.

² Probably more than 109 were baptized. But the reports and statistical tables of the L. M. S. in South India are constructed in a faulty manner, so that it is hard to tell exactly how many converts were baptized. The same remark, we grieve to state, is equally applicable to the reports of some other missions.

³ This number (112) represents the increase of communicants. The increase in the number of unbaptized adherents is much greater.

THE Church Mission at Krishnagar, Bengal, has had a little trouble on the caste question. It was suddenly found that certain Christians of high caste refused, not only to eat, but even to partake of the Sacrament with the Christians of lower caste. At one time very grave difficulty seemed imminent, but we believe that finally a better mind prevailed among the high-caste converts, and the threatened troubles were happily averted. As these occurrences took place some time since, we may be allowed to pass the subject by with this very brief mention.

THE caste question, however, still seems to be as far from a settlement as ever. It is a hard matter, to say the best of it. Caste is an institution of not only religious, but also social significance. And when the religious difficulty has been got over, it seems hard to compel a man to form social connections which, for whatever reason, are distasteful. On the other hand, it is clearly wrong for one Christian to refuse to treat a brother of low degree as he would one of his own caste merely on the ground of certain prejudices which may perhaps have no foundation in fact. We think that missionaries are now taking a more liberal view of the matter than formerly; they see more clearly than they once did the peculiar nature of the institution, and succeed better in putting themselves in the place of high-caste converts. For instance, Rev. E. Unangst, of Gantur, writes us as follows:—

“The longer I work among these people, the more I see, and am convinced that until we can get a staff of workmen from the high castes our work in that direction will necessarily be unsuccessful. A high-caste native preacher or catechist may work with perfect impunity among the low-caste people nowadays; but a low-caste man, say a *madiga* (cobbler) can never dare enter within, or even touch the threshold of, a Brahman's or Kshatriya's residence. Nor can he even enter a high-caste street to preach the Gospel. Even in the public bazar, where all castes have a right to move, a *madiga* teacher or catechist has scarcely any influence whatever. He himself feels mean, despised and destitute of moral courage, and slinks off, the first chance he can get, into the quarters where his own class of people are huddled up in filth, amid carrion odors, bones, flesh and leather—all congenial ingredients that make up the surroundings of a *madigapalli*. A *mala*, who occupies a grade higher in the caste scale, has a little more influence, especially if he is prudent, and does not partake of the carrion food of his *madiga* neighbor. I know there is a loud cant abroad that the Gospel can level all caste obstacles, socially and religiously, and no caste custom of any kind should be countenanced. It is simply mistaken zeal or downright ignorance that patronizes a crusade of this sort. Caste religion should be discountenanced under all circumstances, but caste in its social aspect ought to be let alone; for it does not interfere with a man's religious or moral responsibility, nor has it anything in it that is subversive of progress and civilization. I do not wish to be understood that missionaries ought to be blamed for being so exclusive in reference to caste, but I do mean that many are not as prudent in this respect as they ought to be, while they themselves are perhaps as high-caste socially as the high-caste Brahman. I know of no missionary who would be willing to sit down in a *madiga*'s house and take meals with him, or let a *madiga* sit down with him at his own table. This is social distinction, and I think it is right. There is no moral or religious principle involved here, nor does the low-caste convert consider it so. Latterly efforts have been put forth to reach the caste community through the means of caste girls' schools, opened and conducted separately from the low-caste community. This is a step in the right direction, and I need not say that it has already done much towards winning the respect and sympathy of not a few high-caste people in behalf of Christian institutions. Had this been done when Christian

missions were more or less in their infancy, much more might have been accomplished in evangelizing the Hindus, and many more Gospel laborers might have been enlisted from the high-caste ranks of society."

Doubtless any of us would be slow to admit a *madiga*, fresh from the squalor and filth of his unclean house, to the privileges of our houses and tables. And so far as caste feeling means a repugnance to dirt, and a stern regard for personal neatness, we look upon it with respect. Suppose, however, that our *madiga* friend has learned habits of neatness and propriety, that he keeps his house in order, eats proper food properly dressed, and maintains rigid habits of cleanliness in his own person and clothing, then is not the case changed? Should the mere name of *madiga* interpose a barrier to the social intercourse of Christian brethren? And if it were allowed to, should we not say that unreasonable prejudice was asserting a too powerful sway, and that in such a case caste feeling was un-Christian feeling?

REV. MR. PARKER, of Moradabad, N. W. P., kindly sent us, for the last Number of the *Review*, an account of the work in which he is engaged. We were sorry that we were obliged to issue the July Number without it. But it has lost nothing by keeping. It is a useful record of actual experience. Moradabad, we may mention, is the centre of a very interesting and hopeful work among the *Chumars* (the leather-dressers and shoemakers) of the North-west. Mr. Parker thus describes his Sunday-school work—a branch of effort regarding which it is very desirable to get the fruits of personal experience, and accounts of ordinary methods and operations:—

In the centre of the city, says Mr. Parker, on the main street, we have a school-house and church combined. The audience-room will comfortably seat three hundred persons, and here our central services are held on the Sabbath. In the morning our mixed Sunday-school meets, which is made up of Christian men, women and children, and of Hindu and Muhammadan boys and men. The average attendance this year has been about 275, though we often have over 300 present at the closing exercises, quite one-half of whom will be non-Christians. Several hymns or *bhajans* are sung at the opening, led by the boarding-school girls and aided by an American cabinet organ, and after prayer the Beræan lesson for the day is read, and a brief outline stated, when all are sent to their classes. The eight class-rooms of the school are set apart for the classes of men and boys, while the women and girls are arranged in the main hall. There are seventeen classes in all, taught by the preachers and Christian teachers of the city. Thirty minutes are given to the lessons in the classes, when a slight ring of the bell gathers the girls and women on their side of the house, and a louder ring brings all the men and boys into the hall again. About fifteen minutes are spent in a review of the lesson, with such questions as will especially interest the children, all of whom answer readily, making the closing exercises lively. On Saturday a teachers' class is held, to study the lesson carefully, and bring out those points most likely to interest and do good. There are several of these mixed schools in Rohilkand, and they are considered as very successful in bringing the people nearer together,

and in breaking up all prejudice, as well as thoroughly indoctrinating the children, and forming a habit of attending a service each Sunday. "We never teach Hindus, or Muhammadans, or Christians, as such," adds Mr. Parker, "but teach *children*, and teach them the truth as a matter of course, asking no one his belief, but asking everything concerning the truth, and impressing every important doctrine on the mind, just exactly as one would do in America. Several of the older non-Christian boys attend the afternoon service also quite regularly. We design having quarterly review exhibitions, inviting the fathers and friends of the boys, so that all may understand about the work of the school."

On Sunday afternoons at the same place Mr. Parker tells us that the usual Christian service is held, and the hall is always well filled, both Christians and others attending. Some outsiders come regularly, Sunday after Sunday; and Mr. Parker finds that these two regular services on Sunday are making an impression on a class reached in no other way. As to the movement among the *chumars* outside of the city of Moradabad, Mr. Parker says:—

"In some villages in this zilla a native preacher has been at work for several years. He has gained many friends who profess to believe in Christianity, some of whom sing and pray, and call themselves Christians. During the past year two families came out boldly for Christ, broke their caste, and were baptized. We were at the time holding meetings each evening in a public gathering-room (*chaupal*) of the people, and the people sang with us, kneeled in prayer, and repeatedly declared themselves as Christians. But as soon as these families came out fully for Christ all was changed in an hour. We were turned out of our meeting-place, and all joined, and seemed to vie with each other, in inventing means of annoying and persecuting the converts. They were driven from the wells, and when the men brought water from their well in their own field this was made unfit for use by throwing refuse material into it. This last act frightened the people when they stopped to think, and fear of punishment brought about a quiet and a peace. Six other families have since been baptized, and all draw water from their old wells again. Many more inquirers are coming forward. These people are of the same caste as those here in the city, but are farmers and day-laborers in the villages. There are openings of this kind into this caste in several other places in this and adjoining zillas. It commenced by the conversion of two faqirs, who have been faithful workers among their people. In nearly every zilla in Rohilkand there is work similar to that among these *chumars* in the city and also in the villages. It is not among this caste in each case, but among the laboring classes. Among other classes there is usually the difficulty of support which stands in the way of some sincere inquirers, while the laboring classes can go on with their work with little hindrance, and our work is spreading and deepening among these."

Efforts in behalf of these *chumars* have been in progress for fifteen years, and the results are just appearing. The two faqirs mentioned above became after their conversion most earnest preachers, and have instructed scores of their people. There are little schools, too, scattered among the villages, where also Sunday-schools are held. The men and boys join in the hymns, kneel in prayer, and are well instructed in Christian doctrine. Now that the movement has once begun, multitudes, we may believe, will join in it. "Persistent effort," adds Mr. Parker, "in a particular direction will surely give fruit in due time."

A NEW light has dawned in the West. The "Theosophical Society" of New York, with branches elsewhere,—one for instance in Bombay,—dates from 1875. Let Christianity tremble, and missionaries learn some useful trade. The following extract from some of the papers of this Society, which we find in the *Indian Mirror*, gives a good idea of its character :—

"Its fellowship is divided into three sections, and each section into three degrees. All candidates for active fellowship are required to enter as probationers, in the third degree of the third section, and no fixed time is specified in which the new fellow can advance from any lower to a higher degree; all depends upon merit. To be admitted into the highest degree of the first section, the Theosophist must have become freed of every leaning toward any one form of religion in preference to another. He must be free from all exacting obligations to society, politics and family. He must be ready to lay down his life, if necessary, for the good of Humanity, and of a brother-fellow, of whatever race, color or ostensible creed. He must renounce wine, and every other description of intoxicating beverages, and adopt a life of strict chastity. Those who have not yet wholly disenthralled themselves from religious prejudice and other forms of selfishness, but have made a certain progress towards self-mastery and enlightenment, belong to the second section. The third section is probationary; its members can leave the Society at will, although the obligation assumed at entrance will continually bind them to absolute secrecy as to what may have been communicated under restrictions. The objects of the Society are various. It influences its fellows to acquire an intimate knowledge of natural law, especially its occult manifestations. As the highest development, physically and spiritually, on earth, of the creative cause, man should aim to solve the mystery of his being. He is the procreator of his species physically, and having inherited the nature of the unknown, but palpable, cause of his own creation, must possess, in his inner, psychical self, this creative power in lesser degree. He should therefore study to develop his latent powers, and inform himself respecting the laws of magnetism, electricity and all other forms of force, whether of the seen or unseen universes. The Society teaches, and expects its fellows to personally exemplify, the highest morality and religious aspiration; to oppose the materialism of science and every form of dogmatic theology, especially the Christian, which the Chiefs of the Society regard as particularly pernicious; to make known among western nations the long-suppressed facts about Oriental religious philosophies, their ethics, chronology, esoterism, symbolism; to counteract, as far as possible, the efforts of missionaries to delude the so-called 'Heathen' and 'Pagans' as to the real origin and dogmas of Christianity and the practical effects of the latter upon public and private character in so-called civilized countries; to disseminate a knowledge of the sublime teachings of that pure esoteric system of the archaic period which are mirrored in the oldest Vedas, and in the philosophy of Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster, and Confucius; finally, and chiefly, to aid in the institution of a Brotherhood of Humanity, wherein all good and pure men, of every race, shall recognize each other as the equal effects (upon this planet) of one Uncreate, Universal, Infinite, and Everlasting Cause."

A few months ago the members of the Society seem to have heard of Pandit Dayanand Saraswati Swami. So straightway the President sits down, writes a letter, in a most silly and affected style, "To the Most Honorable Pandit", in which he abjectly casts himself at the Pandit's feet and prays to be "enlightened." A reply was received, and in due time the first letter was followed by another. The Theosophical Society, in spite of its principles, manifests an inclination to Vedism (which is very illogical), and has made the Pandit its chief *guru*. And thus, as the *Bombay Guardian* wittily remarks, "instead of the wise men coming out of the East, we are to see the foolish men coming out of the West."

We know it is our duty to contemplate with respect and sympathy any honest—though mistaken—effort to obtain religious truth. But we

are unable to see how it is possible to regard such nonsense as this with any other feelings than those very nearly akin to contempt mingled with sadness.

We are glad to notice that the *Indian Mirror*, in which these letters have been reprinted, repudiates wholly the peculiar notions of the "Theosophical Society."

THE Calcutta Tract Society has sent a memorial to the Government of India praying for an amendment of the Vernacular Press Act. This law enacts that when any book or pamphlet, printed in any Oriental language in British India, contains any words likely to excite disaffection to the British Government, or antipathy between any persons of different races, castes, religions or sects in British India, all printing presses, etc., etc. used in the production of the book, and all copies of the book or pamphlet are liable to forfeiture; and this, it is understood, may be done without any judicial investigation, or any opportunity of defence afforded the offending party. Now undoubtedly many books and tracts published by any Tract Society in India *might* be considered amenable to this Act. For such books unquestionably do sometimes "excite antipathy" between persons of different races and creeds; and they may do so, as the memorial points out, even when written in the most unobjectionable language, and pervaded with the most friendly spirit.

The Society prays that the words "castes, religions or sects" be omitted from one of the clauses of the Act—an omission which would give the relief desired.

WE notice with regret that dissatisfaction is expressed by some of the non-Episcopal missionaries in the Tamil country at certain additions to the new Tamil Hymn Book, just published by the Madras Tract Society. Like all the Indian Tract Societies, this is a wholly undenominational body; and when, in a hymn book bearing its imprint, indexes and other accessory matter are found of a purely denominational character (such as an "Index of Hymns for the Festivals of the Church of England", which we understand the book contains), it is not strange that some are annoyed. Undoubtedly the safest principle is that by such a Society entirely unsectarian works should alone be issued; and that everything of at all a different character should be omitted by the Tract Society, and added by the several missions, according to the particular desire and convenience of each.

MR. CHANDLER requests us to add to his Article (published elsewhere) that the Archbishop of Goa and Primate of the East, of whom mention is made in that Article, has just been raised to the Cardinalate. He arrived in India in December, 1875; and we understand that he proposes to go to Rome soon after the feast of St. Xavier, which is to occur in December next at Goa, to receive his Cardinal's hat.

THE *Bombay Guardian* is edited by a missionary whose public life almost from the first has been a self-consistent testimony to his sense of the importance of evangelistic operations as opposed to educational. On this account we transfer to our pages with the greater satisfaction the following extract from his paper. He is commenting on certain rather

strong remarks, which have fallen under his notice, on the tendency of Government connection with missionary schools to force Christian instruction into the background, and says :—

“ These remarks about the tendency of the Government connection with mission schools and colleges are not stronger than many that have appeared in our columns, and we have heard missionaries in charge of such institutions distinctly admit this tendency. But if, as we believe is the case, the consciousness of the tendency leads to greater carefulness to give the Bible its proper place in the curriculum of study, the evil is evidently not without its remedy. Is there any reason why such men as Duff, Anderson, Noble, should not now be found in connection with mission institutions ? We are persuaded that many of those who are now engaged in missionary school work are as earnest and faithful as any other missionaries. Furthermore, we believe that they are doing a good work, and helping on, in no small degree, the day of India's redemption. We have the feeling that they are much hindered and clogged by the exigencies of Government examinations, and would be glad if this incubus could be shaken off, so as to leave the Christian professors more at liberty to carry out their own conceptions of what is best for the student. But if the missionaries in mission schools and colleges are doing their best, under existing circumstances, it seems to us they should be cheered on, rather than censured. The missionary must be persuaded in his own mind that he is called of God to just this work ; then if he does it heartily, as to the Lord, who can say nay ? ”

WE have before alluded to the new station at Bhamo, Northern Burma, and the interesting field in its vicinity brought to our knowledge by Rev. Mr. Cushing, of the American Baptist Missionary Union.¹ We notice with great pleasure that Mr. Cushing has baptized his first convert in the new station. The baptism took place last March. The convert is a Shan. He was baptized in the river, in the presence of a number of spectators. Mr. Cushing hopes there will be no attempt at persecution. “ The influence of the king”, he adds, “ is not felt as strongly here “ as nearer the capital.”

Mr. Cushing has made the acquaintance of a Ka-Khyen chief who is anxious to have a Karen teacher sent to instruct his people. The chief promises to furnish food and lodging if the teacher can be furnished. In view of the hopeful condition of the tribes in Upper Burma, Mr. Cushing cries out loudly for a Ka-Khyen missionary. He has been joined at Bhamo by two young missionaries from the United States, one of whom, we regret to state, died shortly after arriving on his field of labor.

IN connection with Mr. Cushing's accounts of a hopeful beginning among the Shans and other tribes of Northern Burma, it is very interesting to notice that the missionaries in Assam, of Mr. Cushing's own Society, find people of the same stock as those with whom he is working. Mrs. Ward, of Sibsagar, Assam, found near Jaipur, in that province, villages inhabited by people called *Fakejals*. “ They are settlers from the north of Burma,” Mrs. Ward writes, “ speak the Shan language, and, as far as I can “ judge, are devoted Buddhists ; old and young are well instructed in the “ Buddhist scriptures.” “ The people are thoroughly Burmese ; though “ living in Assam, they are totally unlike the Assamese in looks, dress, “ habits and, I think, character. There was an honesty and cheerfulness “ about them not found in the natives of this province.” We must confess,

¹ See the *Indian Evangelical Review*, Vol. V., pp. 109 and 346.

by the way, that we never heard before that the Burmese are noted above other men for their strict regard for truth !

These Fakejals, devoted Buddhists though they be, are very anxious to have a Christian school established among them. It was proposed (the letter from which these items are taken—we may mention parenthetically—was written in *April* last, and comes to us, after two journeys of 13,000 miles or more, through the medium of the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* of August, published in Boston, U.S.) to have a day school for boys, an evening school for elderly men, and regular Christian worship on the Sabbath. This work is, writes Mrs. Ward, “in a certain sense renewing the effort of the first missionaries to Assam, about a half-century ago. Brown and Cutter commenced work in Jaipur, especially with a view to reach the *Shans* of Burma. Brother Cushing in Bhamo may yet lock hands with the missionaries in Upper Assam, and the mountains that now divide us be spanned with Gospel light. ‘The ends of the earth shall fear him.’”

Sibsagar in Assam, and Bhamo on the Upper Irawaddi, are over 300 miles apart. Mountain ranges, rivers, and large tracts of jungle lie between them. The intervening region is almost a *terra incognita*, but now seems about to disclose its secrets to the prying eyes of geographers, explorers and missionaries.

MRS. WARD'S tour to the Fakejal villages, of which we have just spoken, she describes as the most trying journey she had ever undertaken in her long missionary life. She travelled upon an elephant, and (so far as we can make out) was unaccompanied save by native servants and helpers. A drizzling rain rendered the first part of the journey uncomfortable ; while bad roads, broken bridges, deep mud, deep gullies, steep tanks and dense jungle constituted the attractions of the remaining part of it. Mrs. Ward came to India in 1851. Her husband died at Sibsaagar in 1873. We admire the zeal and fearless energy which enabled a lady of her years to undertake such a journey. Usually young and active *men* are selected for the work of pioneer missionaries. What are we to say when this work is done by the mothers in Israel ?

THE Report for 1877 of the Wesleyan Mission (English) in the South Ceylon District is before us. The work of the Mission during the year was hindered both by sickness and by an unusually large rainfall. The Report says :—

“It was singular that while extensive districts in South and Central India were afflicted with drought, in Ceylon, or at least our portion of the island, there was an almost unprecedented continuance of rain. From May to the end of the year there were few days without heavy showers. Throughout our district the wet weather interfered with our public services, especially those held in the evening. In the Southern Province the people suffered greatly from floods and the failure of the crops ; while the erection of buildings on our extension stations, and the journeys of the ministers and catechists, were carried on under almost insuperable difficulties. Most of all, the high price of provisions pressed heavily on our agents and people, for, although mercifully spared from famine in the strict sense of the word, Ceylon, being largely dependent for food supplies on the continent of India, suffered to a great extent from the increased cost of provisions. Large numbers of the native Christians found their resources taxed to the utmost in providing a bare subsistence for their families.”

Gloomy apprehensions were entertained as to the prospect of the Mission funds ; and it speaks much for the supporters of the Mission that at the end of the year the treasurer's books showed an increase of about Rs. 7,500 on the receipts of the year previous. Not less gratifying was it to find that, in spite of all the difficulties of the year, there was an increase in communicants, in probationers, in schools and scholars, and in Sunday-school attendance. The only falling off, and that an insignificant one, was in the reported average attendance of adults at public worship.

The working staff of the Mission consists of 8 missionaries, 34 native ministers, 25 catechists and 157 teachers—in all 224 persons receiving pay. There are also 56 “local preachers”, 39 “class leaders” and 233 Sunday-school teachers—though frequently the same individual is classed under more than one of these heads. The work is carried on in about 46 centres, including Kandy, Colombo, Galle, and other important towns of Southern Ceylon.

In the preaching and pastoral work of the Mission four languages are used—English, Portuguese, Sinhalese and Tamil. We quote here a suggestive and valuable paragraph from the Report :—

“It has been supposed that to preach in English is a departure from strictly missionary work; but we believe this notion to be entirely erroneous. To convert the heathen to Christianity is indeed the chief aim of missions, but not the only aim. To save souls and extend the dominion of the Lord Jesus is the object we have in view, and there is no reason why our work should be prosecuted only in villages, or among those who have no knowledge of English. Many of the educated and influential natives can be reached best through the medium of English; and there are not a few soldiers, English residents, and descendants of former European colonists who welcome our ministrations, and so liberally support our funds that, far from the English work causing a diversion of Mission money from its appropriate end, this department more than any other is fruitful in bringing in the money which is needed to carry on our efforts. In the larger towns English services are regularly held, with most encouraging results. Portuguese, or rather the dialect called Indo-Portuguese, is gradually, though slowly, going out of use, and the congregations attending preaching in this language are generally small; but the services are continued in several places for the benefit of those who can understand the Gospel through no other medium. Sinhalese is the language of the great majority of the inhabitants of Ceylon and of the church members of our Mission. At least one hundred sermons are preached every Sunday by our Mission agents in Sinhalese, and it is in this language that most of our pastoral and evangelistic efforts are carried on.”

The educational work of the Mission is extensive. There is a High School at Galle, and a College (Wesley College) at Colombo. These institutions represent the “higher education.” They are believed to be doing a good work. The Report shows, in a table which we copy, the exact state of its educational operations :—

	Schools.		Scholars.		
	Boys'.	Girls'.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
English	8	2	675	83	758
Anglo-vernacular	13	1	662	35	697
Vernacular	58	45	2,276	1,549	3,825
Total... ..	79	48	3,613	1,667	5,280

One very interesting and, so far as we know, unique feature of this Mission is its plan of extension, and its "Extension Fund." In 1873 the missionaries laboring in the district appealed to the Committee in London for pecuniary aid, in order that they might be able to extend their work by the employment of a larger number of preachers:—

"The reply was that £1,000 would be granted for this special purpose in four yearly sums of £250 each, on condition that double the amount (or £500 a year) should be raised locally in support of the same movement. This condition was unexpected, as we hoped to secure a free grant; and, as we had to raise in the district for the agents engaged in the ordinary work more than £1,000 a year, we felt the terms were almost prohibitory. With little expectation of success, the scheme was inaugurated at the beginning of 1874, and we have thus closed the last of the four years mentioned in the original proposal. Many earnest workers and liberal givers will be thankful to hear the financial result of the undertaking. The total amount raised in 1874 was Rs. 4,025·21, in 1875 Rs. 4,623·52, in 1876 Rs. 5,046·51, and in 1877 the amount realized was Rs. 7,042·47. Thus in the four years we have collected in aid of this fund Rs. 20,737·71, or Rs. 737·71 more than the maximum sum fixed by the Committee."

"Not only has the amount raised exceeded the maximum sum fixed by the Committee, but added to its moiety it was sufficient to pay all the expenses connected with the extension movement up to the close of the year, and also leave a small balance in hand as a commencement towards future expenditure."

The practical result of this effort has thus far been most encouraging. "Fifteen new mission stations have been begun," says the Report,—

"Three in the Central Province, one in the North-western, two in the Western, and nine in the Southern Province. Thirteen of these stations have been supplied with resident preachers, nine with schools, and eleven at least are the only centres of missionary work in important and populous *pattumas*, or districts. We doubt if ever in Ceylon there has been so great an extension of mission work in so short a time at so small a cost. It has been found advisable to unite one of these stations, Walawe, with Hambantota; and another, Katukenda, is worked from Negombo; leaving thirteen extension stations in full operation, all of which give ground for hope and thankfulness."

We earnestly hope, with the missionaries of the district, that a work so full of promise may be pushed forward with vigor; and that, now that the four years have expired during which the annual grants from London have been received, new and permanent arrangements may be made for the continuance of the work so well begun.

Ceylon undoubtedly offers a more favorable opportunity for the successful working of such schemes than most parts of India proper, on account of the comparatively larger European population. But this need be no reason for not trying a similar experiment in India. By graduating the amount of local contributions to the number of sympathizers in the district where the effort was to be made, the plan could be rendered as successful here as there. It is true that all our Indian missions depend more or less on local contributions. The peculiarity of the Ceylon plan is that those contributions are asked for a special—and a most important—purpose, namely, extension of mission work in unevangelized districts; and an annual grant from the home Committee is made conditional on the success of the local subscription. Thus, on the part of the European population, benevolence is stimulated, and increased interest in missionary operations is ensured, while an impulse is also given to the cause of evangelization. It is a great thing for a mission to have *new work* on hand, and ever to be reaching out into fresh and untrodden fields; and though we are fully alive to the importance of doing well whatever is

attempted, and of consolidating and concentrating our operations in any given field, we are also convinced that an exclusive attention to one long occupied field is a great mistake. New work and aggressive movements into districts hitherto unreached tend to quicken enthusiasm, and to inspire a mission with new life and energy.

We cordially commend this plan of extension to the attention of mission committees this side of Adam's Causeway.

FOREIGN MISSIONS AT HOME.

THE American Baptist Missionary Union must always possess for the student of missions a peculiar interest. It is the Society with whose foundation Adoniram Judson was closely associated, and in connection with which he labored in Burma for nearly forty years. The small beginnings of over sixty years ago, when Judson and his devoted wife, then the only missionaries of what is now the Union, were struggling, against untold difficulties, to get a foothold in Burma, and were obliged to baptize their converts in the dark, have now developed into a mighty organization whose missionaries are found in India, in Siam, in China and Japan, in France, Germany, Sweden, Spain and Greece ; whose congregations and schools dot the shores on both sides of the Bay of Bengal, and stretch away from the wild hills through which rolls the Brahmaputra to the banks of the Irawaddi, and beyond ; and the native Christians in connection with which we can no longer number by tens and scores, as Judson did, but by hundreds and by thousands. Nothing so strikingly disproves the assertion that missions do not succeed as the history of our great missionary societies.

An account of the sixty-fourth annual meeting of this Society now lies before us. As affording a good indication of the wide-spread activities of the Union, we condense here the statistical table attached thereto :—

Countries.	Mission- aries.	Native Preachers.	Churches.	Baptisms, 1877.	Total Adherents.
<i>Asia.</i>					
Burma	76	430	438	933	20,723
Assam	17	41	13	250	1,058
Telugu country ...	17	41	8	298	4,517
China	19	43	16	242	1,237
Japan	4	3	2	9	45
Total in Asia.....	133	558	477	1,732	27,580
<i>Europe.</i>					
Sweden .....	.....	.....	253	2,360	13,695
Germany .....	.....	270	116	1,800	25,000
France .....	.....	12	8	61	614
Spain.....	3	.....	.....	31	.....
Greece	2	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total in Europe...	5	282	377	4,252	39,309
GRAND TOTAL...	138	840	854	5,984	66,889

From some of the stations no returns of baptisms were received, and from others incomplete returns; so the reality is even better than is here shown. The European missions are carried on entirely by native agency; there are no American missionaries connected with them.

Surely this table exhibits a record of "failure" which is very remarkable indeed. May we all fail after the same fashion!

The only thing which causes us regret in connection with the Union and its work is the debt. In 1877 an ugly debt of \$47,000 was swept away at the enthusiastic meeting held that year at Providence. But at the annual meeting just mentioned the Treasurer was obliged to report a new debt of nearly \$26,500, incurred since the old debt was extinguished. This is most unfortunate.

THE Board of the American Presbyterian Church, we notice with great concern, is also seriously straitened for means. While suffering itself under a heavy debt, some of its missions are languishing for want of reinforcements. The Board resolved a few months ago to send out no new missionaries, although several were waiting to be sent to needy fields, until the treasury should be in a more hopeful condition—unless special funds should be provided for the purpose. The effect of this resolution on some supporters of the Board was most gratifying; and several friends came promptly forward with the money to send out some of the waiting candidates. One young man, who himself hopes to become a missionary, had succeeded in saving \$1,000, partly to provide the means for his own further study, and partly to pay his expenses to his mission field. But when he heard that others were waiting to be sent, while he himself was not ready, he offered his thousand dollars, the savings of years, to pay the outward expenses of some one else. This was the largest special donation that had been received up to the time it was given.

THE debt of this Board amounted on the 1st of May last to over \$47,000 (say Rs. 100,000); and this in spite of the fact that the expenditure of the year then closing had been made more than \$12,000 less than during the previous year. The estimates of necessary expense for the current year amounted to \$506,000. But, in view of the inadequate receipts of the past two years and of the present financial situation, the Board has been compelled to reduce these estimates to \$429,148—a reduction of over \$77,000. The executive officers of the Board at home, by giving up a part of their salaries, share the burden with the Board.—Since this paragraph was in type, we have heard that the Board has received a large legacy, which will relieve it of its difficulties.

THE Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society of Great Britain has in its connection 26 missionary districts directly under the supervision of the British Conference. The most important of these are in Spain, Italy, Ceylon, India, China, Southern and Western Africa, and the West Indies. Other missions,—those for instance in France, Canada and Australasia,—originally begun and for a long time carried on by the parent Society, are now in a condition to support themselves, and are under the control of local Conferences affiliated to that of Great Britain. The

following tabular statement gives a clear and comprehensive view of the work of this great organization :—

	Under the British Conference.	Under affiliated Conferences.	Total.
Chapels	2,483	3,777	6,260
Ministers	389	464	853
Other paid Agents	1,634	4,236	5,870
Unpaid Agents.....	7,013	17,599	24,612
Members	81,658	59,628	141,286
On trial	10,075	9,632	19,707
Presses	3	2	5

The income of the Society for the year ending April, 1877, was as follows :—

Great Britain and Ireland	£122,634	7	11
Foreign receipts.....	23,600	4	2
Total.....	£146,234	12	1

The expenditure amounted to £164,215-16-4—thus showing a deficit, and rather a serious one, of some £18,000, which has, we hope, been provided for ere this.

THE affairs of the Church Missionary Society have evidently improved vastly during the year. In July farewell instructions were delivered to twenty missionaries about to sail for their respective fields of labor, of whom fourteen go out for the first time. It was but little more than a year ago that the Committee resolved to send out no missionaries until the condition of the treasury should improve, and even retained at home, for financial reasons, several veterans who were as anxious to go back to their fields as their colleagues were to have them. Of the twenty missionaries just sent out by the Society, five go to Africa, seven to North India, two to South India, ten to New Zealand, and one each to Ceylon, China, Japan and British North America. One of the missionaries destined for North India is to resume work in the Cathedral Mission College, which failing health compelled him some time ago to relinquish. That portion of the Committee's instructions addressed especially to him makes it plain enough that the Committee does not sympathize in the least with the views on the failure of missionary education which one of the present staff in that College so recently communicated through the medium of our own pages.

We notice also with great satisfaction that another of those coming to this country is to make vernacular preaching in Calcutta his special work.

MISSIONS IN OTHER LANDS.

WE regret exceedingly that we should be so frequently obliged to leave unused a large mass of material which our readers might find of interest. During the three months intervening between our successive issues large

quantities of matter accumulate ; but the space which it is possible for us to devote to these sketches is necessarily limited. We must therefore select a little and omit a great deal.

BEGINNING with SIAM, which, after all, we might almost claim as belonging to India,—we are happy to notice there cheering signs of growth. We wish that we could get more frequent and complete accounts of what is going on in that interesting country. We have often made the attempt, and sometimes with success. But the missionaries are few in number, and the work presses hard upon them. Missionaries in India can sympathize with those in Siam in their inability to do all they wish.

Dr. Dean, of the American Baptist Mission to the Chinese in Bangkok, reports encouraging progress. Twelve persons were baptized during the first quarter of the current year, and the second quarter began with two very interesting conversions. Dr. Dean's labors are confined to the Tu-Chen dialect of Chinese. There are six churches in his district, numbering, at the end of 1877, 418 communicants. Of these we understand that 91 were received during last year. An effective force of native preachers is developing. One of the native preachers is supported by his church, and another by himself. The American Presbyterians, who have a mission in Bangkok for the Siamese, are considering the advisability of beginning work in Chinese too, in which case they would probably labor among those speaking some other dialect, leaving the Tu-Chen to the Baptist missionaries.

WE have seen in the *Northern Christian Advocate*, published in the state of New York, U. S., an extraordinary statement about JAPAN. We quote the paragraph :—

"Intelligence from India shows a remarkable increase in the number of converts. The Bishop of Madras reckons about 80,000 baptized natives in his diocese, though there were not 50,000 in 1862. In China some progress is made, but in Japan there are only eighty-eight native Christians. There is such a thing as making haste slowly."

The information about India and China may pass for what it is worth ; but the statement that "there are only 88 native Christians" in Japan is a big blunder. There are more than a thousand. Some 300, more or less, are connected with the Mission of the American Board alone.

TURNING now to the western part of the Asiatic continent, we learn that Rev. Mr. Easton, of the American Presbyterian Mission at Tabriz (NORTHERN PERSIA), has been studying the condition of the Caucasus region with reference to missionary operations. His researches, continued now for upwards of three years, lead him to look with very great hopefulness upon the prospects of Christian work in the country mentioned. Lying between the Black Sea and the Caspian, it is cut off from the rest of the world, and seems to constitute a little world by itself. It has all kinds of climate, people as diverse as the climate, and a variety of religions to correspond. The population numbers over four and a half millions ; and some seventy languages are said to be current among them ! This astonishing

statement seems less astonishing when we remember how the country is cut up by mountain ranges, and the different races that inhabit it are kept apart by the natural difficulties which bar their intercourse. Thus, Mr. Easton says, "in a single day's pedestrian excursion from Poti, on the Black Sea, "one passes through three different valleys inhabited by three different "peoples"—and speaking, we presume, three different tongues. At the beginning of this century these differences of race and dialect—combined with the lawless character of many of the chieftains and their followers, the absence of any strong central government, the continual clashing of tribe with tribe and clan with clan, the presence of so many religious sects, pagan, Musalman, and Christian, all hating each other, and the general ignorance of the people—seemed to render all missionary work impossible. But now, writes Mr. Easton,—

"A wonderful change has taken place. One government [Russian] has taken the place of many, . . . its power is felt and respected in every part of the land, so that in time of peace one can penetrate into the recesses of the Caucasus with more security than he can travel in many parts of Southern Europe. The common centre of government draws to itself representatives of every part and nation, and mingles them together. Russian law takes up and carries on the work of unification, the Russian language becoming the common medium of intercourse. Education and commerce add their influence. Nature is no longer an obstacle to any great degree. Six hundred miles of railroad finished, and more in contemplation. Excellent macadamized roads cross the mountains, and penetrate the country in different directions."

As to the spiritual preparation of the country, Mr. Easton further writes :—

"At the beginning of the century there was, so far as I know, no evangelical element in the Caucasus. The Scotch missionaries were the first laborers. Their field lay to the north of the Caucasus. To them we owe the Astrachan-Turkish Testament. Their labors were put a stop to in the reign of Nicholas. Next after them come the German colonists from Wurtemberg, compelled, in a measure, to leave their country on account of religious persecution. Settled mainly in and about Tiflis, before 1820, they have churches and pastors, and at different times have, to some extent, engaged in missionary work among Armenians and Musalmans. Shortly after, the Basle Mission sent missionaries to this region, who also continued in the country until they were driven out by Nicholas. The seed sown by them in different places continues to bear fruit, and in one place, Shemalsha, there is a flourishing church of several hundred members. The next, largest, and most important of all the evangelical elements is the Russian Molochani, driven by persecution out of Russia proper, and settled at different places in the Trans-Caucasus. About the year 1850 an evangelical work sprang up at Stchmiadzin, the seat of the Armenian episcopate, and since then has spread through all the region. The leader of this movement was educated at Constantinople, in the seminary of the American Mission. Evangelical Nestorians from Persia have, for many years past, also had a share in building up evangelical influence."

In addition to all these agencies, the Bibles of the British and Foreign, and American, Bible Societies, and the books published by the American missionaries at Constantinople have had their influence. Thus there are many places in the Caucasus where Christian light is shining, many earnest Christian men, and a certain state of preparation for an aggressive and powerful movement.

Mr. Easton is not certain that Russian influence would be used against such a movement. Doubtless it would have been under the reign of Nicholas. But Alexander is not Nicholas; and the Russia of to-day *is not the Russia* of half a century ago. One thing at least is certain—

the political events which have made the Caucasus a part of the empire of the Czars have also smoothed the way for the Christian missionary. Russia has builded better than she knew.

REV. DR. JESSUP, of Beirut, Syria, gives an account of a new edition of the *Arabic Hymn and Tune Book*, just published under the supervision of Prof. Lewis, of the Syrian Protestant College. The chief peculiarity in the book is that the music is written *backwards*, from right to left, so as to agree with the Arabic words which are set to them. The hymns and tunes of this book, Dr. Jessup tells us, are becoming familiar all over Syria; they are heard, not only in the Christian churches and schools, but by the wayside, in the fields, and in the humble homes of the people. There must be a certain similarity between native Syrian and Indian music. Dr. Jessup remarks:—

“The greater part of Arab music is in a minor strain. Some of it is touching, and much of it weird and strange to an unwonted ear. All Arab music is simple melody, in one part. Harmony, by which I mean the use of four parts in singing, is utterly unknown to the Orientals. The adult population in Syria listen with wonder and pity at Europeans singing the four parts in harmony, thinking that three at least are singing the wrong tune. But the children and youth who are taught to sing in schools readily learn our tunes. In the Prussian Protestant Deaconesses' Orphan House for 130 Syrian girls the singing is admirable, and the alto is as well sustained as among European girls. The singing in the American and English girls' boarding-schools in Syria is also good, and steadily improving from year to year. In the Beirut Sabbath-school we have singing which would not be discreditable to a Sabbath-school at home, and in the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut Dr. Lewis has trained the young men to sing the four parts in harmony in a manner which is as gratifying as it is surprising.”

MISSIONARIES appear to have as much difficulty in agreeing about the probable effect of Russian conquests on evangelistic operations as theologians have in agreeing on infant baptism or the doctrine of election. We think the wisest plan for the missionaries in TURKEY is to work on as hard as they can, stop theorizing about the Czar, and wait and see what will happen. While some missionaries, for whose opinion all respect is to be entertained, and who have had excellent opportunities for observation, think that Russian progress will not at all jeopardize religious freedom, or obstruct the work of missions, other observers, whose opinions are entitled to equal weight, and whose means of judging have been as good, strenuously affirm just the opposite. For instance, there lies before us a letter from Rev. C. H. Wheeler, of Kharput, near Erzeroum, published some months ago in an American paper, in which he says:—

“It is no secret that missionary operations, as we understand them, are wholly forbidden and repressed in Russia.”—“In a letter just received from a lady in Smyrna, she quotes from the mouth of a consul the expression: ‘The missionaries may as well prepare to pack up, for their continuance under Russian rule is only a question of time.’ This is no, doubt, true, and ere long the fifteen missionaries of the American Board among the Bulgarians must cease their labors to bless that people.”—“Can we refrain from saying ‘God forbid that Russia should rule yet!’”

Our readers will adopt the theory which seems to them supported by the best evidence; but for our own part we cannot look upon “Turkish reforms” with great complacency, or Russian progress with great fear.

THE astonishing fact that missionary operations in the Turkish Empire have suffered so little—comparatively—during the late war has been alluded to in some of our previous issues. One mission has, however, suffered severely. It is that of the American Methodists, in northern Bulgaria, between the Balkans and the Danube. The Superintendent of the Mission, Mr. Flocken, who was in America during the height of the distress, has recently returned to his field, and has reported on its condition. At Rustchuk one of the missionaries, a Mr. Ivanoff, continued his religious services without interruption; another evangelist, Mr. Elieff, remained also at Rustchuk, but suffered great privation and want. At Loftcha seven preachers and members of the congregation were killed, and only three or four remained. At Plevna the evangelist, Mr. Zwetkoff, with his family, was locked up during the siege. They suffered fearfully. When the bombardment of Widin commenced the evangelist fled to Sistof, where he remained at the time of Mr. Flocken's report (last June, we think). The evangelist at Orchani fled to Samakoff for a time, but soon returned to his post. The Bulgarian teachers, the Superintendent found, have left the schools to prepare for official positions under the administration, and the mission schools are accordingly closed. These disasters are certainly no greater than were to have been expected. We trust and believe that this Mission, in what is now the new Province of Bulgaria, will enter on a course of new and greater prosperity and usefulness.

No missionaries have more to contend with than those who labor in Roman Catholic countries. The Rev. Mr. McLean, of the American Presbyterian Mission at San Felipe, CHILI, had an encounter in the latter part of 1877 with a Romish priest. We find an account of it (from which we make the following quotations) in the *Foreign Missionary* of the Presbyterian Church, for June, 1878:—

"The Papacy in Chili," writes Mr. McLean, "seeing that it is losing its hold upon the people, is determined that at the least they shall be infidel, if not Romanist, and to this end is using all possible means to malign Protestants and misrepresent their doctrines. . . . First, there appeared in *El Chacabuco*, the clerical organ, an attack upon the Protestants for their absurd folly and impudence in presuming to come to Chili to introduce their religion, seeking with it to supplant Roman Catholicism, a religion of such antiquity and purity. Then followed a comparison between the two religions, not much to the credit of Protestantism. In the next issue appeared the first of a series of articles entitled 'Catecismo Popular.'"

This "Popular Catechism", which ran through several successive numbers of the paper, made the usual Romish statements about the moral character of Luther and the other Reformers, and the cause of the movement which they led; about the "fundamental principle of Protestantism"—the right of private judgment; about the abuse of the Bible by Protestants, and the danger of allowing the people to read it for themselves. It finally summed up the case against Protestantism in the following words:—

"The Protestant doctrines are horrible in theory and immoral in practice, abhorrent to God and to man, vicious to society, contrary to all purity of thought, and devoid of all shame. Neither the pagans nor the Turks have ever attained to such impiety of doctrine."

The violence of the attack defeated its object. Mr. McLean remarks:—

"I have tried to keep pace with them in a quiet way. First, I distributed tracts and papers containing Bible truths. Then, when they came out against Bible-reading, I distributed copies of 'Andres Dunn,' which bears particularly upon that point. When the number containing 'Las Doctrinas del Protestantismo' appeared, and the public mind was very much interested in Protestant doctrines, I took copies of our catechism, and having written on them 'Las Doctrinas del 'Protestantismo', distributed them among the most intelligent men in the community. Yesterday I must have received a special blast from their pulpits, for when I appeared in the street to-day great numbers came to me and asked me for tracts and papers, but especially asking for 'Andres Dunn.' The priests, by this unscrupulous assault, have awakened an interest such as we would not otherwise have had for months. The editor of one of the papers has offered me his columns for any articles that I may wish to write. Whether he will hold to his offer or not is another question. The average Chilian is not noted for truthfulness. If he does, however, I am going to use that paper in the Lord's service."

Later tidings from this very interesting field, we regret to say, have not come to hand.

SUCH bitter attacks, however, do not always come within the experience of missionaries in Papal lands. The Presbyterian Board has also missions in the United States of COLOMBIA and in BRAZIL. Concerning the religious condition of these countries the *Foreign Missionary* speaks as follows:—

"This country [Colombia] has an area of 514,000 square miles, and a population of nearly 3,000,000, nominally Catholics. The educated and thinking people of the nation are opposed to Romanism, and are infidel in their tendencies, owing largely to the character of the Church of Rome, and the course pursued by it. They have no other love for Protestantism than as a political and a more enlightened power that stands up for liberty of conscience and in defence of the rights of men. As a spiritual religion it does not attract the masses. In no Romish country is greater indifference to it manifested, though hostile to many of the claims and practices of Rome. This has made the work in Bogota a difficult one."

And regarding Brazil:—

"This empire contains three-sevenths of the whole area of South America, or 3,231,000 square miles, with a population between eleven and twelve millions. Here, as in Colombia, religious liberty is guaranteed, and the mass of the people are opposed to the Romish system. There is, however, more interest on the part of many in the truth than in Colombia, and a greater readiness to attend to its claims. The missionaries have free access to the people, and almost everywhere can gather a congregation. Already 17 churches have been organized, embracing 865 communicants. The laborers write that the number of churches could be increased with a stronger evangelistic force. Men well fitted for the work have offered, but they could not be employed. Owing to the high price of labor and provisions in that country, it is the most expensive mission of the Board. This necessarily limits the number of laborers, but it is a fruitful mission, and needs the careful watch and care of the Church."

WHILE some missionaries thus find the outlook, on the whole, hopeful, there are occurrences which reveal too plainly the old animus of the Romish Church. Our readers doubtless noticed a few months since that the new Pope had written an autograph letter to king Alphonso of SPAIN, exhorting him to use all the resources at his command for the expulsion of the Protestant missionaries and the destruction of their work. The Spanish Minister of Justice, too, about the same time made a speech in which he declared that "religious liberty" in Spain meant liberty only within the walls of churches and the bounds of cemeteries, and that no manifestation

on the public streets of any other than the Catholic faith could be tolerated. Readers of the British and Foreign Bible Society's *Monthly Reporter* will also remember an account published in it of the murder, by stoning, of one of that Society's most faithful and diligent colporteurs in BOLIVIA. This occurred in July, 1877, and the Society's agent at Buenos Ayres, after investigating, wrote to the secretaries that—

"There can be no doubt that Mongiardino was murdered simply and solely on account of his being a Bible-seller, and that he was the victim of Romish fanaticism; that he sustained his high Christian character and principles to the last; that he was stoned to death, and that the assassins were suffered to escape. I wish you would let the world know that in the month of July, 1877, a veritable martyr to the Bible and Christian cause fell in Bolivia."

ART. VII.—BOOK NOTICES.

DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI, translated into Hindi by Rev. J. Hewlett. Mirzapur: Orphanage Press; 1878.

It has been felt, perhaps increasingly, for some years back, and it has frequently been acknowledged in this *Review*, that there is a greater want of devotional works for the native Church at the present time than of controversial treatises. Mr. Hewlett, of Mirzapur, has set himself seriously to supply this want, as he tells us in the preface to the translation we are considering. And it is but natural, and we think highly advantageous, that he has been led rather to the devotional works of the past than of the present age. He has already given to Urdu readers a beautiful translation of Augustine's *Confessions*; but this book, though entering into the very recesses of the heart, and laying bare the secret workings of the sinner's soul in resisting and in being overcome by divine grace, does also contain a great deal of Christian doctrine, and the reasons for its superiority to other beliefs. It is not so, as we all know, with the *De Imitatione*. The author of this work never entertains for a moment the question whether Christianity be true, or why he assumes it as the very groundwork of all his thoughts and feelings, and proceeds to lead himself and his readers to that life which in his view the truth of the Christian system requires. The perusal of this work has therefore the advantage of calling one away for the time from the controversy which is the very atmosphere wherein a missionary's external life is placed in this country, and showing those converts whose entrance into their new life was more or less effected through controversy, and who still too much place their Christianity in it, that there is something of far greater value in the Christian soul, something, in fact, the real presence of which might *almost* supersede the need of controversy—the inner life of a soul devoted to Christ, and humbly walking after him, bearing his cross.

But though the spiritual advancement of native Christians was Mr. Hewlett's first object in translating this deservedly loved and valued book, yet he does not leave the heathen out of sight, and says truly that there are many who are likely to be attracted to Christ by this esoteric display of what he can do, and does, for the soul that seeks after and finds him, who are now only repelled by the Gospel being presented to them only, or

chiefly, as a set of doctrines to be believed. To this consideration might be added the fact that much of what makes the *De Imitatione* seem foreign, and in some respects even unsuited, to our modern habits and lines of thought, is just what is likely to make it acceptable to Hindus—those, that is, who have the genuine Indian spirit, whether Christians or not. Presenting them with a book of this kind is, therefore, one mode of following the apostle Paul in becoming all things to all men, that we may by all means save some. And we may go further, and say that as we all believe that it is given to every national church to exhibit some special feature of Christianity in a marked degree, and this special feature is that which bears some special relation to the national characteristics of the church in question, so the translator of the *De Imitatione* is helping forward, in no small degree, the formation of that separate and united Indian Church which is our aim and our ambition, adorned with all such special characteristics as will enable it not only to take its due place in the Church Universal, but in manifold respects to influence for good the other branches of the one whole Church.

If we are asked *how* Mr. Hewlett has performed the much-needed task he has imposed on himself, our answer must be, Very well indeed on the whole. In fact the only fault we have to find with the production as a whole is that the language is, to our thinking, too high. If the translation were meant only for pandits, nothing whatever could be said against its diction. No doubt all of them, who are induced to read the book at all, will be much pleased with its style. But if the translation was meant to be *generally* useful, and specially if it was designed to be a household book, or anything like it, among native Christians, then we think a far simpler style of Hindi would have been decidedly preferable. And as we ourselves wish it to be available for all Hindi readers we regret very much that it is not likely to be so. We may be wrong; and we wish we might be found so.

Coming to matters of detail, Mr. Hewlett has very skillfully avoided, in translation, those words and ideas which could not be understood without some knowledge of European history. We were wondering what he would do with “the Pope” in one passage; but we found he had very neatly turned it into धर्मपति, *president of religion*. In some cases, however, we are not sure whether he has been quite honest with the original. The author says in one place that the religious man should have nothing whatever to do with women; to which Mr. Hewlett appends, “except his own wife”! whereas the idea of the religious man having a wife at all would be simply horrible to our author, and moreover, the association with women which he forbids the religious man is of a kind in which his mother and sisters would certainly be included in the prohibition! Another remark we would make is that our translator uses the word क्षेम in a way that seems to us strange, for *inward* peace, and also sometimes peaceableness with others; whereas we thought it only meant *prosperity*, like the Urdu *salamat*. Another remark applies to many other Christian Hindi books, viz., that वैकुण्ठ is not the word for *heaven*; and even if Vishnu's place of unconscious absorption could by any possibility be called heaven, still it seems a specially unfortunate word for *paradise*. Again, for *crucified* we do not at all like क्रुश्यातित; for in the first place चातित is no word, but a mistake for हत; and, secondly, *crucified* does not mean exactly *killed*

by a cross, but *fixed to a cross*. We also think it a pity to translate "God, "who hath none like himself", by अद्वितीय ईश्वर; because, though the words may have a proper meaning, yet they are understood by Hindus in a pantheistic sense. We were also surprised to find Mr. Hewlett translating *honestæ* by निष्कपट, as if the Latin word had the same meaning as the modern English *honest* has.

In the Preface, we would that Mr. Hewlett had been a little more reticent as to his own motives and reasons for giving us this translation, and had said more by way of stirring up in his readers a sense of the need and usefulness of such reading. We are also of opinion that the discussion concerning the authorship of the book is carried to an extent which is wholly unnecessary to ordinary Indian readers, and extraordinary readers can easily see the subject discussed in English books.

But these are minor blemishes; and we should be sorry if all of them together were felt by any of our readers to detract, in any practical degree, from what we have said above as to the value of the translation which Mr. Hewlett has given us with such labor to himself, and, we earnestly trust and believe, to such profit for many of our Indian brethren.

HISTORY OF METHODISM. By Rev. James Mudge, B.D., Editor of the *Lucknow Witness*. Lucknow: American Methodist Mission Press; Rev. T. Craven, Publisher. 1878. Pp. 400, 8vo.

A large portion of the volume before us, Mr. Mudge states in the preface, has already been published in his *Hand Book of Methodism*, a large work issued a year or two ago. The portion here republished consists of an historical account of English, American and Indian Methodism. The new matter of the present volume consists of three supplementary chapters, of which the first contains facts and anecdotes about John Wesley, the second describes the "perils and persecutions" of the early Methodist evangelists in England and America, and the third, entitled *Men of mark and works of power*, is filled with anecdotes of the earlier Methodist preachers. Somewhat sensational these chapters must be pronounced,—as any collection of such incidents inevitably is,—yet intensely interesting.

With regard to the part of the book, now for a second time before the public, which treats of the history of Methodism in various countries, we need say but little. We have the impression that the necessity of compressing a large amount into a small space has resulted in giving the work, especially in some parts of it, the character rather of a chronicle of names, dates and events, than of history. Much space is given to the labors of the earlier Methodists—Wesley, Asbury, Coke and others; any account of such men could hardly fail of being interesting; and that which Mr. Mudge has given is so to a very high degree.

The chapters on the *Later Years of American Methodism* and the *Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, while full of information, and well calculated to be useful to the student of denominational history, are of less value to the general reader. And probably the chapters on *Indian Methodism* are too full of minute details to be of general and permanent importance.

Mr. Mudge has performed a great service for the Indian members of

his church, to most of whom standard works on the history of Methodism must be inaccessible. It is a striking evidence of the power and extent of the Methodist movement in this country that such books as these of Mr. Mudge are called for.

We congratulate him on the neat appearance of his book. The covers were made in London, and thus an attractive exterior is ensured, but the binding is too weak. The press work, though it would have been improved by the use of blacker ink, is on the whole highly creditable to the Lucknow Press.

GOOD STORIES for the Family Circle and the Leisure Hour. Selected and Edited by Rev. James Mudge, B.D., Editor of the *Lucknow Witness*. Lucknow: American Methodist Mission Press; Rev. T. Craven, Superintendent. 1878. Pp. 401, 8vo.

What we have just said of the mechanical execution of Mr. Mudge's more important *History of Methodism* applies with great force to this book. As for its subject-matter, it consists wholly of stories which have appeared during the last four years in the *Lucknow Witness*. They have been selected for the *Witness*, "from a great number of papers, periodicals and books published in America and England." The stories are all good—for their class; some of them are worthy of very high praise. They convey useful lessons of moral and religious truth. But this style of literature, if largely indulged in, is sure to produce bad effects on the intellectual constitution. We hope the readers of this book will combine it with literary pabulum of a more solid kind.

MASIH DIN AUR KALISIA KI TAWARIKH. I. 1. Qarib san 100 Iswi Fak. Allahabad: Printed at the Presbyterian Mission Press. 1878. Pp. 287. 8vo.

A history of the Christian Church, from the time of Christ and the Apostles to the present age, is doubtless a desideratum in India. The book before us is the beginning of an attempt—and an attempt which on the scale proposed by the author cannot for a long time be realized—to supply the want. The author is a German missionary of Northern India, who prefers to withhold his name from the public. His work, undertaken at the request of other missionaries, is designed to give to the native Christians of India, and especially to the native preachers, so far as they can read Roman-Urdu, an ecclesiastical history based on the writings of the Fathers, and embodying as well the researches of modern historians. The work is to be divided into four volumes of two parts each, as follows:—

Vol. I., Part 1,	to end of Apostolic Age, about.....	A.D.	100
" " "	2, to Council of Nicæa ..	"	325
" II. "	1, to beginning of consolidation of Papacy, and rise of Muhammad- anism	"	600
" " "	2, to Charlemagne	"	800
" III. "	1, to commencement of Crusades.....	"	1100
" " "	2, to the Reformation.....	"	1500
" IV. "	1, to commencement of Protestant Missions in India.....	"	1700
" " "	2 to the present time.....	"	1870

What possible advantage there can be in dividing the work into four volumes and each volume into two parts we cannot see—unless difficulty of reference, which such a cumbersome division vastly promotes, be an advantage. The first “part” of Vol. I., now before us, is by no means a large book ; and its accompanying “part” could be, and ought to be, bound up in the same volume with a continuous pagination. A peculiarity of the nomenclature of this work is to be that the chief theological terms are not to be *translated*, but *transliterated* ; proper names are to be treated in the same way. This may be all well enough in the case of the latter, but, with all due deference to the opinions of the “great number of missionaries” “here” “in India, and of theologians and philologists at home” which the author says he received in support of his plan, we believe it to be a great mistake in the case of the former class of words, for reasons which must be so apparent as to preclude the necessity of a statement. We can stand “Augustinus” and “Tertullianus”, and can even read “Khrysostomos” and “Yustinus Martyr” with equanimity ; but must we have “agape” and “pistis” and “metanoia” and “dikaiosune” ? Can any better means be devised for making Christianity unintelligible to the popular mind than this ? It is a great pity that the author did not let the “missionaries and “philologists” alone, and consult his common sense.

We must utter one more growl of disapprobation. It is, we suppose, too late to enter any protest against that foe of scholarship and grand promoter of laziness, the “Roman-Urdu” notation, in which this work appears. Some sort of an organization, we notice with horror, exists at Lahore charged with the special function of encouraging its use. Many of the North Indian missionaries like it, and the Mission presses issue books—as for instance this one—in it. It may have its use ; we do not deny that. But in our opinion such an attempt to force the insufficient symbols of one language to express the sounds of another will in the end be found as hurtful practically as it is wrong philologically. That, however, is a side issue.

The author of this history believes in the high attainments and rapid development of the native Church. He is building for the future. At any rate we doubt if the *present* generation of native Christians is capable of appreciating all he has done. His pages bristle with Greek and Latin, and in the foot-notes we have even detected a little Hebrew ! But then we know that the education of Christian preachers in the North-west is advancing with rapid strides, and we hope that soon there will be many more than now capable of reading with intelligence and pleasure works of a thorough and advanced scholarship. Certainly one excellent way to produce such men is to place before them a high order of books, and incite them to habits of study.

For some time to come, however, the demand for a book of so advanced scholarship, and comparatively so elaborate a plan, will be small, and it cannot be expected that the publication will be in the least degree remunerative. A generous friend of the author has borne the expense of this first part. And the author hopes that the strength to go on with the preparation of the work, and the pecuniary means for publishing it, may not be wanting in the future.

In this hope we cordially join, and shall take pleasure from time to time in calling the attention of our readers to the progress of a work which is on the whole so well begun.

ANNOTATED NEW TESTAMENT in Marathi. Edited by Baba Padmanji, Bombay Book and Tract Society. Printed at the Education Society's Press. 1877. 2 vols. Pp. 567, 855, 8vo.

The first volume of this important work was published in 1874, and noticed by us at the time.¹ The second volume, completing the work, was issued last year, and it is only through an oversight that we have not spoken of it before. We need not here repeat the remarks which we offered on the first volume, and which can as appropriately be made regarding the second. The notes on the Epistles, we are glad to see, are somewhat more full than those on the Gospels. For the character of the notes the present editor is not responsible, as the basis of the work is the well known *Annotated New Testament* of the London Religious Tract Society; of course the Marathi version will have the principal excellencies and defects of the English original. The work, however, while chiefly a translation, is not, we believe, wholly so.

The Bombay Tract Society publishes the book in different styles of binding—with the two volumes either bound separately, or together in one imposing tome. The liberality of the London Committee enables the Bombay Society to offer the work at a low price—far below cost. The mechanical execution is admirable; a more neatly printed book one seldom sees. We bespeak for this annotated edition of the New Testament a wide circulation and extended usefulness among Marathi-speaking Christians—a field where for the present it stands alone, without a rival.

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS: or chequered experiences among some of the heathen tribes of Madagascar. By the Rev. J. Richardson, Head Master of the L. M. S. Normal School, Antananarivo. Antananarivo: The London Missionary Society. 1877. Pp. 76, xviii., iii., 8vo.

THE ANTANANARIVO ANNUAL AND MADAGASCAR MAGAZINE. Edited by James Sibree, Jun. No. III.—Christmas, 1877. Antananarivo: Printed at the Press of the London Missionary Society. 1877. Pp. 136, 8vo.

THE MADAGASCAR MISSION. A Statement in reply to Recent Criticisms. Antananarivo: The London Missionary Society. 1878. Pp. 43, 8vo.

REPORT OF THE IMERINA DISTRICT MISSION for 1877. Antananarivo: The London Missionary Society. 1877. Pp. 90, 8vo.

We place together the titles of these four books and pamphlets relating to Madagascar, in order to let one notice serve for all. Seldom have we opened any specimens of missionary literature with greater satisfaction than these. Madagascar is really a neighbouring mission field, separated by only a few leagues of sea, from us in India. Yet it is to most of us a land unknown—a dark and far-off isle of mystery peopled by strange and cruel beings speaking unknown tongues, and almost without the pale of our humanity. These books have, in our own case, done much to bridge the distance—a distance rather of thought than of reality—which lay between us and our fellow-workers among the Malagasy. A friendly letter from a brother missionary has done still more; and we cherish the earnest hope that the communication thus pleasantly begun may be profitably continued.

The first of these four books is Mr. Richardson's own account of his

¹ See the *Indian Evangelical Review*, Vol. II., p. 251.

perilous journey to St. Augustine's Bay, in the south-western part of Madagascar. The journey was undertaken in September and October of last year; and we gave a very short account of it in our Number for April last (p. 348). Mr. Richardson's own narrative of it is of exceeding interest. We are hardly able to close the book even for the purpose of completing this notice. Our readers, we are sure, will thank us for a few extracts showing the manner of men in the untrodden wilds of Central Madagascar. Mr. Richardson had to pass through the territories of the *Bara* tribes—composed of men and women living in a state of disgusting immorality, vice and ignorance. He found "kings" there in every village; and to illustrate the state of society among the Baras we will now quote freely:—

"My message allayed their fears, and the king's chief counsellor soon returned saying that the king was pleased with my message. 'Tell him', he says, 'to put up his tent wherever he likes, for is he not a god from Mauritius or Bourbon?' They also informed me that the king himself would pay me a visit at once. I asked him to wait until we had got the tent up, and to this he agreed.

"When the tent was up, I sent word to the king that I was ready to receive him. He came, and I found him to be a well-built middle-aged man of somewhat prepossessing appearance. He had on a very nice lamba, and carried a gun, the stock of which, instead of the usual brass-headed nails, was decorated with brass and pewter wire worked in the shape of a diamond about an inch square. He was accompanied by thirty men, some armed with a gun and two spears, and others with two spears each. He came up to me at once, and with more warmth and energy than I looked for he slapped his left hand into mine and cried out '*salama!*'

"When we were all seated, the guides, the evangelists and myself addressed him in turn, and explained to him the object of our coming among them. He replied saying how glad he was to hear all we had to say; that he was especially pleased to see a white man in his district, and added that he would have an ox killed in our honor. He begged us to stay a few days with him to strengthen the friendship of which our apparent confidence in him seemed to be the beginning. I told him that it would be impossible for us to agree to his request, for if we stayed with him we should be compelled to stay with every other king, and that it might lead to trouble with those whom we had passed by. I informed him, however, that I would, although tired, give up the whole evening to him, as soon as I had had my tea. He jumped at the offer, and we broke up for an hour. It was then getting dusk, and by the time we had finished tea it was quite dark.

"I prepared my tent for a night's entertainment, and awaited the arrival of the man with much impatience. He came a little before seven o'clock, and from then until 10-30, when he took his departure, I spent one of the happiest evenings I have ever enjoyed in Madagascar. I gave myself up entirely to his whims and fancies, and I feel sure my little lecture was not lost upon him and his people.

"The guides, the evangelists, Rabe and another of my men, sat on my left; the king and about eight of his counsellors and one of his wives sat on my right. I was in the middle and made a table of two boxes, on which I spread out my 'curiosities.' I showed him revolver, gun, matches, salt, a composite candle, spring candlestick, watch and compass, knives and forks, spoons, plates, spirit lamp and spirits of wine, boots, shoes, stockings, needle-case, Testament and hymn-book, etc. etc.,—in fact everything he wished to examine,—and I tried to get a suitable lesson for each one.

"In addition to the fun we got out of the matches, watch-case, sugar and salt, etc., I used the revolver and gun to show him how that if they trusted in guns other nations had better weapons, and they could not hope to come off other than second best in fighting.

"I showed him the spirits of wine to prove to him that there was use for spirits other than for intoxication, and that they could serve some good purpose; and the sugar also I told him had been made from the sugar-cane, which was its *legitimate use*.

"I told him how our wives and children could make stockings, etc.; that the needle-case, containing scissors, needles, thread and buttons, had been given to me by my wife; and thus I had an opportunity of expatiating upon the blessings of monogamy as contrasted with polygamy.

"I used my watch and its mechanism, as also the compass, etc., to show him how, having been diligent in praying to God, he had given us knowledge and wisdom; and from that I went to the Testament, which I informed him told us of God our loving Father, and his Son our Saviour, of how to live a holy life, and prepare for the better that was to come; how false were all charms, etc., and that we were going to the Tanosy to teach them the lessons contained in that book.

"Thus the hours sped on; the man's face brightened and darkened by turns, but he thoroughly entered into the spirit of the lecture. I spoke in imperfect Bara, but the king, being proficient in the Hova dialect, was always ready to come to my assistance in translating what I said to his counsellors and wife.

"The guides and the evangelists got sleepy, and left us at ten o'clock, but it was close upon eleven when the king went away, carrying with him a little salt and sugar, a candle and some matches, some needles, thread, and a few other little things, which he said he should treasure in remembrance of his 'longo' (friend). When he was gone I felt that at least I had shown him how to spend a happy night without drink, and I thought he would not soon forget the evening with the white man. After his departure I went outside for a quiet smoke, while the tent was ventilated. My brain was excited in thinking over the evening we had spent together. It was a beautiful moonlight night, and as I walked about and around the houses close to my tent I could hear the boisterous talk of the Bara, as they repeated to their friends all the things I had said and done; but two matters had been especially impressed upon their minds, for again and again I heard them say, 'Truly God has given them wisdom'; and, 'How he must love his wife!' I had retired to the tent and was preparing for bed, when some one called out at the tent door, 'I want to come in.' Wondering what it could mean, but half suspecting it was some one coming to beg on the quiet, I peeped out; and there in the moonlight, crouching at the tent door, without gun or spear or attendant, was the king himself, wanting to know if there was not something he could give me for myself, for that I had so won his heart that he could not sleep unless he gave me a present! Would I have a fowl? 'Yes,' I said, 'I would.' 'Then,' said he, 'just wait while I fetch one.' 'No,' said I, 'I will come with you and get it.' Rabe accompanied us, and he took us right up to the door of the house in the compound from which we had been driven by an armed man a few hours before.

"When Rabe and I returned, we each exclaimed, 'How glad the man must be!'

"I prepared for rest the second time, but just as I was about to lie down there came a voice again, 'I want to come in.' Little dreaming that it would be the king, I peeped out, and there he sat a second time, at midnight, holding in his hand a small basket of rice, saying that he could not go to bed until he had brought me that for the next morning's meal! I took it and gave God thanks for the way he had enabled me to obtain this heathen king's good-will, and I felt, as did the men who were staying with me in the tent, that there is something hopeful yet beneath the rough exterior of a Bara king. It is not all darkness."

Mr. Richardson's experiences of Bara royalty, however, were not all of so pleasant a kind. He arrived at one village just as a shower of rain came down. He took shelter under a large tamarind tree. Two men, nearly naked, approached him:—

"They were both drunk, and could scarcely stand. They made for us at once, and the taller of the two reeled up to me, snatched the cigar out of my mouth, the hat from my head, and plucked my beard repeatedly, all the while telling me that all I had was his, and that he would kill me that very day. He leered into my face, and said he was glad I was a white man. He slapped my tin boxes, and said they were his. He tried to lift them on his shoulders, and while I was gently taking them out of his grasp and keeping down my anger some one

whispered behind me that he was the king ! There were a number of women and children under a tree close at hand, heartily enjoying the king's pranks."

Mr. Richardson contrived to get rid of his troublesome friend, and before leaving the town on the next day took occasion to impart a few healthy moral injunctions, and promised to spend a day with the king on returning from the south, if he should be found sober.

In another village the king turned out to be a much more hopeful sort of a character :—

"Soon after we entered [the town], I was walking round the place, while my men were pitching the tent, and I saw a number of men seated round a carpenter engaged in smoothing a piece of wood as if for a spade-handle. 'Ah,' said I, 'you are the friend I have been seeking some time. Will you mend my tent 'pegs?' 'Certainly', said he, his face beaming with smiles. I went and got them, and he cut away in quite a workmanlike fashion, and mended twenty-seven in a very short space of time. all the while laughing and talking with me. When he had nearly done, some one behind me whispered, 'That is the king.' I was amazed—yesterday my beard plucked by one, and to-day another cheerfully mending my tent pegs ! How I enjoyed the evening with the cheerful old man ! He brought me a couple of fowls and some rice ; he told me he was delighted to see me ; that I was not to get alarmed at the noise and the rowdy pranks of his young men, for while he was there it would be noise and nothing else. He himself is a teetotaller. This I found was true.

"He came into my tent in the evening, accompanied by his son and his oldest wife ; he brought several other kings who with him govern the district called Sakarahy, and we spent just such another evening as we had done with Manangara [the first one mentioned above]. I was greatly pleased at finding these evidences of sober reasoning men among such a wild people as the Bara.

"After I had gone to bed I heard some one moving about outside my tent, and getting up to see who it was, there I found the kind old man and his wife taking up a position in the moonlight at some little distance from the tent, and on my inquiry what had brought them there, they said they had come to keep guard over my tent during the night, lest some of the rowdies of the town, who were having a drinking carouse, should disturb me. Could anything be more gratifying ? I begged them to go to bed, telling them that God was my guardian, and that should there be any unusual disturbance I would at once fire my revolver and awaken him. They reluctantly departed, and I spent hours during the night wondering what could be done for such hopeful people as these. They have never known anything of God as revealed through Christ ; they have been living amid heathen riot and immorality ever since they had a being ; and yet they willingly came out, of their own accord, to protect a stranger during the night ! The whole body of his subjects in the town, men and women, were drumming, and dancing, and yelling over their cups in every part of the town."

On the whole we think Bara kings must be extraordinary specimens of kingly grandeur and dignity. But there is certainly a field for hopeful work among their people.

The *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine* is full of valuable information about the island and its inhabitants by the missionaries of the several societies operating in Madagascar, and by other scholars. The Number which has been sent us (dated Christmas, 1877) contains (among others) articles on the early inhabitants of the island—on the Malagasy language—on hindrances to the progress of the Gospel in Madagascar—on the folk-lore of Madagascar—descriptions of missionary journeys here and there, etc. The first Article mentioned, written by a gentleman who has since died, undertakes to prove the existence of religious rites among the Hovas (the most powerful tribe in the island—*which claims sovereignty throughout its borders*) similar to those in vogue

among "the Jews previous to the time of Solomon, combined with the "grosser forms of worship common among the Phœnicians and other "nations." From this he would infer—or at least suggest the possibility of—a common origin of the Hovas and the Jews. "Let us then suppose", the author says, in concluding his paper, "that from time to time parties "of the servants sent by the kings of Israel and Syria" [for purposes of trade ; he thinks *Ophir* was in this quarter of the globe, in South-eastern Africa] "made their escape from the fever-stricken coast to Imerina [where the Hovas now dwell], "a land resembling the upper lands of "their own Judæa and Syria, and we may to some extent account for "the introduction of many of the customs and modes of worship referred "to above." The theory rests on a small basis of fact ; but the following paragraph is striking, and well worth quoting :—

"Among the Jews the new year was ushered in by the feast of the Passover. Among the Hovas their new year begins by a general feast, which is observed all over the country, and in the observance of which there are certain points of resemblance to parts of the Passover, and to some other feasts of the Jews. Each family, or any number of families, united, select a bullock to be killed on the morning of the appointed day. The sovereign also selects a kind of representative bullock for himself and the people. The country is searched over for this bullock, for it must be without blemish, and of a perfect symmetrical appearance. A young man, also without any blemish or defect, and both of whose parents are alive, is appointed to slay the bullock at the proper time. On the evening before the feast day, and while the burning of the dry grass is being carried on, the sovereign and her court, and many of the principal men, assemble in the palace, where for the occasion a bath has been prepared, and a specially appointed person leads the sovereign to the bath. After bathing, the sovereign comes out, and, walking about among the people, both within the palace and out of doors, blesses them, and sprinkles them with water out of a bullock's horn ; after which the sovereign and her subjects feast together on boiled rice mixed with honey. Early next morning the bullocks are killed—the queen's first, then the people's ; and portions of the blood on a rush used to be fixed on the wall or roof above the door of each dwelling."

The editor adds in a note that the last named feature is rapidly disappearing.

We looked through the Article on the hindrances to the progress of the Gospel in Madagascar with a view to seeing what obstacles exist peculiar to Madagascar, and in what respects, if any, their difficulties resemble ours in India. The author distributes the difficulties into two divisions,—those "common to all men as human beings" (such as mental sluggishness, ignorance, credulity and superstition, prejudice, a diseased imagination, appetites and passions, worldliness, etc.), and those "more directly consequent on the idolatrous notions and usages that until lately universally prevailed in Madagascar." It is to be expected that for a long time the results of ages of idolatry will linger in the life and thoughts and habits of the people. The writer of the article says :—

"Possibly, however, the very vagueness and incompactness of the idolatry that prevailed in Madagascar have tended to make its influence more secret and subtle, and its overthrow less thorough, in some places than we have supposed. Perhaps had its creed been more definite and its organization more perfect, had it presented a more compact front to the Gospel influences at work, the attack made upon it by Christian teaching would have been more direct and concentrated, and although the victory would not have been so speedy, it might have been more decisive and complete. But, now defeated in the grand assault, it yet lurks in secret hiding-places. Its ideas float loosely and in diffusion in the minds of the people in coun-

try districts, lingering often where we least expect it, and can hardly know what harm it does. It often seriously hinders the correct understanding of Gospel preaching. From the necessity of the case, the Christian sense has had to be *imported* into many of the words now used; while to those whose minds are indolent and unexercised by use it is to be feared that the precise ideas conveyed are still largely tinged with recollections of the old idolatry. Words and phrases long hallowed in our thoughts by devout association, such as the names for God, grace, sanctification, holiness, faith, peace, love, joy, and the rewards and glories of the heavenly world, have very meagre meaning put into them by many of the people as yet."

We in India can well understand, from our experience here, the force of these last sentences, and can sympathize with our friends in Madagascar in the difficulty arising from the necessary use of terms long associated with a religion and a philosophy different from our own to express Christian ideas. But we see no remedy save perseverance and patient instruction. We can hardly coin new words, we must use the materials before us. This Article, however, does not give us, in a manner so clear and definite as we should like, an account of the obstacles to the spread of Christianity peculiar to Madagascar. Perhaps the reason lies in that very indefiniteness and vagueness of the old religion referred to in the first sentence of the extract just made.

A word, and but a word, concerning the two pamphlets whose titles stand last in the list of four given above. The *Madagascar Mission* contains a dignified statement, "in reply to recent criticisms"¹; we judge that the reply was considered satisfactory by the friends, and conclusive by the critics, of the Mission, for, so far as we are informed, it has closed the controversy.

The Report of the Imerina District Committee (one of the two committees connected with the L. M. S. working in the island) contains an astonishing table of statistics, from which we extract the totals :—

Congregations	910
Native pastors	344
Evangelists	107
Native preachers	3,036
Church members	67,010
Native adherents	219,709
Adults able to read	17,607

In 657 schools, 37,412 scholars of both sexes are under instruction. Contributions for schools amounted to £593; for general purposes to £2,703. These figures are for 1876-77. Surely the missionaries of that district must be in a condition to understand the meaning of Paul in 2 Cor. xi. 28!

As to the condition and prospects of Christianity in the island generally, the perusal of these books has left on our minds a mingled impression of joy and hope and sadness, the joy and the hope, however, very largely predominating. While Mr. Richardson's researches show that the unevangelized parts of the island offer not only a field of peculiar need, but one of very great hopefulness to the evangelist, the Report before us, and the Article in the *Annual* just alluded to, give evidence that the Christian part of the island is far from being what it should be. This is only what we were to expect. A great work has been wrought; great results

¹ See the *Indian Evangelical Review*, Vol. V., p. 347.

attained ; wide foundations laid. Now persistent labor, careful instruction, long-suffering patience, are needed for the edification of the Madagascar Church. A complete Christian civilization and noble Christian characters require more than ten or twenty years for their development. The Report speaks as follows—and the words of men on the ground can be read with far greater profit than our own :—

“The success has not been all that was desired ; many things have been attempted which have not been accomplished ; plans have been formed for the good of the people which the missionaries have not been able to carry out ; some of our pastors and teachers have not proved themselves workmen that have no need to be ashamed ; the character of many of our Church members is far from what it ought to be ; the ignorance of the great mass of the people is appalling, and their unwillingness to receive instruction, when placed within their reach, is most deplorable.”

Here is brought to view one source of difficulty which is, in a sense, peculiar to Madagascar—the apathy of the people, and their unwillingness to learn. An obstacle of such a kind it takes long to remove. From what we have seen in these works, we imagine that that difficulty and a general laxity of morals constitute very great obstacles to Christian progress ; though one of the missionaries says that in Antananarivo there is less drunkenness than in any other community he knows of. The Report says again :—

“The character of our native churches is as yet not such as to justify any relaxation in our superintendence of them, or the withdrawal of any of the means necessary to their instruction and spiritual growth. The majority of our native pastors and teachers still require constant supervision and help, even in the minutest details of their work, and the character of many of our native Christians is such as in some respects to make the work of the pastor in Madagascar more onerous and difficult than a pastor's work in England. Whilst there are some—and, we trust, a considerable number—of the members of our churches who are of well-trying character and of sound Christian experience, yet we cannot close our eyes to the fact that there is also a large number who are Christians merely in name, and many others whose knowledge of Christianity is not such as to lead us to expect any satisfactory development of Christian character. It is to be feared that the religion of many consists merely in occasional attendance at the Sunday services, being baptized, and partaking in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper once a month. This unhealthy state of things, together with repeated misconduct on the part of many of our Church members, is a source of constant pain and anxiety to the missionaries, and this is specially the case with those stationed in the country, and laboring in districts at a distance from the capital.”

But the leaven is working. We may believe that the day of fruition and reaping is at hand.

MINOR NOTICES.

WE mentioned the fact last April (p. 381) that Messrs. Higginbotham & Co., of Madras, were about to issue a supplement to the second edition of their well known *Men whom India has known*.¹ The supplement has now been published. It forms a little octavo, with stiff paper covers, of 106 pages. Its general style and plan are the same as of

¹ See the *Indian Evangelical Review*, Vol. III., p. 406.

the larger work of which it is a continuation. It embraces brief biographical sketches of prominent men who have died, or permanently left India, during the five years 1874-78; though in several instances noted men who were not mentioned in the original work receive notice in this supplement. The work is a valuable contribution to the means of preparing hereafter a larger and more perfect biographical dictionary of the country. It is also valuable for its own sake to the Indian student of to-day, and as such we cordially welcome it. We hope that in a few years a new edition of the entire work, incorporating this supplement and brought down to date, may be called for.—Messrs. Gantz Brothers, Madras, publish an anonymous tract of 20 pp. 12mo on the question *Is the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer necessary?* This is one of the great questions of the day with Churchmen; the difficulty is less to answer the question than to carry the answer into practical effect. This tract takes extreme ground, insisting, in the very first sentence, that the “immediate revision” of the Prayer Book is absolutely “necessary” and in the next paragraph declaring that, as interpreted by Ritualists, the Prayer Book cannot lawfully, in the light of Scripture—be obeyed. The author gives a brief history of the compilation of the Prayer Book; “the best witness of its worthlessness”; his sketch contains a convenient and useful statement of facts. The controversy we leave to those immediately concerned. But we must remark that this tract would have more weight with those who dissent from its conclusions if it abounded less in strong language and triple exclamation marks.—Rev. G. Pearce, of Ootacamund, edits, and the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta publishes, the first Number of the *Oriental Baptist*—“a bi-monthly evangelical record.” Mr. Pearce is one of the oldest living Indian missionaries. He was one of the original members of the Calcutta Missionary Conference, but of late years, we believe, has withdrawn from active effort. His new periodical—or the resuscitation of an old periodical, as a magazine of the same name existed some years ago—is a very neatly printed pamphlet of 40 pages. It opens with an Article on Christian periodical literature, which contains a short and imperfect sketch of previous efforts in the field of Indian religious journalism, and then points out the need of further attempts in the same line. The need all will allow without much argument. There is most certainly room for denominational periodicals of a high order here in India. The name of the new periodical announces its denominational character; and judging from the tone of this first Number, it will be an unsparing exposure of Ritualism. The best justification for the existence of such a periodical will be the ability with which its articles are written and edited. We extend a cordial welcome to the *Oriental Baptist*, we would express the hope that future issues may witness a marked improvement over the first in these particulars. The price is extremely low—only Rs. 2 for the six Numbers of which the annual volumes will be composed. Interested subscribers should send their names to Mr. Pearce at Ootacamund or to Rev. G. H. Rouse, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.—The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha is an association of educated native gentlemen at Poona whose object it is to watch over the interests of their poor and less enlightened countrymen, to collect and publish information concerning their social and material condition, and, in whatever way

from time to time may seem expedient, to undertake the amelioration of their lot. The Sabha is always on hand with its memorial to Government whenever any great question is agitating the community, or any grave wrong needs to be righted. It did good service during the recent famine in bringing to light the actual state of things in the afflicted districts. The Sabha is outspoken and independent to a fault, and—as we need hardly say—is not the object of the tenderest affection from Government. The Sabha has recently published the first Number of *The Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha* (Poona : July, 1878. Pp. 7, 28, 31, 27, 3). This Number (which is for the most part printed well, but lacks a continuous pagination, reference to it thus being very inconvenient) contains the proceedings of the Sabha on the famine, and, in the shape of an "Independent Section", two Articles—one on Famine Administration in Bombay, the other on the Censorship of the Native Press. The style of the Articles is excellent ; the tone, while critical, sometimes (and rightly) sharply so, is not on the whole unfriendly to Government. We wish prosperity to this new Quarterly. It is the organ of a Society which cannot be wisely ignored either by our rulers, or by any who would understand Indian subjects.—*China's Millions* (July, August, 1878) reports the meetings held in the Conference Hall, Mildmay Park, London, last May, in connection with the twelfth Anniversary of the China Inland Mission. This Mission, whose preachers weave a network of evangelistic routes over half the Chinese Empire, seems to be waxing stronger and stronger. We may have something more to say about it at some other time.—We notice an address—not sent us for that purpose, however—delivered by E. E. Jenkins, M.A., last July, at Bristol, England, in connection with the assembling of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. Our thanks are due to Messrs. Higginbotham & Co. for this copy—one of a few sent them for private circulation. Its subject is *Modern Atheism : its Position and Promise*. We wish it could be circulated publicly, not merely privately, in India. If we are not mistaken, some parts of it would be useful for general circulation among educated natives.—We beg to acknowledge with thanks the Reports of the Congregational Union of Scotland ; Theological Hall of the Congregational Churches in Scotland, formerly the Glasgow Theological Academy ; Congregational Widows' Fund ; Congregational Ministers' Provident Fund ; Chapel Building Society ; Scottish Congregational Total Abstinence Society ; and Conference of Scottish Congregationalists, 1878.

AT p. 492 of our Number for July last we published an extract from one of Mr. Hooper's reports (St. John's Divinity School, Lahore) lamenting the want of a Hebrew-Urdu Dictionary. It gives us much pleasure to state that this want is now in a fair way to be supplied. Mr. Hooper is himself engaged in the preparation of such a work, and hopes with confidence to have it ready for the press next February. Such a work will be of very great service far beyond the limits in which Urdu is the chief spoken language ; it can form the basis and model on which similar dictionaries can be prepared in other Indian vernaculars. There is no sign of the times more cheering than the fact that such books are wanted, even though it be but by a few of our native preachers.

AN effort is now in progress in Calcutta to republish the complete works of the late Raja Rammohan Rai. The reprinting of his Bengali and Sanscrit works is nearly completed. The Bengali portion will fill 700 octavo pages. It is supposed that the English reprint, now to be begun, will occupy twice as much space. A list including most of his English works has been prepared, and contains twenty-four titles. Mr. Rajnarain Bose, of Calcutta, has this important enterprise in charge, and will, we trust, be well supported in it.

MESSRS. TRÜBNER & Co. have already placed Oriental scholars under many and heavy obligations. They are now adding to their long list of good works another in the publication of their *Oriental Series*. Four or five volumes of this series have already appeared, and about as many more are in preparation. The second edition of Haug's *Essays on the Parsis*, with notes by Dr. E. W. West, was the first volume issued, and the *Dhammapada from the Buddhist Canon*, translated from the Chinese by Prof. S. Beal, the well known Chinese and Buddhist scholar, the second. Dr. Albrecht Weber's *Lectures on the History of Indian Literature* forms the third volume, of which, however, our copy has not yet reached us. The fourth volume, on the languages of the East Indies, promises to be of great use to the philologist. China as well as India—Hinduism, Buddhism and Muhammadanism—are included in the ground covered by the series. The *English and Foreign Philosophical Library*, another series published by the same house, of which Nos. 1, 4-8 (we believe) have appeared, already contains some works of special interest to Orientalists, though *all* the volumes of the *Library* would hardly come under the description Orthodox!

THE INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

No. XXII.

JANUARY, 1879.

ART. I.—FAMINE AND THE GOSPEL.

I.—A RETROSPECT.

THE years 1876, 1877 and 1878 have been remarkable for the prevalence of famine in various regions of the earth. The distress in this country so entirely absorbed public interest that comparatively few persons were aware that a similar visitation at the same time was desolating China; yet the famine in China has been more extensive, of longer duration, and attended with far greater horrors than the Indian famine. There has been no harvest in some parts of China for three years. As far back as 1876 the people were dying by thousands and eating their own children, and ever since then the famine has continued with increasing horror. It is even said that history contains no record of such a calamity.

The *Times*' correspondent, writing from Shanghai on April 27, 1878, says:—"The famine seems now to be at its worst. In its horrible details, as given by all witnesses, foreign and native, official and missionary, it is the direst calamity that this or any country has been visited with. The sturdy Chinese peasants do not calmly fold their hands and die, like our poor fellow-subjects the Madrassees last year; they eat the dead, and when there are none to take they kill the living for the same purpose. The Chinese newspapers here give the number of people who have died of starvation, or met the awful fate just recorded, at over 5,000,000."

There is famine in Brazil. The *Globe* says :—" A region of "about 20,000 square miles is fast becoming depopulated "through drought. Well-to-do families are reduced to beggary, "and murders and robberies are rife."

There is famine in Persia. No rain has fallen in some parts of that country for three years, and in consequence multitudes are dying of starvation.

There is famine in Morocco. The *Globe* says :—" The "accounts received from Morocco are heart-rending in the "extreme, especially from the southern portion of the Empire. "It is estimated that no less than three millions of the people are "affected by famine unprecedented in its severity, and likely to "become intensified during the remaining part of this year and "for the first three months of 1879."

There was great scarcity and consequent mortality in the North-west Provinces of India ; but it is the Madras famine of 1877, and its influence on the spread of Christianity, which mainly forms the subject of this paper.

That there was a fearful amount of mortality in the southern Presidency directly or indirectly due to the famine is now an acknowledged fact, although at first Sir Richard Temple and other official authorities predicted that there would be no increase of mortality, and even contended afterwards that their predictions had been fulfilled. It is now acknowledged that those predictions were not fulfilled, and the most competent authorities estimate the number of deaths due to the famine, directly or indirectly, at five or six millions.

A second fact is now also admitted, viz., that, whatever errors may be chargeable on any parties whose duty it was to grapple with the dire calamity, stupendous efforts were made both by the Imperial and local Governments, as well as by private benevolence in this country and in England, to save the lives of the people from the ravages of famine. Severe blame has been attached in some quarters to the measures and policy of the Government ; but it is now acknowledged by all that the difficulties encountered were immense, and that the efforts put forth to mitigate the calamity were worthy of all praise. The Government ought to be judged by the amount of good they did rather than by what they were not able to accomplish. To save the perishing not only were Government measures and national resources employed ; but private charity flowed in with unprecedented liberality from India, England and Australia. It is stated that the Mansion House Famine Relief Fund closed with a total amount of £515,000. This magnificent sum was contributed during a period of commercial distress, and not by great gifts, but by a common spirit of charity diffused through every town and hamlet of the *nation*. Christian motive alone could produce such results. It

was Christian England's response to India's cry of distress, and, as has been truly said, it is the best answer that could be given to those who say that "we hold India only for our own interests, "and by the throat rather than by the heart." The immediate result of the aid given was that millions of lives were saved, which but for such aid would have certainly perished.

In endeavoring to estimate the effect of this visitation on the spread of Christianity, we must look at it, not in its ghastly nakedness as an isolated event, but as it came among the people softened and mitigated by the relief measures of a Christian Government, the tender ministries of Christian missionaries, and the large-hearted benevolence of Christian people in this and other lands.

Whatever effectsuch concomitants may have had in commending the Christian religion to the people of this land, it will not be denied that in themselves considered they were fruits peculiar to the religion of Jesus Christ, and well fitted to take their place in the shining heraldry of his kingdom. Profane history contains no record of such deeds. They are among the fruits of the tree of life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.

And not only should we view the famine and the famine relief as actually existing together, the bleeding sores bound up by Christian hands and soothed with the wine and oil of Christian charity,—we must also consider that in the providence of God they were *designed* to go together. As in nature provision is made for the healing of a wound as soon as it is inflicted,—as from the body of the living oyster secretions flow, converting the extraneous irritant which is causing disease into a precious pearl, which may lie innocuous in the shell of the living creature, and after its death be gathered to adorn the brow of royalty,—so God in his moral government of this world never designs that any evil, moral or physical, should stand alone, but rather that it should afford occasion for the forces of good to gather towards it, and extract its poison, or gild it over with the enamel of loving-kindness, and thus, as far as possible, turn the curse into a blessing.

More especially we must lay down the principle that famine—like every other calamity, whatever may be the proximate causes of it, and whatever other purposes it may serve in the economy of Providence—is fitted and designed to awaken reflection and humble men, that they may seek after God; while in the New Testament dispensation such things are intended to work together for the spread of the Gospel. The Apocalyptic Rider on the white horse who is represented as going forth with battle bow and royal crown, "conquering and to conquer", is followed by other riders symbolizing war, famine and pestilence, and

these are seen working together with the Gospel for the extension of the kingdom of Jesus Christ in the earth.

We are now prepared to inquire how far these two things—the famine and the famine relief—have worked together for good and for the furtherance of the Gospel in this land.

That during the past year there has been an extraordinary movement in Southern India towards Christianity is an undoubted and cheering fact.

1. In Tinneveli, in connection with the S. P. G., after filling up blanks caused by death, an addition to the Christian Church of upwards of 20,000 adherents is reported. In June last the accessions amounted to 19,300, and were still continuing. It was confidently expected that the movement would gather strength rather than diminish. In the Bombay Presidency the S. P. G. have baptized about 2,000.

2. In connection with the Mission of the American Reformed Church in Arcot (better known as the “Scudders’ Mission”) there has been a similar movement, and one even greater, in proportion to the strength of the Mission, than that in Tinneveli.

From the Report of that Mission for 1877 we learn that “between 800 and 900 families, numbering about 6,000 souls, “and residing in 60 different villages in North and South Arcot, “have renounced their idols and formally accepted Christianity. “We have not included any of them in our statistical table, “as we wish to test their motives before calling them Christians.”

Besides these new villages there were large accessions of adherents in the old villages, many of the congregations being nearly doubled. In some places all the people came over; the idols of stone were destroyed, and in one village they have been laid down to form the steps of a Christian place of worship. The Report further states that the movement, though principally among the Pariah caste, is by no means confined to them. Pastor John states that of the eighteen villages he has received two are composed of caste people, one including the *monegar* and eleven families. These have broken the sacred thread from their bodies, taken off the *lingam* from their arms, and eaten with him. In one village in South Arcot seven families representing three different castes, together with eight families of Pariahs, form a new congregation.

3. In connection with the Basel German Evangelical Mission in south-western India large accessions of adherents have also been made.

About 1,200 adults have attached themselves to the missionaries to receive further instruction in the doctrines of Christianity, and 300 orphan children who would otherwise have *perished of hunger* are being brought up as Christians.

4. I believe there have been large accessions in connection with the American Baptist Mission at Nellore and elsewhere.

The Roman Catholics report also large numbers of conversions.

So much, then, for the *extent* of the movement. We have now to inquire as to its character and results—how it is to be accounted for, and how it is related to the famine on the one hand, and the spread of Christianity on the other. We may premise that, in our judgment, too much has been made in recent discussions of the *motive power* which is supposed to account for the facts, and too little of the facts themselves. It is always a difficult thing to attempt to ascertain and appraise the precise *motives* by which an individual or a multitude of men may be actuated; and in this case what the Church and the missionary societies have *chiefly* to consider is, not the essential character of the movement, nor the causes which may have led to it, but the fact of the movement itself, and the measures which ought to be adopted for turning it to the best account by giving it a distinctively Christian character.

In order to this, however, some knowledge of the probable origin and real nature of the movement is necessary. That the Church and the missionary societies may judiciously determine what measures should be adopted, it is necessary that they should satisfy themselves generally as to the character of the movement with which they have to deal, and its probable influence on the cause of Christian truth. An appeal like that put forth by Bishop Caldwell for £16,000 to be expended in the course of four years¹ could hardly be justified, except on the ground that he saw in the movement a spiritual element, or at least a great opportunity for increased missionary effort. Now, that the help which came to the people in the time of their distress was generally recognized by them as coming from *Christian sources*, and awakened feelings favorable to Christianity, there is ample evidence to show.

Bishop Caldwell says, in a letter to the Secretary of the S. P. G., London:—

“The principal cause of the movement was undoubtedly the conviction which generally prevailed that whilst Hinduism had left the famine-stricken to die, Christianity had stepped in, like an angel from heaven, to

¹ Our author has evidently been misinformed. With reference to this statement Bishop Caldwell writes:—“This is one of the many errors which have clustered around my proceedings in this matter. The only 16,000 I know anything of is the number of new accessions from heathenism, which in the letter in question I set down at 16,000. The special grant I asked for, or rather which was asked for by our provincial Church Council, was for the more modest sum of £636 a year for five years. Other people may have asked for larger sums for other purposes, but for that I am not responsible.”—ED. J. E. R.

comfort them with its sympathy, and cheer them with its effectual succor. The Indian agricultural classes are certainly, on the whole, very ignorant, but they are not too ignorant to be able to comprehend one of the first lessons taught them by the famine relief, viz., the superiority of a religion of love to a religion of selfish indifference."

The Report of the Arcot Mission says:—

"With regard to the reception of the Gospel by the heathen, both missionary and native agent agree that a more kindly spirit has never been exhibited toward Christianity than now. The name of Christ, no more an unfamiliar sound in even the remotest villages, is everywhere received with little or no opposition. Abuse and ridicule of the preacher has almost entirely ceased; and village officers, who formerly regarded the missionary with suspicion, now have become his friends, and look forward to his periodical visits to the villages with pleasure. Not a few instances have occurred in which the village officer has advised the lower castes to become Christians, and voluntarily assisted the missionary in securing land for building purposes. In one of our Mission reports, written ten years or more ago, mention is made of a wealthy landowner, who was a most decided opposer of Christianity, and persecutor of the converts. This same man to-day is one of the best friends the missionary has in those parts, and his hatred of the Christians has been changed into friendship."

The Report of the Basel German Mission says:—

"Many hundreds, even thousands, thronged the compounds, and would not be put off with alms, but came again and again, asking to be admitted to the regular relief-works, and expressing their willingness to give up idolatry and accept Christianity. Their idols, some said, had been of no use to them in this calamity; they would now follow the God of the Christians."

Similar testimony is given by those missions whose number of adherents has not been recruited like that of the S. P. G. and other societies. Thus the Report of the American Mission at Madura, which records only a net gain of nine converts, says:—

"On the whole the prospects for the coming year are unusually hopeful. Never have there been greater openings for work. Never has the harvest seemed so ready for the reaper. Instead of losing ground, we have gained. Many are coming and asking us to enroll their names as Christians, urging us to give them spiritual teachers. One who has been more than thirty years in India exclaimed—'Never in all my life have I seen such openings for work, such prospects of abundant harvest.' We have a stronger faith for the future, and a firmer belief in the promise of God, 'My word shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.'"

The Madras *Church Missionary Record* for August, while giving reasons in explanation of the fact that so large accessions had occurred in connection with the S. P. G., while the C. M. S. had no such experience, concludes as follows:—

"On the whole we feel that there is among the heathen in Tinneveli a decided movement towards Christianity, and that there is reason to thank God that so many have come under regular Christian instruction."

The missionaries and other eye-witnesses in China bear testimony in abundance to the same kindly feeling towards *Christianity as the result of famine relief.*

Her Majesty's Consul at Tientsin, R. I. Forrest, Esq., in a letter to Rev. W. Muirhead, says:—

“The officials treat the missionaries now with the utmost cordiality, and assist them in every way in their power. As for the people, Mr. Smith, one of the distributors, triumphantly tells us that they have at last opened their houses, and that the distributors have since last autumn seen more of real Chinese life than all the other missionaries put together since China was opened to them. He is not exaggerating. The advent of the foreigner in all the places which have been visited is now hailed with delight, and the utmost courtesy and hospitality extended to them, not only by those who taste of their generosity, but by those who will never need it. The distribution of funds your Committee have so kindly sent, by the brave and judicious band of missionaries now engaged in the work, will do more to open China to us than a dozen wars.”

The Rev. C. A. Stanley, another distributor, in a letter to Mr. Muirhead, says:—

“Outside of this relief any amount of preaching and mission work generally is open to us everywhere. We get access to the houses. They are ready, and in many cases eager, to hear. Many, doubtless, solely for *the cash*; but many too are pondering deeply, I believe, and will ere long be numbered among the Lord's people.”¹

It is thus established by undoubted testimony that the people recognized that the famine relief came mainly from Christian sources, and that they were thus induced to regard Christianity with favor. This favorable impression seems to have been deepened by observing the manner in which Christian missionaries and the agents of a Christian Government exposed themselves to suffering, danger and death in order to carry relief to the perishing.

Not a few precious lives were sacrificed in the work of famine relief, which contrasted with the cruel indifference which characterized the representatives of false religion, and could not fail to make a deep impression on the minds of those who were ready to perish. Mr. Weigele, of the Basel German Mission, died at Guladgud on the 21st of December, 1877, of famine fever and hard work. People came from all sides to his funeral:—

“Many from a distance of fifteen miles to see the beloved teacher's face once more, and many wept bitterly. The grief was very great, not only among the Christians, but among the heathen inhabitants of the whole town. From the rich Brahman down to the poor of Guladgud, they came to the Mission house, so that about 6,000 persons must have come for a farewell look, and it was clear how much they had loved him. Several of them gave utterance to the impression that he had sacrificed his life for the sufferers of Guladgud.”

In an appreciative notice of the work of this Mission, the *Statesman and Friend of India* in August last said truly,—
“Here were men and women—not Englishmen, not servants of

¹ See letter from Rev. Hudson Taylor in *Word and Work* for July, 1878.

“ the Government, but inhabitants of a country having no connection with India—hazarding their lives, and losing them cheerfully, from simple love of their fellow-men. What more needs to be said to vindicate the surpassing value of the presence of the missionary in India ?”

Devoted missionaries have fallen in China, and the impression produced has been the same. Consul Forrest, referring to the death of Mr. Hall, who died at Tientsin of famine fever, and whose wife died of the same fever last year, says :—

“ His lamented death seems to have inspired his fellow-workers with renewed courage, and His Excellency the Viceroy (the celebrated Si Hung Chang) told Mr. Detring that there must be something in the faith which induced foreign gentlemen to come to China and gratuitously risk their lives, and even forfeit them, in teaching and assisting the people of this country.”

An article in a Chinese newspaper, commending the conduct of the missionaries in administering famine relief, concludes with these words :—

“ Let us then cherish a grateful admiration for the charity and wide benevolence of the missionary, whose sacrifice of self, and love towards mankind, can be carried out with earnestness like this. Let us applaud, too, the mysterious efficacy and activity of the doctrine of Jesus, of which we have these proofs. We record the same in writing for the information of all noble-minded men ‘ within the seas.’ ”

The contrast between the heartless indifference of the votaries of false religions and the self-sacrificing spirit of the Christian missionaries was often striking in the extreme. While a Christian Government was putting forth earnest efforts, and Christian missionaries were sacrificing their own lives to “ rescue the perishing and care for the dying”, a Brahman holding a high Government appointment often expressed his disapproval of the conduct of the Government in undertaking such vast expense, and said, “ Why should these people be kept alive ? “ Why should they not be allowed to die ?”

While Christian missionaries—remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, “ It is not the will of your Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish”,—“ Feed my lambs”,—gathered in, fed, and cared for the perishing children, the *Madras Native Opinion* denounced the Famine Orphanage as “ a curse of the country.”

Even little children could understand the difference between the religion of Jesus and Hinduism in this respect.

It was no doubt Christianity on its material and *social* side, rather than its moral and spiritual, which attracted the attention and won the hearts of the people in the day of their calamity. *But is the movement to be despised and treated with incredulity on that account ?* They had been trodden down socially and politically for centuries. In the hour of their distress they had been treated by their own people as the priest and Levit

treated the fallen and bleeding traveller ; Christianity presented itself to them as "the good Samaritan." It came and lifted them up and took care of them. Can we wonder that their hearts were touched ? As the overflowing of the Nile carries benefits to the peasantry of Egypt, which they are able to reap and appreciate though they may never have seen its source or explored the distant regions from which it flows, so the flood of Christian kindness which swept over the famine-stricken fields of India might surely awaken in the minds of the people of this country thoughts and feelings fitted to become the seed-bed of Christian truth. Though unable at first to trace the flood of charity up to its true Christian sources, and inclined only to worship the god of *the river*, shall we not receive them, and make known to them the way of God more perfectly ?

For although it was *mainly* the social and temporal aspect of Christianity which was presented to the people, and which in the time of their distress became the chief motive power in leading them to renounce idolatry, it was by no means exclusively so. Missionary work has been for many years preparing the way of the Lord, destroying faith in idolatry, and awakening confidence in Christianity and in the Christians' God. The secret conviction has been gaining ground among masses of the people that sooner or later they *must* become Christians. More particularly in Tinneveli must this preparation be regarded as an element in the movement, for the mission there is one of the oldest in the country, having been "planted by the Apostolic Schwartz, and watered by Rhenius." The existence of Christian churches for the reception of the converts, and the missionary labors which have gone before, must be taken into account as important factors in judging of a movement like the present.

Moreover, there is ample evidence to show that there was during the year of distress, and previously in some of the missions in Southern India, an awakened earnestness in praying for the conversion of the heathen, and an increased zeal and activity in the work of evangelism. On this point the following testimony is sufficient. The Report of the Basel Mission says:—

"The slow progress of mission work in South Mahratta had begun to weigh on our minds as a heavy burden, and the brethren there had agreed amongst themselves to make it a special object of prayer that God might turn the hearts of the people, little thinking that would imply such fearful visitations. Now, of a sudden, matters change, people crowd our compound with a desire to become Christians, making as a condition only what common humanity compels us to do ; and all this two years after special prayer had been agreed upon. *Would it not be sinful if we refused to connect the two things, and cling only to the outward view ?*"

Dr. Strachan, who made a tour through the mission stations

of the S. P. G., and has published a circumstantial account of what he witnessed, says :—

“The chief immediate cause of this awakening in the native Church seems to me to be the evangelistic tours of Bishop Caldwell and those associated with him. These tours were undertaken with the view of influencing the upper classes ; but so far this special object does not seem to have met with much success. The tours, however, were not in vain, for the Bishop impressed his own earnestness on the hearts of the different agents with whom he was brought into contact. Their hearts caught fire, and they burned with an unwonted zeal to be the means under God of bringing souls to Christ. For some time in many villages there had been voluntary evangelistic preachers, who had done good work ; and I think that, by the blessing of God, a very large amount of the success must be ascribed to those unpaid laborers. The native clergy, too, rose to the occasion, working both indefatigably and judiciously. Then came the famine. The Mission agents pointed out that the charity as shown by the Government, of the Mansion House Fund, and by our own fund sprang entirely from the spirit of the Christian religion, and many of the famished learned to admire and to love what before they had feared.”

Or, as Bishop Caldwell puts it :—

“It is thus evident that each of the causes I have now mentioned co-operated with the other. The new life and zeal and the new evangelistic work, which were spreading and bearing fruit before famine relief commenced, prepared large numbers of the Christian people to take advantage of any local movement or any providential impulse that might arise ; whilst the impression produced on the minds of the heathen by the lessons of famine relief as interpreted by Christians prepared and stimulated them to yield themselves to evangelistic teaching. If the heathen masses had not been stirred up beforehand by the evangelistic efforts carried on amongst them, famine relief might have been given on the largest possible scale without any result, or with only a very small amount of fruit ; whilst evangelistic work might have been carried on for years with comparatively small success if the hearts of the people had not been touched and softened by the extraordinary kindness shown them by the Christians of England in their distress.”

Over against these statements must be set the somewhat less favorable opinion of Bishop Sargent, given at a Church Council at Panneiviler, on the 13th of August last :—

“1. With not a few, worldly trouble has been the turning point. Why not try a change ? We cannot be worse off than we are.

“2. Many have been induced by the fact that so many of their relations in other places have become Christians—they do not like to be isolated.

“3. Many had once been Christians and had backslidden ; they feel convinced that since then they have not prospered, but have yearly become more and more wretched.

“4. They look on Christians of long standing, and see how they have advanced in education, respectability and worldly prosperity.

“5. The opinion is gaining on all sides that the *pèys*, *i.e.*, the demons or subjects of former worship, have lost their power—their day is past and gone. [I fear an outbreak of cholera will shake the belief of many on this point.]

“6. Many are affected by the sympathy shown them by Christians ; they feel that in distress Christians are the only ones from whom they may expect friendly aid.

"These," the Bishop states, "form the motives by which the great majority of the late accessions in the C. M. S. have been effected. But there remains now the mention of the high motive which has moved a very small minority, viz., a conviction of the truth of Christianity, and an earnest care about salvation.

"These several points impressed my mind as I discussed, with a large body of men, the value of our late large accessions. How I have longed to be able to find that spiritual motives actuated any large body of these professors! But in all honesty I must acknowledge that this spiritual element is absent in the vast majority of cases."

But, when all is said that can be said as to the "motives of conversion"—when in many cases these have been searched out, weighed and found wanting,—there still remains the important fact that multitudes of people, for some reason or other, are professing their desire to renounce idolatry and submit to Christian instruction. The only other question, therefore, which remains to be considered in this paper, and it is a very important one, is,—*How should such movements be met by the Church and her Missions, and what value are we to attach to them?*

It has been thought strange that such a preponderating majority of the accessions should have taken place in connection with some societies,—such as the S. P. G., the German Mission, and the Arcot Missions,—while other societies working on the same field,—such as the C. M. S., the L. M. S., and the American Mission at Madura—should have had no such experience. Various reasons have been assigned for this. It has been said that the famine was more severe in the districts of some societies, which led to their having more money to use,—that some had more *European* missionaries than others,—and that some societies, as the C. M. S., were making it their chief business to "strengthen their stakes" and consolidate the native Church, while other societies, as the S. P. G., were laboring to "lengthen their cords", to extend their borders, and evangelize the regions beyond.

But, apart from any specific reasons of that kind,—and I have no doubt there is a considerable amount of truth in them all,—it appears to me, from all that has been published on the subject that two different methods or principles have been followed in dealing with applicants for admission into the Christian Church, leading to very different results.

The S. P. G., the Arcot missionaries and the German Basel missionaries seem to have gone on the principle of receiving, as far as it was in their power to do so, all who offered themselves—all who expressed their desire to abandon idolatry and attach themselves to the Christian Church for the purpose of receiving Christian instruction.

The Report of the Basel Mission says:—

"What was to be done? was it not right—yea, a duty—to receive as many as possible of those who protested that they were willing to become

Christians? Of course it was clear that their coming now, in the time of great distress, did not prove that after the distress was over they would still cling to Christianity. But that was no reason why their lives should not be preserved, as far as our means reached. The question of baptism must anyhow be postponed till a course of instruction has not only shown to them what Christianity is, but also to us whether they will embrace it with their hearts."

The S. P. G. and the Arcot missionaries appear to have followed the same policy. There is no evidence to show that they used the money given for famine relief in order to induce in any unfair way those who applied for temporal relief to become Christians. "I must assert", says Bishop Caldwell,—

"That every person within the range of country under the care of the missionaries and the native clergy could obtain help with the greatest ease, from one fund or another placed at their disposal, without ceasing to be a Hindu, or expressing any intention of becoming a Christian. As a matter of fact, thousands of the people in every district actually did receive help without changing their religion, or being asked to do so. They were Hindus or Muhammadans before, and they remain Hindus or Muhammadans still, though I believe it will be found that they regard Christianity with much more favor than at any previous time."

Nor is there any evidence that the missionaries regard the "mass of these people, or any considerable number of them," as true Christians.

But their principle seems to have been to receive them as inquirers, and test and sift them afterwards—to put them under a course of instruction, and receive them into the Church when they give evidence of their fitness for the privilege. That is the principle adopted by Dr. Caldwell, who asks for £16,000 to enable him to carry on missionary work among them.¹

That is the plan adopted by the Basel German missionaries and the Arcot Mission. The Report of the latter says:—

"Our custom is, on receiving a large number of people, to form them as soon as practicable into a congregation, with a catechist at their head, and teach them immediately to observe the outward forms of Christianity. In cases where so many come over, one catechist has charge of two or more villages. His duty is to meet the people in the evening, and instruct them in the fundamental truths of the Bible, and during the day to teach the children. This daily instruction of line upon line does not fail to make an impression in time, even on the dullest minds; and nearly all of our Christians have been the outgrowth, under God's grace, of just such instruction."

But a different policy seems to have been adopted by other missions, and which may be briefly described by the formula, *Test them first, and receive them afterwards*. That seems to have been the policy pursued by Bishop Sargent and the C. M. S. In one of his letters to the Secretary of the C. M. S., *Bishop Sargent*, evidently in explanation of the general policy

¹ See note on p. 135.—ED. I.E.R.

which he had thought it right to pursue with regard to those who in time of famine desired to become Christians, says:—

“One important village sent me a deputation to Palamcottah, some three months ago, saying they wished to be Christians. I replied then, as I did in several other cases, ‘The famine relief fund will cease with the end of February. If you have the same mind then that you have now, I shall be glad to receive you. In the mean while, you can invite Christians to come and see you, and you can go to neighboring villages and worship with the Christians there.’ ”

And this is quoted by the *Madras Church Missionary Record* in explanation of the fact that the C. M. S. had few accessions to record. One does not wonder at the result.

That was the plan apparently pursued by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society. The missionary at Bellari told the people, who pressed upon him for temporal help and expressed their desire to become Christians, that he was willing to help them as far as he could, but that he could not regard them as Christians simply because they were hungry and had eaten the Christians’ bread. He says in his Report, “We have been tempted at times to add numbers to our nominal Christian community; a strong conviction of the undesirability of so doing only has kept us back.”

The same policy seems to have been pursued by the American Congregational Mission at Madura. While recording only a net gain of nine converts during the year, the Report says, “Many are coming and asking us to enroll their names as Christians, and urging us to give them spiritual teachers.” If further proof were necessary to show that two different methods have been adopted in dealing with the movement, the following paragraph, from an article on the subject in the first Number of the New Series of the *Oriental Baptist*, would be sufficient. After speaking with grateful appreciation of the hand of God in the movement, and referring to the large accessions in connection with other missions, and the methods adopted in dealing with them, the writer says:—

“We go north along the eastern coast some hundreds of miles, and there we find the Telugu American Baptist Mission. There also numbers of the people are coming to the missionaries. *The system adopted is different, however, from that already spoken of.* The Baptist brethren receive the people only as individuals professing their desire of salvation, and belief in the Lord Jesus Christ as their only Redeemer. Every one that is received is carefully examined, and, if it is thought that his faith is intelligent and real, he is baptized and received by the vote of the members into the Church. *Others receive no special countenance.*”

The italics in the above extract are mine.

In referring as I have done to the different methods adopted in dealing with *this movement* by the different societies on the field, I have no intention of reflecting in any way on the conduct and motives of the agents of any one society as compared with

those of another. The missionaries have no doubt conscientiously followed the course which in their judgment seemed best for the interests of the Christian Church in this land, but, as similar "mass movements" are probably to be expected as Christianity advances among the people, it becomes a question worthy of earnest discussion and prayerful consideration which method is likely in the long run to yield the best results. It is too early yet to say what the effect of either method may be. Time alone will determine how many of those who have followed Christ, not because they saw the signs, but because they did eat of the loaves and were filled, may go back and walk no more with him; and how many, on the other hand, may yet appear to have stood the tests to which they have been subjected, whether *before* or *after* they have been received as nominal Christians. But if I may venture, without having had personal knowledge of such movements, to express an opinion, it would be to the effect that the churches and missionary societies ought to encourage rather than discourage such accessions. Receive them as inquirers—as persons desiring to be instructed in the truths of Christianity; hold them to their resolve to abandon a false religion; let them destroy the idols and cut down the groves in all their villages; and then evangelize, instruct and baptize as they seem to be fitted to understand and receive. It is a movement in the right direction. Take it *quantum valeat*. They have come for the bread that perisheth; give them also the Bread of life. Do not, by discouraging them, throw them back upon idolatry and Hindu priests. The Church has long been knocking at the door of the heathen, seeking entrance in the name of her Master; and if now the time shall come when the heathen shall be found in crowds knocking at the door of the Church, and beseeching her to come and help them, it will become a serious matter how she responds to such importunity. The question has gone round the world during the past year—Shall we have a missionary revival? and it may be that something like a general awakening of the heathen to a sense of need, and the sight of multitudes rising up in their chains of darkness and crying for deliverance, may be required to arouse the churches of Christendom to an adequate sense of their duty to the heathen. If the world is speedily to be converted to God, there will be "mass movements" in the churches, as well as in the nations of the earth. "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it."

In the course of these discussions two historical precedents have been referred to in support of the expectation of good results from such mass movements toward Christianity as have

recently occurred in Southern India—the exodus of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt, and the spread of Christianity among the modern nations of Europe. When the children of Israel left the land of Egypt, they were altogether unfit for the object and responsibilities of national existence. They were thrown loose upon the world as a horde of emancipated slaves. Their knowledge of Jehovah was meagre and imperfect, scarcely extending beyond belief in his personal existence as the great “I Am.” The motive power in the exodus from idolatrous Egypt was the bitterness of oppression, and the desire of liberty, rather than any more spiritual element. Yet they “were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea.” The liberator became the lawgiver, and for the next forty years was engaged in instructing the people in the knowledge of God, and preparing them to enter upon their promised inheritance. The generation which came out of Egypt did not enter the promised land,—they could not enter because of *unbelief*,—but the new generation did, and served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua. The application is easy. Lead the people of this country out of the Egypt of heathen idolatry when they are willing to come—when the plagues which have smitten the land have filled them with fear, and the reception of Christian charity has awakened their confidence in the Christian’s God. Let them cross the sea to the mount of God, and then teach and train them. The new generation that grows up will be better than their fathers. The mixed multitude will be likely to give trouble, but better go forward with the mixed multitude to Canaan than be thrown back again into the land of Egypt.

Another historical parallel has been found in the spread of Christianity among the nations of Europe. It has been truly said that “almost every nation in modern Christendom adopted their faith in the *social* and *tribal* way.” The conversion of a king, the marriage of a princess, the victory of an army, and such things, would bring large accessions to the Christian Church; the Church grew in order and intelligence, and by degrees Paganism disappeared. Similar movements may be expected in India, leading to like results.

As this *Review* has said,—“Men love to move in masses; Hindus especially like the moral support and countenance of their friends and fellow-castemen. So when the thought of the people has become more affected by Christian ideas, and they are ready to go over in multitudes, we shall see results here in India which will surprise us.”

W. MILNE.

II.—MOTIVES.

It appears to me to be a waste of time to ask ignorant semi-civilized heathen rustics by what motives they have been influenced in consenting to be taught Christianity. The women and children can generally have no motive whatever but that of obeying the wishes or following the lead of the head of the house; and as for the men, the motives by which they are influenced will generally be found to be either a feeble echo of the motives we have endeavored to drive into their minds, or they are the natural outcome of the circumstances in which they are placed. I cannot imagine any person who has lived and worked amongst uneducated heathens in the rural districts believing them to be influenced by high motives in anything they do. If they place themselves under Christian instruction, the motive power is not theirs, but ours. They never heard of such things as high motives, and they cannot for a long time be made to comprehend what high motives mean. An inquiry into their motives, with the view of ascertaining whether they are spiritual or not, will seem to them like an inquiry into their acquaintance with Greek or algebra. They will learn what good motives mean, I trust, in time,—and perhaps high motives too,—if they remain long enough under Christian teaching and discipline; but till they discard heathenism, with its debasing idolatries and superstitions, and place themselves under the wings of the Church, there is not the slightest chance, as it appears to me, of their motives becoming better than they are. We may perhaps think fit to say to them, on their expressing a wish to place themselves under our care, “No, we cannot receive you at present; go away, and if in four months’ time we find your motives more spiritual we shall receive you then.” But what will be the result? Their motives will be no better at the termination of four months than they were before; and we shall find no improvement if we wait for four years, or for four generations. The only hope for them lies in their admission as soon as possible into Christ’s school.

We do not care to inquire into the motives of children in coming to school, or those of their parents in sending them. All we care for is that when they come they shall learn. We do not care about the motives of the people who listen to our preaching in bazars or the village streets, or who enter our churches and listen. We only hope that something that they *hear may do them good*. Why then should we be more particular about the motives of those mixed masses of people, including in many cases the inhabitants of entire villages, who come to us

and say,—“ We have perfect confidence in your wisdom and kindness, and are sure that what you teach us will be for our good. We promise to learn what you teach us, to do what you bid us, to refrain from doing what you tell us not to do. We want to listen to your teaching, not occasionally only, but systematically. We wish to join your religion, and we promise to attend divine service regularly in the little church in the village. Please then give orders to some catechist to take care of us and teach us regularly, and train up us and our children in your religion”? It may be that only a small portion of these people will go on from one stage to another till they become Christians worthy of the name, but this will only be in accordance with what our Lord himself has told us, and what we have always found exemplified in fact, that “ Many are called, but few are chosen.”

I think it our best plan as missionaries to follow the example of our Lord and his Apostles, who taught all that would listen to them, and received all into the Christian fold who were willing to enter it, though in our Lord’s own little flock one turned out to be a “ devil”, and though multitudes of professed Christians in the times of the Apostles brought discredit on the Christian name. We have very little to do, I think, with the calculation of results. Our chief duty is to obey orders; and can any order be clearer than that which tells us to “ preach the Gospel *to every creature*”—and not merely to preach it as aimless teachers of opinions to casual passers-by, but with a view to those who hear us “ believing and being baptized”? or that other order, the basis of all systematic, duly organized missionary work, “ Make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you”? This command makes it perfectly clear to me that the Church in all ages has acted rightly in endeavoring to make her ministrations universal, and her fold commensurate with humanity, leaving results to God, and that we shall not greatly err if we are content to follow in the Church’s lines. I plead that our first duty is simply to believe God. As in morals, so here, we have first to believe, and afterwards what we believe will approve itself to our experience as true and right.

A word here with regard to names. We do not call these new people “ inquirers”, that name being appropriate only to a certain class of isolated individuals chiefly found in the cities. Besides, these people do not come to us to inquire whether the Christian religion is true or not. They take that for granted, and come to us to be taught all that Christianity implies. Nor do we call them by the new name of “ adherents”, for most of them *do not adhere to congregations* already in existence, but *constitute new Christian communities*. We call them in these parts

still, as we have always called them, "persons who have placed themselves under Christian instruction"; and this name, though somewhat lengthy, implies all we mean. Especially it implies, what is the sheet-anchor of our system and of our hopes—the assembling of these people morning and evening in the village house of prayer to offer to God their prayers and praises, and to be instructed, line upon line, in his truth. It is a name that will hold good till they have earned by baptism a right to be called Christians. As for the name of "converts", we have abstained from giving these new people so dignified a name as that. I prefer reserving that name for persons who have been influenced exclusively by religious convictions, and who appear to have been converted, not only from heathenism to Christianity, but from the world to God.

I do not question the importance, in the case of those who place themselves under Christian instruction, of the motives by which they have been influenced. The character of those motives will, or may, influence their whole subsequent career. The only thing I question is the propriety of our refusing to receive people under instruction in the first instance; or deferring their reception, and probably putting an end thereby to their wish to be received, if on subjecting them to an examination we find that their motives are other than spiritual.

I have had occasion to observe on a considerable scale the result of two classes of unspiritual motives. And the comparatively unobjectionable character of one of those classes of motives will best appear when contrasted with the disadvantages arising from the other. A very common motive with the agricultural classes in the interior is the desire of protection from oppression. Doubtless there is much oppression in every heathen village. It has always been the custom that "they should take who have the power, and they should keep—who can." Doubtless also it is very natural and reasonable that poor oppressed people should desire protection. People in such circumstances have sometimes placed themselves under Christian instruction in the hope that in virtue of their connecting themselves with a "mission",—that is, in virtue of their becoming members of a rising community animated by a strong sectional feeling and under the guidance of European intelligence,—there will be some chance of their getting their wrongs redressed. I do not blame missionaries or mission agents for receiving under Christian instruction persons who come to them from such motives. They may help them in the object they have in view, or they may leave them to fight their own battles; but either way they cannot *be blamed for seizing the opportunity presented to them of pouring a little light into their minds.* But the subsequent course of *such people is not always perfectly satisfactory.* The motive

that brought them into the fold oftentimes proves a bar to their moral improvement. The oppression they have endured is regarded in a totally different light by the party on the other side. It is represented by them as an attempt on the part of tenants-at-will to secure tenant-right, or of people who have a tenant-right to make themselves proprietors; and in its essence it is mainly a dispute about land, embittered by difference of caste. The dispute takes the shape of a lawsuit, and this lawsuit goes on with varying success for years, perhaps for a whole generation. The minds of the new Christians, therefore, are kept in a continual state of excitement about the progress of their litigation; and, what is worse, they are apt to get steeped in feelings of animosity against their opponents, who are also their neighbors, and whom they ought to be endeavoring to convert.

The other motive, of which we have heard so much of late, is connected with the administration of famine relief. I need not repeat here the denial I have so often given to the assertion that we have bought people to the Christian fold at so much a head. The line the new people have invariably taken is, "You have proved yourselves our friends in an extremity. We received no help from our idols or demons. Vishnu's priests and Siva's passed by on the other side. You came to us like the good Samaritan of your religion. We therefore have no hesitation in following your advice. We are now your disciples. Teach us whatever you want us to know." Ordinarily their confession of faith would not go much further than this, and if any of their number went further and said, "We come to you as sinners seeking to know the way of salvation", a practised ear would speedily be able to recognize the orthodox formula that that person had learnt from a catechist. Now supposing people under the influence of such motives as this—not distinctively spiritual, certainly, but also not sordid—place themselves under Christian instruction, what is to hinder them from making progress in time in the Christian life? They have obtained a benefit, and the history of this benefit has taught them a lesson. God has not left himself without witness in that he has done them good, filling their hearts with food and gladness, and in consequence they have become willing to turn from their vain idols to the living God. Nothing could be more natural: nothing could be more laudable as far as it goes. But there are two important particulars in which the operation of this motive places these new people in a much better position than many of the Christians that preceded them. 1. They entertain no animosity towards any one, nor is there any reason why they should. They are on the best possible terms with all their neighbors, whatever be their caste or position. *It is no object of theirs to pull down any one, or to triumph over any one.* There is no hindrance, therefore, in the

way of their learning "the very bond of peace" and the greatest of all Christian virtues, charity. 2. Their neighbors entertain towards them no feelings of jealousy or suspicion. Nobody wants to persecute them or drive them back from Christianity, because nobody has suffered any loss by their becoming Christians. The wealthy and poor around them alike think they have done perfectly right both in getting what help they could in their distress from the white men, and in attaching themselves to the faith of their benefactors. From a Hindu point of view it does not much matter what a man's religion is, provided he is in some fashion religious. Looking, therefore, at the course of events from the point of view of a comparison of unspiritual motives,—high motives amongst the class of people referred to being in general out of the question,—this famine relief motive seems to me one of the least objectionable that we can expect to find.

Let it be remembered that my remarks hitherto have related exclusively to the ignorant masses of the Indian agricultural population. Higher motives and a higher type of Christianity may be expected, and will be found, here and there, amongst educated converts to Christianity, especially amongst the young men that have been educated in our mission Anglo-vernacular schools. I must place also in a different category that increasing class of accessions to our congregations consisting of people who have been brought in by the members of our evangelistic associations. Associations of this kind, reporting their work to me monthly, have been established in every district connected with the S. P. G. in Tinneveli, and had it not been for the labors of these associations leavening the minds of the masses beforehand the lessons of famine relief would probably have produced but little effect. The people I refer to join the congregations without the expectation of any temporal benefit; what, then, is their motive? Their chief motive, I apprehend, is not their own, but must be credited to the account of those who bring them in. They have been spoken to so long, and invited so frequently, that they do not see why they should not yield at last. Everybody knows that it is a good religion. Besides, many of their relations have joined already, or are joining, and amongst Hindu rustics a movement of any kind carries great weight. They are not willing to lead, but they are ready to follow. It will be found that all Indian movements of any importance, whether towards Christianity or in any other direction, are gregarious.

It will not be out of place if I mention here the result of my observations of the character of our recent accessions. I have *been out on a tour* in the Ramnad country and the northern part of *Tinneveli* for the last four months,—a tour which is not yet *completed*,—living most of the time in tents and passing leisurely

from place to place. I have during this time visited 105 towns and villages where there were congregations, most of them new, and all of them containing new people. In each place I have questioned the people to ascertain their knowledge, and preached to them catechetically, besides speaking to their neighbors who still remained heathens. What then is the estimate I have formed? It is that in general I liked the new portion better than the old. The new people seemed to me, as a rule, more intelligent, progressive, and promising. Besides, as a rule, there was a much larger proportion amongst them of what are called the better castes. I was particularly struck with the circumstance that the new people had already become in general as willing as the old, if not more willing, to form themselves into associations for the evangelization of their heathen neighbors.

R. CALDWELL, *Bishop.*

Tinneveli, November, 1878.

ART. II.—DR. DUFF'S MISCELLANEOUS LABORS.

WHEN I undertook to write these notes about Dr. Duff, I had no intention to occupy more than one, or at the most two, Articles in the *Review*. But the plan on which I proceeded, and the manner in which circumstances forced me to carry out that plan, put it beyond my reach to limit myself. My plan, as announced in the first page of the first Article, was to search into the materials accessible to me in Calcutta, materials more or less inaccessible to the public, and lay the results of my investigation before the readers of the *Review*. The odd moments that I could devote to this plan necessitated the despatch of the results to the printers of the *Review* before they could be boiled down to the proper consistency. Still I hope that, imperfect as they are, they will serve, or have served, to some extent, the two-fold object I had in view—the throwing of some light on the life and work of Dr. Alexander Duff,—a subject which must be more or less interesting to all who take pleasure in mission work, and the gathering together of materials which must be more or less serviceable to any who may attempt his biography. I intended to deal only with his Indian career. In the October Number I took up the last seven years, as seen chiefly from the Calcutta Missionary Conference point of view. The public life of Dr. Duff might be looked at first and foremost as connected with the Free Church Institution, including all his labors as missionary in principal charge of the Bengal Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, and Principal of the Free Church College and Institution, Calcutta. This was indeed his life-work, to which he devoted himself, heart and soul, day after day, week after week, and year after year; but the work was of so regular and systematic and, some would say, of so monotonous a character that there would be little interest to the public in the knowledge of the facts or statistics of it, unless they were supplied in the form of the reminiscences of a pupil, or autobiographic sketches by Dr. Duff himself. In both these forms we hope the public will possess them at no distant day. I have dealt but very sparingly with this part of my subject, though I allow that it is the most important. There is, however, one reminiscence of my own, in addition to those already given, which I may here note down. I remember how on one occasion a number of the classes of the school department were assembled in the large hall in which the musical evangelistic services are now carried on weekly. Dr. Duff had examined during the day various classes on the different subjects taught during the year. Something or

other had annoyed him just before taking up the English entrance course prescribed by the University. He opened the book, and his eye rested on the heading of a section of it in which the word *Greenland* occurred. His first question was, "Why was it called Greenland?" Not a boy could answer. The silence became painful. Then the question came, "Did your teacher not tell you why Greenland was so called?" One of the boys answered, "No, sir." On this Dr. Duff spoke very strongly of the careless manner in which the teacher had discharged his duty to the class. He did it on the spur of the moment, without a thought as to what he was doing, and immediately passed on to something else, and very likely forgot all about it. As the teacher concerned, thus pilloried in presence of my own students, I felt anything but comfortable. Besides, I felt that the judgment thus summarily passed on me and my work was essentially unjust. So I took the earliest opportunity of drawing his attention to the matter. He at once laid hold on both my hands, expressed with tears in his eyes his great regret for what he had done, as unwise and imprudent in itself, even supposing it deserved; but still worse when, on consideration, he admitted that it was altogether undeserved, and therefore unjust as well as unwise. Before he was done of it I felt that he had made more than amends for any injustice of which I might have thought myself the victim. It was the only occasion, that I can remember, in regard to which I had any reason to complain of his treatment of me. I can remember many instances of his great kindness to me and mine—instances which I shall never forget, sympathy given in times of sorrow and of difficulty, into which I cannot enter here and at present. I have no doubt there are many others, students, teachers and colleagues, who could say much more, having been much longer in his society. In the Rev. Lal Behari Day's *Recollections* I have no doubt we shall have some such instances.

The nearest circle outside the Institution and his own Mission might be said to have its circumference in the line of the Missionary Conference. An account of his connection with that body I have given, at some length, in the October Article.

I purpose in this my last Article to refer to his labors outside the Mission and the Missionary Conference, as connected chiefly with the Calcutta University, the Doveton College and the Bethune Society. But before doing so I may, in passing, refer to his kind efforts in behalf of his Bengali friends, and the love with which they regarded him even when they had never been students of his. This may be seen from the following extracts from a letter written by him to Babu *Dakshina Ranjan Mukarji*, Lucknow. This letter was apparently written in answer to a letter of thanks from Mr. Mukarji

for Dr. Duff's kindness towards him in the past. Mr. Mukarji had offered to call by the name of Duffpur a village which he purposed to make in land cleared from the jungle of a taluka presented to him by Government in return for services rendered during the trying times of the Mutiny. The letter is dated Calcutta, November 3, 1859. After expressing very strongly his attachment towards him, and his confidence in his character and future usefulness, ever since he had seen him, thirty years before, Dr. Duff adds :—

“Your energy in clearing the jungle and getting some of it already under the plough is just like yourself, worthy of you, and a noble prognostic of your bright future. By fixing the rents of your rayats at equitable rates, not allowing *Abooales* and other lawless extortion on the part of your rayats, etc., etc., you will gain their perfect confidence; and, when you have gained that, schools and every other improvement will follow, till yours, in a few years, will become a model taluka, and yourself not a talukdar merely, but a raja. What you propose about the name of your new village out of the reclaimed jungles is what never would have entered into my own mind, but, knowing that it proceeds from the kindly impulse of one of the most generous of natures, I cannot but respond to your own spontaneous suggestion. A village reclaimed from the jungle of a rebel is a singularly happy type of the building of living souls, whom I would fain reclaim from the jungle of ignorance and error. And if, through your generous impulse, the village of Duffpur is destined to become a reality, how would my heart swell with gratitude to God were I privileged to see with my own eyes its instructed, happy and prosperous occupants !”

I have not heard whether the village became a reality, or, if it did, whether Dr. Duff had the happiness of seeing the “instructed, happy and prosperous occupants.” However that may be, Mr. Mukarji died last year, laden with honors, after having lived a life of much usefulness in his adopted city of Lucknow.¹ In Calcutta his name will always be associated with female education and its first school—called the “Bethune School.”

¹ Raja Dakshina Ranjan Mukarji was one of a numerous class of young men with whom Dr. Duff and his fellow-missionaries in India had come in contact—men who gave great promise, from a religious and spiritual point of view, in their youth, but who, because of the persecutions a profession of the truth would bring upon them, refused to acknowledge Jesus, and who thus have brought upon themselves remorse in old age. A writer in the November Number of the *Bengal Magazine* (himself, we believe, a distinguished convert of Dr. Duff's mission) points out this feature in Mukarji's character. He speaks of his having been “when a young man, favorably inclined towards Christianity”, but “he systematically played with his religious convictions, threw aside the anchor of faith, and found himself cast adrift on a tempestuous sea, without a rudder or chart.” “He was a gentleman of birth and intelligence, of admirable parts and superior attainments; and his public career in Bengal, as well as in Oudh, was heralded by a number of auspicious circumstances; but yet its end was wormwood and gall.” Alas, that I am able to point to a number of young men who have attended my classes of whom the same could be said, as far as their beginning was and their end promises to be !

The leading literary and scientific society in Calcutta during the last twenty-five years has been the Bethune Society, so called in honor of the Honorable Mr. Bethune, at one time legislative member of the Imperial Council, a gentleman distinguished for his great services and boundless liberality in all native improvements, but more especially in native female education. In connection with this latter object his memory is preserved in the name of the only Government school in Calcutta for the education of Hindu girls, founded mainly through the efforts and liberality of Mr. Bethune and Mr. Mukarji. The Bethune Society was established in 1851 by Dr. Mouat, Secretary of the Medical College and of the Government Council of Education. Dr. Mouat himself was made its first President. During the first eight years of its existence it had a very chequered history. In 1858 the Society, from various reasons, seemed on the verge of extinction. Yet it was felt that a society which had brought together, on a common arena of improved literature and science, and for mutual culture and rational recreation, the very *élite* of the educated native community, and blended them in friendly union with leading members of the civil, military and medical services of Government, of the Calcutta bar, of the missionary body, and other non-official classes, and which had such a great success during the first two or three years of its existence, under the presidentship of its founder, should not be allowed to die. The older members could think of no one likely to succeed in restoring it to its first glory except it were Dr. Duff. But Dr. Duff had never shown much interest in the Society. He had never joined it, even as a member. Still, from his well known interest in the mental and moral improvement of the people of Bengal, it was thought that, if the matter were properly laid before him, he would come to the rescue. The state of his health and multifarious duties made him hesitate. Yet on certain conditions he would consent. The Society had been spoken of as a "godless or atheistic society", because one of its rules held that no discourse treating of religion or politics was admissible. Dr. Duff would become their president if they modified this rule, so as to remove all justification for such a charge. The rule was modified and Dr. Duff became their president, and continued such from that time till he left India for good. During that period it had, as it has been well said, a glorious history. The Society had six honorary members. The first three of these were the Honorable Sir Bartle Frere, the Honorable Sir James Outram, and the Right Rev. Dr. Cotton, the Bishop of Calcutta. Among the members were men of the stamp of the Honorable Sir Richard Temple, Professor Cowell, Archdeacon Pratt, MacLeod Wylie, the Rev. J. Long, Dr. Chevers, Mr. Woodrow, Dr. Eatwell, Principal of the Medical College, etc.,

almost all of whom delivered lectures before the Society. MacLeod Wylie lectured on *Modern Enterprises of Benevolence in Great Britain*, as also on *Hannah More and Female Education*; Dr. George Smith on *Conscience, its Nature and Functions*; Archdeacon Pratt on *Sir Isaac Newton, his Discoveries and Character*; Professor Cowell on *The Principles of Historic Evidence, and the paramount importance of the study of History to the Educated Natives of India*, a lecture which Dr. Duff regarded as of such importance as to recommend that it constitute a part of the prescribed course of study for graduates of the University of Calcutta. Dr. Duff had always some valuable practical remarks and suggestions to offer in connection with every lecture. When Bishop Cotton lectured on the University of Cambridge, the President pressed upon the rajas, zamindars, and men of wealth generally, the propriety of furnishing, by way of contributions when living, or of legacies when dying, some lakhs of rupees for the erection of a suitable University building, with Senate-house, examination halls, museum, lecture-rooms, etc., and the endowment of certain University professorships or lectureships on the higher branches of certain sciences. This idea he afterwards pressed on the public and on Government, until it bore fruit in the erection of the present Senate-house and University buildings, the endowment of the Tagore Law Lectureship, and the establishment of chairs of Science in the Presidency College, and the opening of them to the students of the University, in whatever college studying. At the close of Mr. Ayerst's lecture on *The Jews, since their dispersion after the final destruction of Jerusalem*, Dr. Duff furnished various illustrative facts which had come under his own observation in different quarters of the world—Europe, Africa, Asia and America. He stated the result of his personal inquiries into the peculiarities of the black and white Jews of Cochin, a subject which has often puzzled the most learned ethnographers. He particularly endeavored to fasten attention on the topic with which Mr. Ayerst had started—the great problem and miracle of history, viz., the continued preservation of the denationalized, scattered and homeless Jews as a distinct and peculiar people amid the unparalleled persecutions of eighteen hundred years. He concluded by pointing out the ethical, ethnographical, providential and other lessons to be drawn from this strange and marvellous historical anomaly, and by illustrating in the same connection and from his own personal observation the present condition of Palestine, naturally fertile, but turned by ages of oppression into a sterile desert, the descendants of its original owners scattered homeless over the face of the earth, and looking wistfully to their ancient home on the banks of the Jordan, now again, through the influence of the leading Jew in the

world, placed under the protection of the British Queen. It would seem that thus a home was being prepared for them. It is a rather remarkable fact, to which we may allude in passing, that the largest number of Jews under any one government is that under the Russian ; and that for the first time in history they have fought under a Christian Government as regular soldiers, and that too in a war which has tended more than anything else, since Richard I. led the Crusaders against Jerusalem and gave English laws to Cyprus, to free Palestine from Moslem, and place it under Christian, rule.

But to return to the Bethune Society. When the Rev. Dr. K. M. Bannerjea lectured on Hindu and Buddhist philosophy, Dr. Duff, in his summing up, told his large audience of the flower of Hindu youth that instead of any longer divorcing reason from faith, philosophy from religion, they would in true philosophy find a confirmation of the principles of a living faith, and in true religion the grandest consummation of enlightened reason. "True philosophy", said he, "will furnish the explanation of the phenomena of the universe, as cognizable by man ; true religion will duly unfold the invisible, the infinite, the eternal." So, in the same manner, when the subject of address was scientific, Dr. Duff expressed fearlessly and eloquently his convictions that scientific investigations, when properly conducted, led up to God, the great ever-living Creator. It was most interesting to observe how, when an animated discussion arose, on any subject of interest, in summing up at the close, he balanced the different statements and counter-statements, pointing out such things as might be considered irrelevant, urging the lessons to be derived from what had occurred or been spoken, for future guidance, warmly commending whatever was true, beautiful or good, frank, open, generous, in the various speeches and lectures delivered at each meeting.

The leading institution in Calcutta for the education of Protestant youth is called "The Parental Academic Institution and Doveton College." It belongs to the East Indian community, and was established in 1823 by Mr. J. W. Ricketts and other leading East Indian gentlemen. Very soon after its establishment, some of the Church of England members took offence at the Rev. Messrs. Hill and Warden, of the London Mission, having been asked to help in the mathematical and classical studies of the school, and, in defiance of an appeal made by their colleagues to the "community" or "Society", to whom the school belonged, took possession of the school, and called its name the Calcutta Grammar School, afterwards changed successively to the High School, and now St. Paul's, Darjiling. The Society, however, started a new school under the original name of "Parental Academic Institution." It worked on under great

difficulties and many discouragements, and with varying success. Their chief difficulties have been always of a pecuniary character, and, as a consequence, the community has been unable, for any length of time, to retain the services of efficient teachers. From 1823 to 1848 they had no less than twelve head-masters, one of whom served seven years, another five years, and the other ten a little over a year each on an average. Among these ten we see the names of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Smith and the Rev. W. C. Fyfe, of the Free Church Mission. Both of them taught in the Parental as a temporary arrangement. The services of all these teachers were secured in the country, and the last two while efforts were put forth to obtain a head-master from Europe. It is in connection with this service that Dr. Duff's name is first mentioned in the *Brief Sketch of the History of the College*, written by Mr. H. Andrews, the greatest of the school's living benefactors, a gentleman who has been for very many years Chairman of the Committee of Management. In 1845 Mr. Andrews pressed upon the friends of the school the necessity of obtaining a head-master from Europe. At a special meeting held that year, Archdeacon Dealtry, Dr. Duff and the Rev. James Long were requested kindly to undertake this duty. No result followed the request made to the Archdeacon and Mr. Long. But Dr. Duff, who held the honorary appointment of Visitor to the school, took the matter up with his accustomed earnestness, corresponded with friends in Edinburgh, and, as we have seen, he and his colleagues so far relieved Mr. Fyfe and Dr. Smith from mission work as to enable them, in turn, to supply temporarily the need of the Parental, until Mr. Andrew Morgan, an earnest, devoted, self-sacrificing, enthusiastic educationalist, after Dr. Duff's own heart, had arrived and taken charge. Mr. Morgan proved all that could be desired. The tone and character of the school was at once raised, and during the long period of his incumbency the Institution continued to be increasingly successful, until he was suddenly removed by death in 1854. Dr. Duff had in the mean time, as we have already seen, gone to England, in 1849. On the eve of his departure the East Indian community presented him with a grateful and affectionate address, bearing no less than 600 signatures. In his reply, among other things, he assured them that, without any specific pledges on his part, he could safely say that, while in his native country, no opportunity of serving them which might fairly present itself would be allowed to pass unimproved, for it was impossible for him to *forget them*. And, should he be privileged to return, nothing would *afford him greater pleasure than again to see them face to face, to coöperate with them in all their praiseworthy endeavors, and to witness their onward progress amid the events that were rapidly*

maturing the destinies of the great Indian Empire. In 1853, when the school was in the height of its prosperity, having a monthly surplus in its favor of Rs. 140, there was left to it a legacy of two lakhs and thirty-one thousand rupces, the gift of Captain John Doveton, at one time in the service of the Nizam of Haidarabad. It was immediately resolved to attach to the school a well-equipped collegiate department, and add to the title—"Parental Academic Institution"—the words "and Doveton College." Mr. Morgan, on this being settled, set at once to organize a school for young ladies, which, since then, has worked side by side with the Parental Academic Institution and Doveton College. Dr. Duff helped in every way possible, privately and publicly, towards the success of both. On his return to India and on the resignation of Sir Lawrence Peel, he was appointed to the honorary office of Patron, and the Rev. Mr. Morgan (for he had been licensed as a preacher of the Gospel some time before his death, by the Free Church Presbytery) was succeeded by his worthy colleague Dr. George Smith, late of Serampore, for many years a personal friend of Dr. Duff, alike in India and in England. His stay in the Doveton College, for its own interests and that of the community to which it belongs, was too short. On his resignation some members of Committee and of the Society thought they were in danger of becoming too Scotch, and that Dr. Smith's successor should be an Englishman. They accordingly agreed to consult Bishop Cotton as to the new man. The Bishop, well acquainted as he was with English public schools, expressed his readiness to render every help within his reach, but strongly recommended that the arrangement should be left, as before, in the hands of Dr. Duff, than whom, he added, there was not a wiser or firmer friend to the Institution. Dr. Duff accordingly got for them, in 1859, Mr. J. W. MacCrindle, M.A., the present Principal of the Patna College. It was three years after, in March, 1862, that I first saw Dr. Duff presiding at the Doveton College annual meeting, and observed the power and influence which he possessed, and the wisdom with which he used it. It was at that meeting the late H. Blochmann, linguist, was introduced as professor of mathematics. The meeting threatened to be a stormy one, on account of some pecuniary matters, which had evolved a good deal of angry feeling. Dr. Duff poured oil upon the waters, as he knew so well how to do, and guided the vessel into a quiet harbor. In the following year he was forced, by the state of his health, to leave India, never to return. He accordingly resigned into the hands of the Committee the office of Patron, which he had held so long. As Mr. Andrews remarks, "*For thirty years he had been the unchanged friend of the Institution. In all its struggles and difficulties, when the boldest*

“lost heart and the most hopeful almost despaired, his sympathies and energies were readily given for its good. He persevered under every disadvantage, and was the first in example, as he was in teaching, urging all to further efforts and sacrifices, and ever hopeful of the end. He was permitted to see his labors brought to a successful issue. He left the country at a time when the Institution had surmounted all its difficulties and was in its most prosperous condition.” On his resignation being received, a public meeting of the community was convened; resolutions were passed expressive of the high sense entertained of his services, and of the determination to commemorate the same in a suitable manner; and a deputation was appointed to wait upon him in order to express to him the feelings of the meeting, and to present to him a letter of thanks for all his kind services to them. In this letter they dwell upon the vast amount of benefit he had conferred upon the Institution, endeared to them by many recollections, but in whose interests they would never meet again, to take loving counsel together; the warm sympathy, powerful advocacy, wise counsel, ever willing, cheerful and ready aid and encouragement in sustaining and working it up to the high state of prosperity it had attained, rendered on every emergency and under many special circumstances; his warm advocacy of what he designated the legitimate rights and privileges of the East Indian community as Christian subjects of the British Crown, and his equally steady and devoted support of “the only memorial which marks the time when they began to plead for those rights and privileges”; and the influence of that system, tone and spirit of education which his labors had infused into all schools, Christian and Hindu, in Calcutta and elsewhere. They conclude:—

“We who have seen you and felt the glow, the fervid influence of your soul, can but mark our esteem and gratitude, although that mark be out of all proportion to our sense of the value of your services. But *all* (European, East Indian and Native) unite in this testimony, linked by that spirit of universal love, that breadth of charity, God-like, because of divine origin, which distinguished your career in India.”

Dr. Duff replied that he knew well how much the success of his own special mission to the heathen depended, under God, on the consistent conduct and character of the European and East Indian Christian population of India, and that this alone rendered legitimate a large amount of labor on these classes. But, apart from this consideration, his very soul was drawn out towards the East Indian body, as a practically oppressed, down-trodden and persecuted class. And as long as any class is behind in *educational intelligence*, so long is that class ignored, or despised, or down-trodden. Besides these, there were special reasons for his attachment to the Parental Academy. And if he had

succeeded in doing anything really substantial for its good, it was, he said, "when the hearts of almost all began to fail them "under accumulating and apparently insuperable difficulties." His simple logic was:—Some such institution is a necessity for the community; this one is essentially based on Christian principles; the blessing of God has been, and continues to be, invoked on its behalf. It must not, therefore, on any account, be abandoned. *No surrender, or Nil desperandum, Christo Duce*, might be said to be its inspiriting watchword. Conducted in such a spirit, he was able to speak of it as standing out "conspicuously to view as indisputably and preëminently the first of its class, not in India only, but in all Asia." Money was collected to start scholarships bearing his name, and an oil-painting was undertaken in Scotland at the expense of the community. It arrived in 1867, and was placed in the hall of the Institution. Bishop Cotton was appointed Visitor, Dr. Duff resigning the office, and since his death the office has been abolished. One of the last services Dr. Duff, in association with Dr. George Smith, did to the College, was the selection of Mr. William Riach (one of the present editors of the *Statesman and Friend of India*) as classical master.

At the present moment there is no institution, we believe, in all India, more powerful in its influence on the inhabitants of India, as a whole, than the University of Calcutta. That influence is not unalloyed good. It is a power, and it confers power. But the power may sometimes be used for questionable ends. Still, after making all reasonable deductions, it is a power for good, and is subservient to the dissemination of truth—in some cases of Christian truth. It disabuses the minds of all its alumni of error; it pulls down the strongholds of superstition, ignorance, idolatry and priestcraft. It cultivates the understanding, and supplies healthy pabulum for the support of the inner man. It does this directly to thousands of the young men of India, year by year, so that now, after twenty years' work, its M.A.'s number 326, its B.A.'s 1,334, its F.A.'s 3,374, and its matriculated students 15,215, scattered over all India. Besides these, 719 have become Bachelors in Law, 96 have passed the first or second examination for the B.M. degree, and 911 for Licence in Medicine and Surgery. There are 71 colleges affiliated to it, 16 of which are Protestant missionary colleges. It has been the means of putting into circulation, in the form of text-books in English literature, an enormous number of books of a healthy character, read by thousands who are never admitted into the number of its undergraduates; and still more of stirring up a desire for reading, which, again, has called forth an English and vernacular library, printed and published in Bengal alone, numbering upwards of twelve thousand books and pamphlets, of which 1,576 were published in 1877. Of these, again, 941 were in the vernaculars of the

province, and 145 in the Indian classics; 807 of the vernacular books were original, and 134 translations. Among the latter was a translation of John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography*, and among the former is the English-Sanskrit Dictionary edited by Ananda Ram Barna, C.S., which "promises to be a valuable work." 362 books were religious, while only 70 are classed as fiction. The librarian is able to report that "few of the very indecent character which at first were introduced into the library are now sent in." Only two out of the 1,500 call for remark from the librarian as not loyal—the one a tale, and the other a history of the Mutiny. Neither of them is, however, considered worthy of prosecution under the Penal Code, or under Section 5 of the lately passed Vernacular Press Act. When we contrast this state of matters with what was the case when Dr. Duff landed in 1830, the progress must be admitted as very great indeed. "Then the printing press was only beginning to be known to the natives. There were only two native presses, and two "small weekly native papers", the one advocating *sati* or widow-burning, the other, by Raja Ram Mohan Rai, opposing. The census of 1877 gave 25 newspaper editors and 1,841 printers in Calcutta alone. Then the English language, English literature and science, were only beginning to be recognized as important by a few of the more intelligent natives; and there was but one solitary institution in Calcutta—the Government College—where a higher English education could be had, and that too in a comparatively imperfect form, and none in the Mofussil. There was not a single native Christian who could talk in English; not a single Hindu educated in English literature and science who had embraced Christianity. These can now be counted in scores and hundreds; and they are represented by a weekly newspaper and a monthly magazine conducted by themselves. Some of them enjoy a European as well as an Indian reputation. Towards producing this change, which has taken place in regard to most or all of these and a great many other points of interest that might be named, nothing has contributed more than the Calcutta University; and no one contributed more, directly or indirectly, towards the establishment of the University on a proper basis, and the guiding of it during the first six years of its existence, than Dr. Duff. I purpose to refer in detail to some of the things in which he was more directly concerned. I have already dwelt at some length on his connection with the Medical College, which now forms no unimportant part of the University. In 1853 he gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee; from this evidence and that of Mr. John Marshman, the Earl of Northbrook, when Private Secretary to Sir Charles Wood, drafted the great Educational Despatch of 1854, which is regarded as the Great Charter of Indian Educa-

tion. By it all parties were united together in the three great Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, for the promotion of a liberal education, Oriental and Occidental. Without Dr. Duff and the missionary education which he originated, and so successfully carried on, English education would have made progress, but nothing comparable to what it has done, and it would be dependent almost wholly, if not altogether, on Government. Government would have to pay for it, and Government alone would have to guide and influence its every movement. Dr. Duff stepped in, carried on a system altogether independent of Government, and stimulated the native community to similar action. In this way educated young men of talent and promise appeared, challenging recognition by Government in the bestowal of lucrative appointments, and of honorary positions and rewards. This could be accomplished only by an independent body of men being appointed, in whose judgment and impartiality all could put confidence. This is what took place in the establishment of the Universities. "For the first time in the East, and that too "in the very year when to many it seemed as if the British Empire "there was passing away, there was seen the catholic spectacle "of rulers and ruled, Protestant and Romanist, Christian, Brah- "man and Maulavi, sitting around the same table to draw up a "scheme, Oriental as well as Western, but all on Western methods "and rewarded by Western academic titles." Dr. Duff was not present at the first meeting of the Senate, held on the 3rd of January, 1857, at which a provisional committee was appointed, consisting of the representative men, the Director of Public Instruction, the missionary Rev. Dr. Mullens, the Civil Engineer Lieutenant-Colonel Baker, the medical Doctor Grant, and the Bengali gentleman Babu Ramprasad Rai, together with the Vice-Chancellor, to make the necessary arrangements for the first University examinations, and to frame rules for the future government of the University. This provisional committee Dr. Duff joined by special invitation, and on it he labored to great purpose. The only point recorded on the minutes of this provisional committee on which he thought it necessary to put himself in a position of conflict with the action of his colleagues, as far as recorded, was in the matter of the selection of text-books. At their meeting in March a letter from Dr. Duff was read, regretting that a work so prurient as the *Abelard and Eloisa* of Pope should have been selected as one of the subjects for the B.A. examination, and suggesting that it should be expunged. The committee refused to acknowledge the full force of Dr. Duff's objection to "a work which had long "been read in the Government colleges," but they felt the inexpediency of discussing the question. They therefore accepted his suggestion, expunged the book objected to, substituted an unobjectionable one, and advertised the change. Frequently,

since then, it would have been well for students and teachers, and the cause of education generally, had there always been one on these committees with the courage, extensive knowledge of books, the ability, wisdom and piety of Dr. Duff, to expunge such books from selections made in the name of the University, and used as text-books in our schools and colleges. It would be well if the Sanskrit classics used in the schools and colleges were expurgated, or exchanged, if possible. The *Raghuvamsa*, for example, I consider, from this point of view, a very objectionable text-book. The *Betal Panchabingsati*, read so often by students of Bengali and appointed by Government, though not by the University, is also a most objectionable book. Dr. Murdoch did good service in Madras in this direction. We require some one to do similar service in Bengal. A few days before, the Doveton College, St. Paul's School, and the Free Church Institution were affiliated to the University; the London Missionary Society's Institution and La Martinière were affiliated a month after, and the seven Government colleges in May, making eleven in all. Since then, as we have seen, the number has increased to 71. At the first meeting of the Faculty of Arts, Dr. Duff was unanimously elected President; and at their second meeting, he, Cecil Beadon and the Director of Public Instruction were appointed to represent the Faculty in the Syndicate, and it was resolved, "that their names, as such representatives, be duly proclaimed at the general meeting of the Senate." Year after year, until he resigned on the eve of his departure, while other members were elected as his colleagues to represent the Faculty of Arts in the Syndicate, he continued to be unanimously elected, and to give eminent satisfaction. He also was appointed the first examiner in mental and moral science for the B.A. degree; but the remuneration allowed he gave away to relieve a pressing need in the native Church. Though he took no active part in the examinations afterwards, he continued to take much interest in their proper conduct. At his suggestion, instructions were issued to the examiners that when particular books were prescribed the questions should be taken strictly from these books, and be of such a nature as to be capable of being answered by any one who had mastered such books. Many examiners are more concerned about exhibiting their own cleverness and learning than in discovering and valuing the knowledge and abilities of those examined. There is a story current in the Free Church Institution of a gentleman examining one of the classes, and putting a somewhat puzzling question to the students, on which one of the visitors remarked—"I do not think the young men have understood the nature of the question put by the gentleman." Dr. Duff rather testily answered—"I do not think he himself has understood his own question." No

part of the proper work of the Syndicate, the Faculty of Arts, or of the Senate, was beneath his notice. He and the Director of Public Instruction were appointed to inquire into and report on the advisability of the introduction of some form of academical costume. On their recommendation, the European academical costume—gowns, hoods, medals with ribbons—was accordingly introduced; and a curious sight the crowds of the dark-faced students make, assembled in black gown and colored *pagri* at the annual convocations; and those who appear in the national *dhoti* and bare legs look rather comical under gown and hood as learned in law, or medicine, or civil engineering. Most, however, manage on that day to ensconce their legs in the universal trowsers, in some cases never to be donned again.

At the meeting of the Faculty of Arts held November 17, 1858, Dr. Duff in the chair, there was read a paragraph of a despatch from the Honorable the Court of Directors ordering that no marks towards obtaining a degree be given for proficiency in Paley's *Evidences* and Butler's *Analogy*—books placed by the University on the list of optional studies for honors in the mental and moral sciences. We can easily imagine the eloquence and power and moral indignation with which Dr. Duff argued against such an order, and carried the resolution that "the Faculty earnestly recommend that the order be not acted upon till reference, if necessary, be made for reconsideration to the Home Government", and that "the Faculty deem the order inexpedient", for reasons stated at great length, but into which we need not enter. Their remonstrance had its effect, and these books, so objectionable in the eyes of the Directors, remain after they and their renowned Company have passed away. At the first Convocation, Vice-Chancellor Colville referred to this matter in his speech, and to Dr. Duff's connection with it:—

"We know now that even this concession [to those who demanded recognition of the importance of religion] has recently been objected to in a high quarter. I trust, however, that, on a fuller explanation of the whole matter, that objection will be removed. One word more upon this subject in connection with the Faculty of Arts. The very necessity which excludes theology and religious doctrine from the *compulsory* subjects of our examinations makes the duty of doing our very best to inculcate that sound morality which all, whatever be their creed, may receive, the more imperative. It seems to me, therefore, that the warning lately given to the Senate by Dr. Duff, of the tendency of the native mind to prefer the subtleties of metaphysics and the intellectual exercises of logic to the sound and practical truths of purely ethical science, was of peculiar value, and that we ought to be careful hereafter to order our examinations on mental and moral philosophy in the manner indicated by him."

At the close of the year the Faculty placed on record its sense of the "eminent zeal and ability displayed by Dr. Duff as President of the Faculty during the past year, and the benefits which the University generally had derived from his valuable

“services in that capacity.” The Bishop of Calcutta alternated with him as President for 1859 and 1861, Dr. Duff having been re-elected for 1860. In my remarks on the Bethune Society I referred to Dr. Duff's proposals to erect University buildings and to establish University professorships. The first became a realized fact. The other proved unsuccessful, save so far as the establishment and endowment of the Tagore Law Professorships are concerned. The discussion on the professorships in the Faculty of Arts, the Syndicate and the Senate was very warm and protracted. In carrying it on Dr. Duff took a leading part. In the minutes of Arts there is recorded a most able and lengthy dissent by Dr. Duff from the finding of the majority. It is followed up by other dissents from the pens of Archdeacon Pratt, Bishop Cotton, Rev. Dr. Ogilvie, Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, Rev. Dr. Mullens, Principal, London Missionary Institution, Dr. George Smith, Editor, *Friend of India*, the Honorable C. U. Aitchison, the present Chief Commissioner of Burma, and Mr. MacCrindle, Principal, Patna College. Their dissents, founded though they were on most cogent reasons and well established facts, had no effect. Numbers carried the day. In revising the Laws and Regulations of the University, as in their original framing, and in the selecting of suitable text-books in all the languages, Oriental as well as Western, Dr. Duff took a most prominent part, and the selections did credit to his wisdom and his learning. When forced to leave India on account of his enfeebled health, the result of his multifarious and most onerous labors in Calcutta in the days of bad water and open filthy drains, the Syndicate recorded “their sense of “the eminent service he had rendered to the University, and “their regret at being deprived of his aid and counsel for the “future.” The Faculty of Arts expressed their entire concurrence in the resolution which the Syndicate had passed on receiving his resignation, and returned to him “their hearty “thanks for the zeal, diligence and wisdom with which he had “acted as one of their representatives since the foundation of “the University, and for the other eminent services which he had “rendered, during more than a quarter of a century, to the cause “of education in India.” At the following meeting of Convocation, the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Henry S. Maine, paid a very high compliment to him, and said that “no heavier blow had fallen “on the University since its foundation.” We have no space to quote his words in full,—they have frequently been referred to in other notices of Dr. Duff, as also the words of Bishop Cotton to the effect that when the Bengalis—

“Were talking of Christianity as an obsolete superstition, soon to be burned up in the pyre on which the creeds of the Brahman, the Buddhist, and the Muhammadan were already perishing, he (Dr. Duff) suddenly burst

upon the scene with his unhesitating faith, his indomitable energy, his varied erudition, and his never-failing stream of fervid eloquence, to teach them that the Gospel was not dead or sleeping, not the ally of ignorance and error, not ashamed or unable to vindicate its claims to universal reverence, but that then, as always, it was marching forward in the van of civilization, and that the Church of Christ was still the light of the world."

On Dr. Duff's leaving Calcutta, his friends, many of whom were associated with him in labors in the interests of education, set about at once to collect funds for the erection of a marble hall, in connection with the University, to his memory. The scheme was afterwards modified, and the money collected (Rs. 20,000) was devoted to "Duff scholarships", the interest only to be used to establish four scholarships of Rs. 15 each a month, tenable for a year—two of them for the two most distinguished students in languages and mathematics, the third for the best student in the Free Church Institution, and the fourth for the best student in the European and East Indian Colleges, as judged by the number of marks obtained at the First Arts examinations.

I will not dwell upon Dr. Duff's labors in behalf of female education. I have not the materials before me, nor space at my disposal. Suffice it to say that one of my earliest reminiscences of his doings at our Free Church Financial Board was his formally handing over to the Mission the trust-deeds of the property in which the Hindu girls' school which now bears his honored name is held. It was his gift to the Mission. He also wrote some articles on the subject for the *Indian Female Evangelist*, of which his truly devoted daughter, Mrs. Watson, was the editor. Nor will I stop to detail his labors preparatory to the establishment of a mission among the Santals. He spent some days wandering over the district shortly before leaving India, selecting a proper central site, at a time when his health was very seriously broken down. I will rather devote the remaining part of my space to correspondence relating to his work in Bengal, and his continued interest in it and in the workers. My readers will excuse the necessarily personal character of the correspondence for the sake of the light thrown upon the character of the missionary.

Not many months after Dr. Duff left Calcutta, Bengal was visited by one of the most disastrous cyclones ever experienced. It will always be remembered for its destruction of the shipping lying at anchor in the Hugli river, off Calcutta, and for the thousands of huts and other houses thrown down. I shall never forget the scene of desolation which Calcutta presented on the occasion, or the danger which the sixty girls in our orphanage and our own children ran of being buried under the ruins of the old house in Boitakhana Road. I wrote an account of the disaster, as far as it affected our mission property, to Dr.

Duff, and received by return of mail a characteristic reply, in which he expressed the fullest sympathy with us in the disaster which had befallen us, and described the prompt measures which he had taken for arousing general sympathy and securing aid at home with a view to repairing the damage. He called a meeting at once in the Free Presbytery Hall to consider what steps should be taken. His plan was to raise, say, £2,000, which he hoped would be supplemented by the generosity of friends at Calcutta, for the erection of substantial brick buildings to take the place of those which had been destroyed by the cyclone.

Dr. Duff always took the greatest interest in the doings of the leaders of the Brahma Samaj movement, from its origination by his friend Raja Ram Mohan Rai until Keshab Chandra Sen's visit to England. I find it recorded in the Missionary Conference minutes of April, 1862,—and I remember the same,—that Dr. Duff supplied a large amount of information in regard to it. In his correspondence he frequently referred to it, and always in the way of asking for information, as in his letter dated—

“GRANGE, EDINBURGH, 31st March, 1866

“MY DEAR MR. M——,

“Just a line to say that I have been looking out, by every mail, for the promised account of the old or conservative Brahma Shabha. But none has yet reached me. Your account of Keshab Sen's address was, you see, at once published, and did much good. Many are asking me for the promised account of the other. Do write to me more frequently and fully about your doings, the on-goings of the Samaj people, or any other movements. There is such a distracting variety of objects claiming the attention of all at home now, that without such full and frequent accounts of what is going on in the foreign mission field *we cannot keep our ground*—interest will soon flag, and the exchequer will be diminished, and I fear to express what must follow next. Do, thus, yourself, and all others, write to me more frequently and fully.”

In 1867 a great rage seemed to have possessed a number of babus in Calcutta to furbish up all old, worn-out weapons against Christianity and use them anew. Lectures against Christianity were exceedingly popular, and there was no lack of lecturers. Some things very bitter and very nasty were said and written and published in the native papers, nothing comparable to which has appeared for years back. The feeling against Christianity, Christians in general, and Europeans was very strong. Dr. Robson and myself took united action in the matter by the pen as correspondents to the native press, and as speakers at the various anti-Christian meetings. One distinguished Bengali gentleman announced a series of lectures on the Bible, beginning with the first chapter of Genesis, promising to proceed to the end, pointing out and dwelling on every verse which he could *ridicule, or which* he imagined he could safely contradict. After

hearing his first lecture we resolved to expose the weakness and hollowness of his criticism. We went to the second fully prepared, and succeeded so thoroughly that the series came abruptly to an end. At another lecture on the Resurrection we were not allowed to speak in the lecture-room; but we were not to be silenced, so I addressed the meeting at its close, on the street, from my buggy, and promised to give a formal answer on the next Sunday in our Institution. Dr. Duff refers to this incident in the following letter:—

“THE GRANGE, EDINBURGH, 7th May, 1867.

“MY DEAR MR. M—,

“I have to thank you much for your long and interesting letter of 8th April. I look forward with pleasant expectation to the receipt of the works you mention. I know not how a portion of your time could be better employed than in the preparation of such works. Please always send me a copy of whatever you publish. If I had got them two months ago they would have appeared in the great Paris Exhibition. I have to thank you very specially for the notes of N—’s lecture, and your own reply to it from the buggy on the street. I hope you will send me an account of your more formal answer in the hall of the Institution. Pray keep at them, and at them without intermission. Never allow a public lecture of those folks to pass unchallenged. There is little or no hope of benefiting those who are thoroughly committed as leaders, but many of their followers may be benefited, while those who are already converts will be confirmed in their faith. During the earlier part of my own career I was constantly engaged in challenging or answering challenges. I have not the shadow of a doubt that much good comes of such agitation, though one must have a rhinoceros’ hide to withstand the pitiless pelting of abuse to which one is thereby exposed. But you never heed abuse when vindicating the cause of truth and righteousness. You know how for years past the tide has been turning against schools and institutions as a branch of missionary labors. In the present there is a lull or pause. How long this may last I cannot tell. But meanwhile the more you can report to me of miscellaneous evangelistic labor apart from the Institution, so much the better for the Institution itself, and our cause generally. Kindest remembrances to Mrs. M—.

“Yours very affectionately,

“ALEXANDER DUFF.”

When Dr. Duff left Calcutta in 1865 the students and ex-students of the Institution proceeded at once to collect funds with the view of having a bust of him placed in the hall of the Institution. When the amount was realized, I was requested, after a good deal of delay from various causes, to ask him to sit to some artist in Edinburgh for his bust. His answer is short and characteristic:—

“ABERDEEN, 25th March, 1869.

“MY DEAR MR. M—,

“Your last kind note was received by me when in Glasgow, and from Glasgow I came to this city in pursuit of my college duties. If spared to return to Edinburgh, I shall endeavor to see to the execution of the commission contained in your note, as I cannot but keenly appreciate the very friendly feelings out of which it originated. In due time you may therefore

ART. III.—SELF-SUPPORT AMONG THE KAREN CHRISTIANS OF BURMA.

IN the second Article of the *Indian Evangelical Review* for October, 1878, the progress of self-support among the Sgau Karen Christians of Bassein was depicted. At the Jubilee meeting commemorative of the baptism of Kothahbyu, the first Karen convert, held in Bassein on the 16th of last May, a carefully prepared statistical table, embracing the entire Karen field, was presented. This table is appended to the present Article. It was believed that the facts brought out were calculated to encourage and stimulate the native Christians to greater exertions and sacrifices, and at the same time to humble them in view of their present remoteness from actual independence of foreign aid. If there were danger of pride or self-sufficiency in any quarter, of which the writer is happy to say that he sees no sign, it was believed that a consideration of the facts revealed in the table would serve effectually to quell those sinful emotions. For even in the most advanced districts, as Rangoon and Bassein, the parent Society is still at heavy charges for the support of missionaries, and the various expenses incidental to the work of confirming these infant churches in the faith.

Some who have read the earlier Article may be interested to know the status of the Karen Mission at large in this regard. In the showing of other sections of the field is less favorable, it is to be remembered, *first*, that the hill Karens of Toungoo, Shwaygyee and Tavoy are poorer livers and have far less money, as a rule, than the plain Karens of Rangoon, Bassein, Henthada and Maulmain; and, *secondly*, that, aside from Bassein, none of the Karen missions were begun on the self-supporting basis. Abbott stood alone among the earlier missionaries in Burma as the apostle of a self-supporting Christianity. He alone had the courage and wisdom to apply the principle at the beginning, when the young Christians were at their weakest and poorest. Beecher and those who have succeeded him in the Bassein field, seeing the good results, have heartily adopted his principles, and the same principles are now rapidly making their way in other parts of the field.

The Rangoon Sgau Karens have raised some Rs. 12,000 for the equipment of their station school with substantial buildings, besides meeting the largest share of the current expenses. Henthada has raised over Rs. 3,000 for her town school buildings. Tavoy, under the wise and energetic leadership of her young missionary, has just completed a good chapel and boys' dormitory at a cost of over Rs. 5,000, with very little aid from abroad.

Maulmain is at work on a school-building which will cost the Karens about Rs. 10,000. The Shwaygyeen Karens have raised a permanent fund of Rs. 2,000, the interest of which goes to evangelistic work. The Toungoo people have had much besides their poverty to hinder them, but they have already made a good beginning in the work of self-help. Meanwhile the Bassein Pwos are bringing up their building fund to Rs. 5,000; and the Sgaus, unwearied in well-doing, are proposing to raise a fund of Rs. 50,000, to be styled the "Abbott endowment fund", in honor of their spiritual father, the interest to be used for the support of an additional missionary teacher in their cherished Normal and Industrial Institute. It will be a heavy undertaking for them, but they will hope to complete it at least before the fiftieth anniversary of the first proclamation of the Gospel in Bassein by Abbott in 1837.

Thus in these special ways we see an increasing endeavor all along the line to lay broad foundations for the support of Christian institutions among the Karens, in addition to the almost universal support of their own pastors, chapels and primary schools. Would that our brethren of other names throughout India might have the felicity of leading their flocks in these paths! Then, and not until then, shall we see the native churches of India take their proper place before their non-Christian countrymen. As these material temples, built by the offerings of their Christian neighbors, spring up in beauty, the graces of benevolence, self-denial and patient persistence in well-doing develop also, and the material and the spiritual temples growing together speak to the darkest and hardest heathen in a language that he cannot fail to understand. He sees at last a spirit of sacrifice and determination equal to his own,—a faith which, renouncing all idea of merit, works by love. He sees at last that his Christian neighbors have not been hired to enter the religion of the foreigner. He sees them making generous provision for the intelligent worship of the supreme God, and for the cultivation of the mind and heart of every Christian child. Such arguments tell, brethren, in Burma. Let them be used everywhere, to the confusion of the adversaries, and to the glory of our all-glorious God!

But let us proceed to a brief consideration of the table. Since the baptism of the first Karen in Tavoy, fifty years ago, ten Karen Baptist associations have been formed, comprising 394 churches and 19,915 living members. These churches and the heathen around them to a greater or less extent are served by 98 ordained and 274 unordained pastors and preachers. 1,251 converts were baptized during the past year. 200 jungle schools were maintained, in which 4,311 children were taught to read the Word of God, and instructed in the rudiments of other knowledge.

Twelve boarding-schools of a high order were kept up during the year, in which instruction was given by 27 American and 55 native teachers to an aggregate of 1,295 pupils, 373 of whom were girls. The total current expenses of these schools, excluding the salaries of the American teachers, was Rs. 44,905. Of this sum Rs. 16,082, or more than one-third, was given by the Karens themselves, Rs. 10,698 was given by the Indian Government, and Rs. 16,353 by societies and friends in America.

Some of these schools, it will be observed, depend almost entirely on local support: *e.g.*, the Pegu High School in Rangoon expended Rs. 9,656 last year, of which Rs. 1,100 only came from America; the Bassein Sgau Karen Institute expended Rs. 9,574, of which Rs. 878 only came from America. Others, as the Rangoon Baptist College, the Karen Theological Seminary and the Toungoo Bghai Karen School, depend for the most part on the support of the American churches.

The entire appropriations of the American Baptist Missionary Union to Karen work for the year, including salaries of missionaries, repairs of houses, taxes, travelling allowances, appropriations for schools, preachers, etc., etc., amounted to Rs. 66,094. The contributions of the Karen churches for the same period amounted to Rs. 72,695. In other words, at the end of the fiftieth year since their evangelization began, we find the Karen converts bearing more than half of the burden of supporting all their religious and educational institutions, including the efforts made for the conversion of their brethren who still sit in darkness.

At the end, too, of the first fifty years, we find that we have a capital of Rs. 2,93,500, invested in mission compounds and houses, school buildings and presses, for the exclusive benefit of the Karens. With the exception of the Sgau Karen compound in Rangoon, all this property is owned by the A. B. M. Union, and towards the cost of this property Rs. 76,154 has been given in cash by the Karens. As we have already shown, the most notable instance of this generous helpfulness of the Karens is found in Bassein, where the Missionary Union owns a compound of thirty acres and buildings worth, at a moderate estimate, Rs. 60,000, for which they have paid not more than Rs. 8,000. In the years to come we hope and believe that this good example will be followed more and more, until the two-fold work of evangelizing Burma and of educating the Christian youth of Burma shall have passed over into the hands of the Karens themselves.

C. H. CARPENTER.

STATISTICS OF THE KAREN MISSIONS FOR THE YEAR 1877-78.

STATION.	When established.	Number of Churches.	Do. Pastors ordained (natives).	Do. Preachers undordained.	Do. Baptisms this year.	Present whole number of Church members.	No. of Village Schools.	No. of Pupils in school.	Teachers in Station.	Pupils in		Total current expenses (less American salaries).	Of this paid by Karens.	Government Grant.	Societies and friends in America.	Total Karen contributions for all objects, religious and educational, during the year.	Total appropriations of the A. B. M. Union.	Karen contributions for permanent Mission buildings since 1863.	Present estimated value of A. B. M. Union compounds and buildings devoted to the Karen work.
										American.	Native.								
Tavoy	1828	22	5	13	78	892	19	320	2	3	69	1,462	52	1,288	122	956	4,192	2,455	10,000
Maulmain	1831	15	8	9	46	1,014	8	210	3	6	75	2,481	318	960	544	4,490	5,812	5,000 ¹	15,000
Rangoon, Sgau	1835	83	16	37	221	3,581	39	600	1	7	170	9,656	6,556	2,000	1,100	11,798	1,848	12,000	30,000
Do. Pwo	1855	13	5	6	20	386	7	123	2	2	35	858	553	Nil	305	1,125	3,300	1,320	15,000
Bassein, Sgau	1840	67	25	65	361	6,556	40	1408	5	10	136	9,574	5,224	2,500	878	36,132	8,320	43,621	60,000
Do. Pwo	1850	17	7	20	51	947	6	150	3	4	59	2,277	694	1,000	741	5,625	5,472	2,059	8,000
Henthada	1854	52	14	30	116	1,855	26	370	1	3	44	1,693	300	1,000	393	5,572	4,557	3,497	13,000
Shwaygyeen	1853	20	7	13	35	785	11	201	1	2	30	674	250	Nil.	235	902	3,300	1,920	5,000
Toungoo, Paku	1853	61	4	43	159	1,918	18	442	2	7	100	2,108	875	700	423	2,029 ²	4,924	2,000 ¹	7,000
Do. Bghai	1854	43	5	32	160	1,928	25	467	3	3	75	5,682	835	1,250	3,597	3,153	10,224	1,000 ¹	8,000
Prome .....	...	..	1	1	...	40 ¹	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40 ¹	Nil.	...	Nil.
Karen Theological Seminary	1844	1	1	3	4	13	..	..	1	4	49	4,650	65	Nil.	4,625	300 ¹	7,257	...	35,000
Rangoon Baptist College	1872	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	3	4	80	3,750	360	Nil.	3,390	573	6,888	1,282	45,000
Do. Mission Press	1837	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	42,500 ²
Totals .....	...	394	98	274	1,251	19,915	200	4311	27	55	922	44,905	16,082	10,698	16,353	72,695	66,094	76,154	2,93,500

¹ Estimated.² Including 17½ pounds of betel-nut, 17½ pounds of salt, 2 pigs, 20 fowls, 2 watchbells, 1 patser and 2 jackets.³ One-half.

ART. IV.—THE DOCTRINE OF FORGIVENESS.

I.—ABSOLUTION.

“The Lord as king and head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate. To these officers the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain or remit sins, to shut the kingdom against the impenitent, both by word and censures: and to open it unto penitent sinners, by the ministry of the Gospel and by absolution from censures, as occasion shall require.”—*Westminster Confession of Faith, chap. XXX.*

I CITE these words from the standard Confession of Faith of Presbyterians, because I wish to show my readers at starting how absurd a thing it is if any one should profess to be shocked at meeting with an article in defence of Absolution in an *evangelical* periodical. Since the expressions, “keys of the kingdom of heaven”, “power to remit and retain sins”, “absolution”, are thus deliberately authorized by a leading Protestant communion, of whose attachment to the Reformation there can be no doubt, how unjust it is to treat the acceptance and use of these terms at the present time as a sure sign of Romish error!

In addition to this I must ask permission to quote from the chief standard of doctrine of the Lutherans, viz., the Confession of Augsburg. In this we read,—“Since confession gives occasion for administering private absolution, and the rite itself maintains among the people the knowledge of the power of the keys, and remission of sins; and further because of its great value for the guidance and instruction of men’s souls, we therefore carefully retain confession in our church.” Here too we meet with the same expressions—“*absolution*”, “*power of the keys*”, “*remission of sins*”, and when we add to them the plain and well-known directions of the Church of England in her Book of Common Prayer for the administration of Absolution,¹ it is seen that all the leading reformed communions at the time of the Reformation did accept the idea of Absolution in some way or another as belonging to Christianity in its purest and most Scriptural form.

I am not now going to build upon the authority of the Reformers,—though I may remark, by the way, that if a Christian has *any regard at all* to the weight of authority in matters of doctrine, it is strange if he does not yield to it when the Reformers and the adherents of the older system are at one,—but I feel that it is necessary to be thus explicit at starting, because it is

¹ *Vide Communion Service, Visitation of the Sick, and Ordination of Priests.*

sometimes the case that when we invite people to consider the ground which we find in *reason* for our teaching on this subject, we are met with a cry of horror and an appeal to *authority*,—i.e., the authority of the Reformers. This appeal, then, to the Reformers we admit. Do they, or do they not, countenance our proceeding with the subject, and endeavoring to investigate what is the “power of the keys”, and what is “the benefit of absolution”? If any one is not contented with what we have cited above, we can refer him to the writings of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Turner, Becon, Jewel, Perkins, Mede, Ussher, Chillingworth, and many others, both Reformers and strong opponents of Romanism, all distinctly approving of the retention of Absolution.¹ But we trust that the public documents which we have quoted will suffice to establish our right to discuss this subject without being counted traitors to Evangelicalism.

I assume, then, that my readers will not be deterred by any prejudice which, under the pretext of authority, may forbid them to examine this question, and I go on to consider the place which Absolution takes in church discipline as a means of restoring the penitent offender who has been placed under censure or excommunication for some grave offence. That church discipline ought to be maintained is denied, I suppose, by scarce any Christian community. The power of expulsion for violation of its rules belongs to almost every club or society in existence, and I know not who will deny it to the Christian Church. Let Dr. Murdoch speak on this, as the exponent of the opinions of Indian missionaries:—“The church”, he says, quoting Angell James, “which neglects the right treatment of offending members resembles a state in which the administration of justice is omitted, and crime permitted to be practised with impunity.”² But with the power of expulsion must also be the power of restoration, and if this be done solemnly and judicially it is in fact an absolution.

With respect to the officer or officers who should be entrusted with authority to exercise this discipline, and proclaim this expulsion of an offender, or re-admission of a penitent, opinions differ; but, whether it be priest, pastor, elders, or chairman of kirk session, the fact remains the same, that the reconciliation of penitents to the congregation, which is substantially an absolution of them from church censure, is entrusted to officers of the church. With respect, too, to the value of such re-admission or absolution, the estimate will vary according to the conception

¹ These may be found quoted at length in a little pamphlet entitled *The Power of the Priest in Absolution*, by Canon Cooke. (Church Printing Company, London.)

² *Indian Missionary Manual*, p. 407.

When I maintain, however, that this passage of Scripture can mean nothing but that the power of remitting sins is actually entrusted to men, I must guard against the supposition that I intend to say that the source of forgiveness is in men, or that they can of their own right, or according to their own conditions, grant it. Against God only is sin committed, and God alone can be the source of forgiveness. He alone can determine the conditions upon which it is to be granted. It is only as ambassadors of his mercy, as administrators of his laws, as channels of his grace, that men can forgive sins. In doing so they are simply performing a service entrusted to them. God himself has arranged and ordained all the conditions of forgiveness; they are but the administrators of his grace on the basis of those conditions. Their absolutions are open to appeal, and to correction or to confirmation; his are irrevocable and eternal. Even the justice of the judgments of Jesus Christ rests upon their conformity to the will of the Father that sent him (John v. 30). And because of the perfect conformity of his will to the Father's his judgments are perfectly just. And so it is with those, too, whom he sends. Their judgments are only confirmed as just so far as they coincide with the will of Christ, who sends them. They are of no value in themselves. They cannot stand as the decisions of man, but only as the expression of His will who promised to be with them to the end. Thus only what they speak will be as his oracles; thus only what they do in the work of the ministry will be out of the fullness of the power which he giveth (1 Peter iv. 11).

Absolution in the light of an authorized *declaration* of forgiveness ought not to be a difficulty to any believer in Holy Scripture. If God commissioned one minister, Nathan, to declare to David on his repentance that he was forgiven, why should he not, under the dispensation of the Gospel, commission many ministers to convey the assurance of his forgiveness to those sinners who, like David, acknowledge their sin? If it be objected that Nathan must have had a special revelation ordering him to absolve David, I would ask, Is a general command of God less binding than a special one? If God says at one time to one messenger, Go to a certain sinner, convince him of his sin, and when he acknowledges it assure him of my forgiveness,—and at another time to a collective body of messengers, Go to all sinners throughout the world, convince them of their sins, and when they acknowledge them assure them of my forgiveness,—is the forgiveness of God less sure in the latter case than the former? Are the cases at all incongruous? Is there not a harmony between them,—the one showing in type in a single instance that same mercy which God now bestows in so full a *stream upon mankind*?

If any one should think that by thus explaining the command of our Lord to remit sins, I have after all reduced it to the mere preaching of the Gospel, I would beg him to notice that the point of the example lies in the individual acknowledgment of sin on the part of the sinner, and the personal assurance of forgiveness on the part of the minister. Until this direct personal communication takes place it is impossible to say that the example of David and Nathan is followed, or the full intent of our Lord's words put into practice, according to the example which he himself set.

Of course I am not supposing that a mere confession of sin is enough to warrant the grant of absolution. That it goes a long way towards it may be inferred from Luke xvii. 4; but all that is laid down in Scripture—whether by way of precept or of example—is spoken as to men of reason who use their understanding to discern what are the conditions and limitations which are reasonably implied. And thus when oral confession of sin is exhibited to us as a ground of forgiveness, it must be understood that it is so when there is no good reason for doubting the sincerity of the confession. This exercise of prudence in the restoration and absolution of sinners, dealing with them differently according to their respective cases, is implied in Jude 22, 23, as well as in other passages of the New Testament.

Thus much as to the question whether Absolution may be considered to be a particular declaration and personal assurance of forgiveness from God pronounced by his accredited minister. I go on to examine the question whether we may believe it also to be *effectual* in the sense of restoring a relationship between the soul and God which has been broken or weakened by sin. In stating this question I must guard against misconception. The effectual putting away of sin, and restoration of peace between the sinner and God, is, so far as God is concerned, the work of the sacrifice of the Cross (Eph. ii. 14-17). Christ crucified is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and his merits are abundantly sufficient to atone for every sin. When then I speak of Absolution as effectual in removing sin and restoring the soul to peace with God, I do not mean that the obstacle which is removed lies in the justice of God, but in the unfitness of the soul for communion with God. So far as there was an obstacle in the justice of God, that obstacle was removed by the sacrifice of Christ; but the obstacle in the soul itself needs to be removed by the application to it of the grace of Christ. This then is what I wish to consider, whether we may believe that such grace may be obtained through the aid of the ministry of the Church.

Looking first to the Old Testament for light on this subject,

we find that the intercession of the righteous is in several cases declared to be an appointed means for putting away sin. At the prayer of Abraham Abimelech and his household were forgiven (Gen. xx. 17). Moses' prayer availed for the restoration of the people to the favor of God, which they had forfeited (Ex. xxxi. 9-14). Job was the appointed intercessor for his three friends (Job xlii. 8). The greatness of Israel's sin is shown by Ezekiel in the fact that the intercession of even Noah, Daniel and Job would not suffice to save it from the wrath of God (Ezek. xiv.). After these indications of God's will in the Old Testament, we need not be surprised to find it plainly stated in the New Testament that the prayers of the righteous do avail to deliver souls from sin. It was the faith of the friends of the paralytic, which our Lord accepted on his behalf, when he absolved him from his sin (Matt. ix. 2). St. John says, "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death" (1 John v. 16). St. Paul says, "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness" (Gal. vi. 1). St. James says, "Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much" (Jas. v. 16). It is true that there is no mention here of any specific value in the prayers of the clergy as such, unless, as some suppose, St. Paul refers to them under the name of "spiritual" persons. But if not specified, yet they cannot be excluded from St. John's comprehensive statement of the power of intercession; and St. James does, in the previous verses, that which I have quoted, recognize the power of *official* intercession when he ascribes to the prayer of the *elders*, combined with the anointing with oil, both restoration to health and also remission of sins.

The ascription of the power of intercession rather to individual holiness than to official position can in fact be no bar to the practice of making confession to, and seeking absolution from a minister rather than a layman, although it undoubtedly influences a penitent in his selection of that minister, and sometimes even leads him not to be content until he has asked the intercession of others, both clergy and laity, in whose prayers he has confidence, that they will aid him before God. Far be it from me that in endeavoring to prove from Scripture the official right of the minister to absolve, I should in the slightest degree seem to ignore or obscure the great and blessed power of faithful souls, of every rank in the Church, to obtain the forgiveness of sinners through their earnest intercessions. If, as I have endeavored to show, the value of Absolution is three-fold, and *may be regarded* in the light of (1) a restoration to the com-

munion and privileges of the Church, (2) a personal assurance of God's forgiveness, and (3) an act of intercession which may avail to bring God's healing grace upon a wounded soul,—it will be seen that whilst (1) is a benefit simple and unconditional, (2) is simple but conditional, and (3) is not only conditional, but also admits of many degrees. The grace bestowed by God may be more or less, and that too in proportion to the effectiveness of the prayer of intercession; and hence while we set a high value on any absolution which is honestly attained and legitimately bestowed, we may nevertheless estimate it more or less highly according to the circumstances with which, or the person through whom, it is given.

In concluding this paper, I will ask my readers to notice three things. The *first* is this, that—to answer a common accusation—there is nothing of a *magical* character in this view of Absolution. So far as it is an official act on behalf of the congregation there is nothing supernatural about it more than is involved in the fact that the congregation of the Church is a spiritual corporation, and hence its actions cannot be separated from spiritual results. So far as it is an authorized declaration on behalf of God, it can no more be called magical than any other formal act, declaration or agreement can be thus stigmatized—as, *e.g.*, the words of the marriage service, which effect so great a change in the relations and rights of a man and woman. It is mysterious only as an act of prayer, and if prayer can be characterized as magical, then may Absolution. But if prayer is remote from magic, being a moral act whose efficacy is dependent on the sincerity of heart and the strength and purity of the faith of him who utters it, then too is Absolution quite different from that illicit exercise of secret power which is understood under the term *magic*.

Secondly, let it be observed that the institution of Absolution is no interference with the rights and prerogatives of God. It is not a perversion of justice, or an interference with justice of the fullest measure. It is an approximation to justice,—an installment of justice,—an adaptation of justice to our present probationary state, until the time is come for the revelation of the perfect and exact judgment of God. The evils attendant on it are incidental to our present imperfect condition. In like manner our teaching is and must be imperfect, for “we know in part, “and we prophesy in part”; yet this teaching is useful, and we cannot forego it. All our actions are imperfect, and our schemes and undertakings for good bring us results far from satisfactory; yet we do not therefore cease from working. We trust that God will accept them, and bring them eventually to perfection. Why then should we refuse to Absolution a place in our system because it is confessedly an imperfect exhibition of the mercy

and justice of God? "When that which is perfect is come" it will be time enough for that which is imperfect to be done away.

Thirdly, Absolution is no diminution of the privileges of the servant of God, no interference with his right of access to his Heavenly Father. It is often represented as the thrusting in of the priest between the soul and God, debarring it of its free approach. Far be it from us to consider it as such. If the minister comes between the soul and God, it is as a link, and as a guide because the soul has receded so far from God that it knows not where to find him, or fears to approach him. It is for them that need it, not for those who would find in it a hindrance. "The law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient" (1 Tim. i. 9); and "we know that the law is good if a man use it lawfully." Why should they that are whole deny medicine to the sick, because to themselves that medicine would be distasteful and hurtful? When God instituted the Aaronic priesthood, with the offerings for trespasses and sins, he did not interpose any obstacle between his people and himself. The Jew who had not forfeited his rights in the covenant was in as good a position as ever; only a door of escape was opened for him that had trespassed against the Lord or contracted defilement. So, whatever privileges are open to the Christian as a member of the body of Christ, the institution of the Christian ministry is in no way a diminution of them. All that he had he still possesses, and yet more. More, for he has a new means of recovering that which else had perhaps been lost without recovery. It is not as if the advocates of Absolution were insisting on it as the indispensable means of restoration for one overtaken in a fault, and asserting that none were truly reconciled to God save they who had been reconciled in this particular way. We do not at all dispute the power of God to recall sinners to himself and cleanse them without this special agency of grace. We only plead for it as a means ordained by our Lord himself, and which has availed for the restoration of many a sinner, who might otherwise have been lost—a means which it would be a sin for the Church to forego, so long as there is a single penitent but weak and fearful brother who desires to make use of it. What we want now among Christians is a fuller recognition that the God of grace is the God of nature, and that he who in this world is so full in contrivances, so lavish in variety, so abundant in those gifts which minister both to the necessities and to the happiness of man, is not likely to be other in his new creation, the Church,—to believe that in that body, which is the fullness of him that *filleth all in all* (Eph. i. 23) there must be found a provision for every need of man's complex nature in all its varied developments, trials and aspirations,—not to endeavor to lim-

the ordinances of religion by any individual or even national conception of fitness, but to be ready to acknowledge that all modes, phases and rites of Christianity in which good men have found refreshment for their souls, and which do not contradict the essential verities of the faith, ought to be retained in the Church, even though individually we may not need or desire them for our own selves.

S. W. O'NEILL.

II.—THE CONDITIONS OF THE ACT.

WITH the Lord our God there is forgiveness, that he may be feared. This is the essence of the Gospel, that in which it differs from all forms of religion that have ever prevailed among men. Hinduism knows nothing of it; and even among Christians but few are able to realize it. It seems almost incredible that God should pass by the transgressions of men, as if they never had been committed. A simple announcement of forgiveness, even from God, would not meet our necessity; it would not suffice to comfort the awakened sinner, and restore to him the full consciousness of peace with the Holy One. The notion that iniquity, transgression and sin might easily be remitted, or passed over, would be, and alas! often is, very detrimental to man's best interests. But, indeed, no sin, no offence, no injury ever is, or ever can be, forgiven without atonement. No man ever truly forgives another without atonement. Every sin, every fault, every offence involves injury or loss of some sort to him against whom it is committed. That loss must be, obviously, acknowledged, condemned, *yet borne*, otherwise there can be no true forgiveness or cordial reconciliation. A wicked deed may be passed over, made light of, or regarded with indifference; but that would not be forgiveness. When one liquidates a debt by full payment, we do not say he is forgiven. When he pays a fine for a trespass of which he has been proved guilty, compensation may be so far made; but there is no atonement, and consequently no real forgiveness. If I owe another ten pounds and fail to pay the amount, he is a loser to that extent. The creditor may be rich enough to make light of the loss, but his indifference would not be equivalent to forgiveness. For this two conditions are indispensable. The loss must be felt and borne on one side, and seen and acknowledged on the other. Then only can forgiveness be a reality, and a benefit to the culprit.

A righteous, loving father has an inalienable right to be loved and obeyed by his son. If that right is withheld in rebellion, *how can it be forgiven?* The wealth of an empire would not

suffice to make atonement for the offence, or make true forgiveness possible. It might for a time be ignored, or the form of the penalty might be varied, or its execution deferred; but there would not, on that account, be any cordial reconciliation. The fact of love withheld, right trampled upon, affection alienated, cannot be expiated by any payment. Nothing that could pass from one to another could make atonement for the injury done, though it might be impossible, or undesirable, to visit it immediately with merited penalty.

In all ages and countries it has been the habit of mankind to attribute the ills that afflict humanity to the anger or the spite of unseen beings, offended gods, or demons; and this men have sought to avert by offering to those beings what it is imagined they would like, in the shape of offerings of blood and sacrifices of cruelty; but true atonement, forgiveness of acknowledged wrongdoing or sin, does not seem to have been the end ever aimed at or contemplated. This, in fact, is the central truth set forth in that unique, grand system of instruction by which the Almighty has revealed to us the true relation between himself and mankind. No mere declaration of forgiveness was possible on the part of God. It would have been contrary to truth. The sinfulness of sin in its bearing on the mind and heart of God must be made manifest, and become recognized in the mental, moral, and spiritual department of man's being, as a preliminary to its being forgiven. In other words, man's sin, disobedience and rebellion must be *obviously* and unmistakably borne by the Holy One, as well as felt and confessed by the sinner himself, before true reconciliation can be regarded as possible. The bearing of sin and the forgiveness of it go together in the *Torah* of God, our "schoolmaster unto Christ."

Under the old economy, in the Mosaic outline and shadow of good things to come, these two—forgiveness in atonement, and sin-bearing—were inseparable. Without the shedding of blood there was no remission of sin. These shadows, it is true, were not the very image of the good things hoped for, nor even a photograph of them, as saints will one day be of Christ, but the instruction given was real, and far above all that man ever elsewhere learned without it. While certain acts, conditions and bodily infirmities excluded one from the "worldly sanctuary", blood, living blood, shed,—given not by man to God, but *by God to man, for that very purpose*,—when sprinkled upon the unclean, cleansed him, gave him new life, entitled him to come into the sanctuary, the holy place.

That very sanctuary, however, taught him he was not thereby *brought into the most holy place*, the very presence of the King, *the Lord of hosts*. Indeed no sin, *as sin*, was ever put away by *such means*. When the conscience was defiled, and the sinner

was broken-hearted in repentance, he did not look to the shadow, the instructive type, from which, however, he may have learned in some degree to estimate his guilt, and to have something approaching a true consciousness of its enormity; but then his language was, "Thou desirest not sacrifice; else would I give it: thou delightest not in burnt-offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit." "I acknowledged my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." If the question is asked, how in those days could veritable sin be forgiven, seeing that the blood of goats and of bulls could never cleanse the conscience from dead works to serve the living God, and the way into the Most Holy had not yet been made manifest, it must be frankly admitted that the revelation of God was not then what it became when Jesus could say, "It is finished", and the veil of the temple was rent, and the way of entrance into the Holiest was seen to be by the blood of Jesus.

Under the Law, all defilement that excluded one from the congregation was cognoscible by the priest, who was perfectly competent to pronounce a man to be clean or unclean. What, officially, he had to deal with was not inward and spiritual, but outward and visible. The parable was instructive, but it did not express the condition of the heart and spirit in the sight of God; and regarding that the officiating minister was not required or expected to give any judgment or opinion. It is true we read that when Nathan the prophet was commissioned to go and reprove king David for his great sin, and saw his bitter grief, he told him his sin was put away; but Nathan was not a priest, and his action in that case had nothing in it in any way resembling the absolution which the priests were authorized officially to pronounce on the ground of accomplished atonement.

When we pass on from the shadow to the substance, from the emblem to the reality, from the letter to the spirit, from that which is outward and visible to that which is inward and spiritual, known only to Him whose prerogative it is to search the heart, do we find anything corresponding to the priestly absolution of the earlier dispensation? It is admitted on all hands that now, as then, there are ministries in the congregations of the Lord, authorized to deal with what is outward and visible. Theoretically a church is a congregation of faithful men, and should therefore be composed wholly of believers; for such only can "walk in love", and "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Yet hypocrites, and self-deceivers, who have not believed with the heart unto righteousness, do creep in unawares—men of corrupt minds, having a form of godliness, but denying its power; and from such we are directed to turn away. For honest church fellowship it is

obviously essential that those who seek it do make a credible profession of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, together with an open avowal of love to him, showing itself in separation from the world, and attachment to his cause and people. Call them what we please,—overseers, bishops, elders, pastors, ministers, rulers,—it is the business of the office-bearers in the Church to watch over the spiritual welfare of the brethren that compose it. “Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers (bishops), to feed the church of God, which he purchased with his own blood.” (Acts xx. 28.) “And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.” (Eph. iv. 11, 12.) “Whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus.” (Col. i. 28.)

This is manifestly all that the Reformers meant when they spoke of the “keys of the kingdom of heaven”, “power respectively to retain and remit sin”, “absolution from censures.” Whether they were warranted in expressing their meaning in the language they adopted is another question, to which we shall immediately devote some attention; but that such was all they meant to say of their own authority no one can for a moment doubt who will take the trouble to consult the proof passages or which they rest their Church’s claim. Chapter xxx. of the Westminster Confession of Faith is headed “Of Church censures.” Among the proof passages we find Matt. xvi. 19, followed by xviii. 17, “And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church”, etc.

A man who is ignorant of the way of salvation,—who, like one groping in the dark, is trying to find it,—who as yet makes no profession of love to Christ or his people, or is manifestly living in the neglect of all that distinguishes the man of the world from the followers of Jesus, may surely be distinguished from those who are openly and avowedly disciples of Christ, and seek and strive to follow him. The morality of the Gospel is not, as some would allege, a matter only between each man’s conscience and God. “A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.” (John xiii. 34.) “Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another.” (Rom. xii. 10.) “And let us consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works: not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another: and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.” (Heb. x. 24, 25.)

When a church is aggrieved by the conduct of any of its

members, who walk disorderly, and not after the instructions given by the apostles, the duty is plain to "withdraw from such, and keep no company with them", but still to "admonish them as brethren", and strive to bring them to repentance and the acknowledgment of the truth. To this extent only, dealing with what is outward and visible so far as it may be an indication of what is inward, is there any resemblance between the work of the Christian ministry now and that of the priesthood under the Law.

Moreover, if one who has thus, on sufficient evidence of unfitness for communion with the Church, in conformity with the law of Christ, been separated from it, "those who are spiritual" should seek his restoration in the spirit of meekness and love, feel for him, pray for him, show all kindness to him in his need; and, when he shows signs of repentance, forgive him, thus "bearing *one another's* burdens, and so fulfilling the law of Christ."

If this is all that is meant by "absolution from Church censure," nothing can be more Scriptural; but most certainly this is not all that the advocates of priestly absolution contend for, and why it should ever be adduced as bearing upon it, or in any important respect resembling it, is a mystery not yet made known. The Jewish priests could distinctly ascertain the uncleanness that excluded a man from entering the congregation; and the conditions of restoration to the privilege were of such a nature that he could very confidently say whether they were complied with or not. But *in foro conscientiae* where is the priest on earth now that can pretend to such certainty of another's "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ", both "conditions of forgiveness", that a "particular declaration and personal assurance pronounced by him" can, with any degree of confidence, be regarded as "pronounced by God"? An appointed minister, representing the Church, may undoubtedly, without presumption, pronounce "absolution from Church censure", because it is quite possible for him to have the whole case before him; and the whole case should be before the Church, for the Word of God knows nothing of auricular confession; but when we come to "declaring and effecting the restoration of a relationship between the soul and God, which had been broken by sin", we are on very different ground; let us endeavor to survey it. In the course of his ministry our Lord had frequently said, "Thy sins be", or "are, forgiven." There was in such cases no question of Church discipline; but neither can it be affirmed that in every such case he declared and effected the restoration of any relation between the soul and God. In the case of the paralytic, the remission of sin might be no more than the removal of its consequences in the cure effected,

which, *so effected*, proved that Jesus "had power on earth to forgive sins"; and in the case of the "sinful woman" the forgiveness was not then granted,—"*Thy sins are forgiven*",—but declared to be a fact on the evidence she had given of repentance, faith and love, which he, knowing what is *in* man knew to be genuine.

But we are told that Jesus gave his disciples "a mission equal to his own", in these words,—"*As my Father hath sent me even so send I you*",—and "intended them to mediate as effectually as he himself had done between the soul and God, so that whatever benefit the paralytic had received when Christ said, "'Son, thy sins be forgiven', might be received also by all those to whom his apostles should pronounce the same absolution." This is a bold interpretation and wide expansion of the particle *as* in the saying quoted. It surely does not imply that whatever he was commissioned and empowered to do, that they also were competent to do. He came to "put away sin by the sacrifice of himself", and wrought miracles to prove that he had power on earth to forgive sin. They have a mission; but their mission does not include ability to "mediate as effectually as he himself had done between the soul and God"; for we have no evidence whatever that they received such power of discerning spirits as would warrant them to say to any one, "*Thy sins are forgiven*", or that what he "*effected by his absolution*" they also effected by theirs. One thing is certain, they never used such language as Jesus used.

Still, the commission stands,—"*He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.*" What does it mean? We must, at the outset of our inquiry, protest against the assumption that the absolution here announced is ever "open to appeal, and to correction or confirmation." It is "irrevocable and eternal", because it does "coincide with the will of Christ", and is in perfect "conformity with the will of the Father who sent him." These "judgments are of infinite value in themselves"; for, make of them what we may, they are the revelation of God's righteousness and love to mankind. If, for the sake of illustration, we may revert for a moment to the 'shadow', the judgment of the Jewish priest when he sprinkled the unclean and pronounced the accomplishment of the prescribed atonement, we shall find that the absolution granted was irrevocable. We know of no appeal from it. In the parabolic drama the man's right to enter the congregation was unassailable. So is it here. Those whom our Lord commissioned to declare to mankind the forgiveness of sin have no rites of atonement to superintend or direct, no conditions of forgiveness the performance of which they were competent to

scrutinize. "The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, ...and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone." (*Thirty-nine Articles, Art. 31.*) They had seen the risen Saviour; he had breathed upon them, and now commissioned them, on that infallible, irrevocable, eternal ground, to proclaim throughout the whole world the forgiveness of sin, and offer the assurance of the same to all who would accept it in Christ Jesus. "He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel." If the declaration of Ezekiel that the city would be destroyed might be called destroying the city (Ezek. xliii. 3),—if Isaiah's prophecy (chap. vi.) was called a making fat the heart of the people,—surely there is neither mystery nor difficulty in calling the announcement of the Lord Jesus the forgiveness of sin. Sin might be allowed to pass for a time in the long forbearance of God (Rom. iii. 25); but free and full forgiveness could be proclaimed only on the basis of an accomplished atonement, and be realized only by those who should repent and desire reconciliation with God. The fact of such an atonement having been made, and the consequent free offer of pardon, life, friendship with God, form the substance of the Gospel; and it is so grand, so perfect, so free, so generously pressed on all mankind, that for any to present themselves or each other as priests, channels of the grace, save as faithful heralds, publishers of the good news, is little more than sheer impertinence. The blind man who at the bidding of Jesus looked up, and saw the light of the world, was surely competent to tell other blind men how he had received his sight. On the other hand, no blind man who, when told to look up, had, through unbelief, kept his eyes shut, and departed in his blindness, could tell the good news to others, whatever commission he might receive. The Gospel is a fact for the whole world, and the fact believed involves the salvation of the believer's soul. God does not send his messengers to sinners to "convince them of their sins, and, when they acknowledge them, assure them of his forgiveness", but to preach the Gospel. "Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses." "We pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." Such is the good news, the forgiveness of sin, that we preach; and it is not our work, but the work of the Holy Spirit, to "convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." All that the apostles had authority to preach, pronounce or declare was truth, what they had seen and heard; and that truth, because it is truth, "irrevocable and eternal", all believers may honestly set forth and declare. "Let him that heareth say, Come. And whosoever will,

"let him come and take the water of life freely." What more than that can any minister of the Gospel say to any sinners?

Those who would restrict the prerogative of forgiving sins to the apostles, and a sort of sacerdotal guild, which they believe to have been represented by them, postulate much that they ought to demonstrate. In the first place they assume that only the apostles were present when Jesus gave the commission regarding the forgiveness of sins; while the apostle John calls them "the disciples." Secondly, it is assumed that the commission was given only to the apostles in the first instance, and after them, and through them, to certain others. But all this is pure imagination. "Lo! I am with you alway", was said to the disciples. Believers, be they officers in the Church or not, are what they are in virtue of their relation individually to Christ,—not as links of a chain, many of which are in no conceivable manner connected with him. Then, again, it is a very great mistake to suppose that even apostles were sent to sinners who acknowledged their sin, as David did, and to give them "the personal assurance of forgiveness." Such "personal assurance" would not be the Gospel of Christ. Their business is our business, the business of all that know the grace of God in Christ Jesus, is to testify that with God there is forgiveness; that he may be feared; that sin having been already damned in the sufferings and death of the Son of God, is put away; that whosoever will may come, is invited, entreated, commanded to come to him, with the full assurance that in him "we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace." This is essential in order that pardon may be associated with true reconciliation with God in repentance, faith, love and holiness. But here is no doubtful surmising, nothing to be appealed from, nothing "revocable", but all yea and amen in Christ Jesus. No assurance from any minister can make this deed of forgiveness more consolatory than it is. If it seem to do so, it can only be at the expense of some portion of the Redeemer's grace and glory. No apostle ever spoke of forgiveness of sin as "a particular declaration and personal assurance of forgiveness from God pronounced by his accredited minister", or sought to make men believe that, with or without divine aid, absolution pronounced by him would be "effectual in the sense of restoring a relationship between the soul and God, which has been broken or weakened by sin." That would be perilously like taking the sinner back to the beggarly elements. The true evangelist stands on higher vantage-ground than that—far, far above the position of any one in the olden time, who could speak only of the long-suffering mercy of the Lord, who, as a father pitieth *his children*, pitieth them that fear him. The apostolic testimony

relates to an accomplished redemption, a veil that has been and irrevocable portion of every sinner that believed in Jesus. "Who is he that condemneth? The Father has said, 'The Son is risen again, and is at the right hand of God, who maketh intercession for us.'"

Every priest in whom the Spirit of God dwells has an equal right to repeat and declare this great truth. In ecclesiastical discipline is essential something to be done under the infliction or removal of certain penalties the church-members may be regarded as representatives of the church, but in his priesthood he represents the church. He is a priest, he has been within the veil; he has received the forgiveness and the grace promised regarding it, and set it forth in his own heart. The great redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the "riches of his grace" — the great truth is, Jesus the promised "Saviour, the Christ of God" — God and Son. What authority beyond the fact itself is wanted that the church may minister forth the grace he has received? It is a fact of great distress a wealthy sovereign provide abundance of food for his people and publish the fact that whosoever will may come and partake of wine and milk without money and without price what more "authority" is needed to assure the starving multitudes of any one of them, that the provision is made for them and theirs, if they will only avail themselves of the grace set before them? If there were any conditions on the performance of which the food would be conferred, previous inquiry might be demanded: just as the priest of old had to see that all the requirements of the law were duly fulfilled, before he could pronounce the absolution. But now the case is altogether different. "All things are now 'ready',—'Whosoever will, may take the water of life freely.' An authorized declaration of forgiveness! David, poor man, might be the better for that. Sorely did he need it; for, as he well knew, there was no atonement for the crimes he had been guilty of. Now the word has gone forth, 'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world',—'Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.'" How can such assurances of forgiving love be strengthened by any word or deed of a fellow-man, alleging that it had been handed down to him through three-score generations that a repenting sinner might return to God and live? What authority needs a healed leper to tell another how he was healed?

But, it is asked, may not some obstacle to reconciliation lie "in the unfitness of the soul for communion with God"? Such obstacles, alas! there are in abundance; but they are not of a nature to be touched by any power with which one man can

invest another. Those in whom these obstacles exist must be taught the truth as it is in Jesus. The loving heart of God must be revealed to them when he pleads with them:—
“Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.” “I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins.” “Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.” These are words of life,—true, irrevocable, eternal words,—which no believer needs any authority to speak out before the world. Having already, we repeat, obtained the priesthood, “the entrance”, by the Spirit, through the rent veil, he merely says what he has seen, and learned, and experienced. Thus must he testify in communion with Jesus, and seek by unceasing prayer and supplication the promised presence and power of the Holy Spirit, which alone can convince men of sin, and reveal Christ in them the hope of glory.

But in all this we have not yet found a priesthood, any holy guild, distinct from the body of believers, who in Christ have all an equal right to enter by him within the veil. Such are, and always have been, a praying people. The apostle Paul valued their prayers, and begged he might have them, that the word of God might have free course and be glorified. “If *any* man”, says the apostle John, “see his brother sin a sin not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death.” What priest has, or can have, more authority than that? “Confess your faults”, says the apostle James, “*one to another*, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.” Far be it from us to speak lightly of the counsels and prayers of the elders of the Church, or to “exclude them” from what is said of the “power of intercession”; but they are not always the most “spiritual” persons in a congregation, and the Word of the Lord has not assigned to them a monopoly of that power.

If absolution is regarded simply in the light of “restoration to the communion and privileges of the Church”, it is the act of the whole Church, and “unconditional” only so far as that means not partially but fully, without reserve. Conditioned it is, or ought to be, on evidence of repentance and newness of life. If it is “a personal assurance of God’s forgiveness”, then we have not yet seen one particle of proof from the Word of God that it is conditioned on aught that any one is *officially* competent to take cognizance of. The benefit is absolutely free as the air we breathe, or the light of heaven that shines around us. The evangelist has but to say, “Behold the Lamb of God!” and no one who has beheld him can refrain from repeating, “Come and see”; “Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou

"shalt be saved." Make it as personal as you please, there is no room for sacerdotal, official intermeddling here. We discern no propriety in ever calling an "act of intercession" absolution, more especially if that act is regarded as deriving one particle of its power from the sacerdotal pretensions of the minister. For the purpose of bringing "God's healing grace upon a wounded "soul", we resort, and all on equal terms, to the one Mediator who ever liveth to make intercession for us, and for all men.

Finally, we verily believe that in the doctrine of Christ there is to be found a full "provision for every need of man's complex "nature in all its varied developments, trials and aspirations"; and our objection to absolution granted by any mere man on the ground of his being officially *in statu sacerdotis* to his fellow-Christians, does not arise from its being a mode, phase or rite of Christianity with which we are not familiar, but because we believe it does "contradict the essential verities of the "Christian faith." One may and ought to pray for others, teach them, preach to them, exhort them, beseech them not to receive the grace of God in vain; but the moment he puts himself forward, or asks submission or reverence on the ground of his being officially authorized to demand it, and officially, as a priest, entitled to grant absolution, we hold that he darkens the fullness and freeness of the grace of the Gospel, which bringeth salvation to all men. "Why", it is asked, "should we refuse to absolution "a place in our system, because it is confessedly an imperfect "exhibition of the mercy and justice of God?" Our answer is, "Because that which is perfect is come." "We all, with open "face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are "changed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the "Spirit of the Lord." (2 Cor. iii. 18.) "Having therefore, "brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of "Jesus, by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for "us, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh; and having a high "priest over the house of God; let us draw near with a true heart "in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from "an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water." (Heb. x. 19-21.)

J. HAY.

ART. V.—THE PARSI RELIGION: *as contained in the Zanda Avasta, and propounded and defended by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, unfolded, refuted, and contrasted with Christianity.* BY JOHN WILSON D.D., M.R.A.S., *etc., etc.* Bombay: 1843.

(2) ESSAYS ON THE SACRED LANGUAGE, WRITINGS, AND RELIGION OF THE PARSIS. By MARTIN HAUG, PH. D. Second Edition. Edited by E. W. WEST, PH. D. London: 1878.

THE work of the Rev. Dr. Wilson placed at the head of our Article is most helpful in the prosecution of an inquiry into the merits of the Parsi Scriptures, but, as it is of a strictly controversial nature, we shall mainly follow the guidance of Dr. Haug, whose work also is quoted above. Dr. Haug is generally admitted to be a competent and trustworthy interpreter and exponent of the Zanda Avesta; and his Lectures are unquestionably a very valuable contribution to Oriental research, throwing a flood of light on not a few important points relating to the history, literature and religion of Persia and India. Dr. West has rendered great service to the general English reader by putting the Lectures in a thoroughly English form; they will surely now meet with a cordial welcome, at least, from the natives of India. We do not, however, altogether approve of Dr. West's manner of editing the Lectures. He has unnecessarily taken upon himself the task of an advocate of the Parsi religion, and softened or suppressed some expressions and observations which in the original Essays gave a juster and more graphic view of various topics. We do not believe we act kindly by people if we seek to please them by the suppression of what is distasteful to them. We hold it, on the other hand, to be the imperative duty of every genuine scholar to publish truth, irrespective of all private considerations. Dr. Wilson, in his work on the Parsi religion, may have written with severity, as Dr. West alleges; but Dr. West will concede that warmth of expression is to be expected in religious teachers. A spirit of inquiry can never be awakened amongst a people unused to earnest religious thought by the employment of mild language; they must be plied by argument and phraseology that would shake and convulse their whole being. And such language proceeds spontaneously from a heart ablaze with enthusiasm.

The collection of the religious books of the Zoroastrians is popularly denominated 'Zanda Avesta,' but the more ancient and correct designation is 'Avesta Zand.' Avesta signifies the

text or scripture', and *Zand*, the 'commentary.' The former word is composed of *ava* and *stá* (Sk. स्था), denoting literally 'what is established.' Dr. West, however, prefers another etymology (*a* + *vista*, past participle of *vid*, 'to know'), which would make it correspond with the Sanskrit word *veda*, meaning 'knowledge' or 'revelation.'¹ The word *sand* is identified by Dr. Max Müller with the Sanskrit word *chhand*, signifying 'metrical language;' and *chhand* is the epithet employed by Panini to characterize the language of the Vedas. In the Vedas the Atharva Veda is designated by that appellation, and we hope to show that the Atharva Veda is the immediate source from which the Zoroastrian religion is derived. But Dr. Haug traces the word to the root *zan*, 'to know', which exists in *jná* and *gno* in Sanskrit and Greek. Besides the *Zanda* or commentary, there are other explanatory passages, inserted in the Parsi Scriptures, which are distinguished by the name of *Pazand*, a word derived probably from *paitizanti*, meaning a re-explanation. Neither of these commentaries, whether the *Zand* or the *Pazand*, gives simply the sense of the Avesta or text; but they often teach new doctrines, not only foreign to the explicit teaching of the original scripture, but even antagonistic to it. The whole of the *Zanda* Avesta, with its three-fold elements, is considered sacred and authoritative by the Parsis, and regulates their every-day religious and social life.

The sacred books of the Parsis are found, at present, in an extremely reduced and mutilated form. It would appear, from a *Zand* catalogue that is extant, that the original *Zand* Avesta comprised twenty-one books, called *Násk*s, treating of a variety of subjects. Each text contained an Avesta or text, and a *Zand* or commentary. "The number 21", says Dr. West, "was evidently an artificial arrangement in order to have one *Nask* to each of the twenty-one words of the most sacred formula of the Zoroastrians, 'Yatha ahú vairyo,' etc. Each of the *Nasks* was, as it were, indexed under one particular word of this formula."² Of these twenty-one treatises, there remains only one, the nineteenth, styled the *Vendidad*, in a complete form; while the rest, except a few scanty fragments of two books, have entirely disappeared. There are some other fragments existing, not specified in the catalogue, two of which, called the *Yasna* and *'isparada*, are of considerable importance. "They were probably separate from them (the 21 *Nasks*) altogether, occupying in regard to the *Nasks*", says Dr. Haug, "the same rank as the Vedas, in the Brahmanical literature, do in reference to the Shastras and Purans. That the *Yasna* is the most sacred book of the whole *Zand* Avesta may be easily ascertained by perusing

¹ *Essays*, p. 121.² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

“and comparing it with the other books contained in the Scripture of the Parsis now-a-days, where (as in the Vendidad) many verses from it are quoted as most sacred and scriptural.”¹

The sacred books of the Parsis have been collected and published by Dr. Westergaard, comprising the Yasna, Visparada, Vendidad, the twenty-four Yashts and a few short prayers, such as the Afrigans, the Nyayishes, the Gahs, and Shiroz, together with some other nine miscellaneous fragments.

The Yasna.—The word ‘Yasna’ is the same as the Sanskrit word यज्ञ (*yajna*), denoting ‘a sacrifice’, and expresses in Zand ‘prayers employed in the performance of a sacrifice.’ The prayers of a non-sacrificial character are styled *Nyáyish*. Though the Yasna is not a large work, it is written in different styles, indicating different periods of composition. It is divided by Dr. Haug into two parts, the Old and the Later Yasna. The whole Yasna comprises seventy-two chapters, “which number (6 times 12) is probably to represent the six *gahanbars*, or seasons, during which Ahuramazda is said to have created the world.”² To make up the artificial number of seventy-two, several chapters occur twice.

A portion of the old Yasna, composed in verse, is, by way of distinction, called *Gáthas* or Songs, from the Zand root *gai* (Sk. ग), ‘to sing.’ The versification of these songs is very imperfect; a number of syllables are put together without any regard to their quantity, so as to serve the simple purpose of chanting. They correspond, at least as regards their form, to the Vedic hymns. Their contents are of a miscellaneous nature, and present, therefore, the appearance more of a collection of scattered fragments than a continuous whole. “It is even doubtful whether the author is always the same, the style being now and then different.” They are, however, designated the “five *Gáthas* of Zarathushtra” (Yasna lvii. 8). In the following verse the authorship of some others besides Zarathushtra is affirmed:—

“Come with the good mind, grant prosperity for life long, by means of thy mighty words, O thou Mazda! give both Zarathushtra and us thy powerful assistance to put down the assaults of our enemy.”³

In point of thought and spirit these metrical compositions are, no doubt, to a certain extent, superior to the other portions of the Zand Avesta, bearing evidence to an earnest effort on the part of the poets to grasp at the ideas of the unity and supremacy of the Deity, and to express in forcible language the faint *glimpses* they had of those sublime truths. But it is preposterous to assert regarding them that they inculcate pure monotheism,

¹ *Essays*, p. 135.

² *Ibid.*, p. 140.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

as Dr. Haug and Dr. West would aver. It was impossible for rude agriculturists, just emerging from the sensualism of Nature-worship, to rise at once to a clear conception of the Deity, or to describe him in definite language. Ever and anon they betray their ignorance and weakness; their eye closes to the divine vision. They habitually speak of two spirits or gods, who divide between them the empire of the universe, though in reality these beings are nothing but the material principles of light and darkness, erected into independent personalities, and set upon equal thrones. Thus in the very first Gátha, in which the author or authors officially communicate to the assembled Zoroastrians divine revelation, received from "the sacred flames", this divine dualism is maintained:—

Yasna xxx. 3. "In the beginning there was a *pair of twins, two spirits*, each of a peculiar activity; these are the good and the base, in thought, word and deed. Choose one of these two spirits! Be good, not base!

4. "And these *two spirits* united [conjointly] created the first (the material things); one the reality, the other the non-reality. To the liars (the worshippers of the devas, *i.e.*, gods [bad spirits], the produce of the (non-reality) existence will become bad, whilst the believer in the true God [the producer of the reality] enjoys prosperity."

5. "Of these two spirits you must choose one, either the evil, the originator of the worst actions, or the true, holy spirit."

8. "But when he (the evil spirit) comes with one of these evils (to sow mistrust among the believers), then thou hast the power through the good mind of punishing them who break their promises, O righteous spirit."

Yasna xxxi. 11. "When thou (Mazda) madest the world with its bodies, and gavest them motions and speeches, then thou, Mazda! hast created at first through thy mind the *gaethas* (enclosures), and the sacred visions (*daénáo*), and intellects."

18. "Do not listen to the sayings and precepts of the wicked (the evil spirit), because he has given to destruction house, village, district, and province."

Yasna xxxii. 3. "Ye devas have sprung out of the evil spirit who takes possession of you by intoxication (Shoma) [Sk. Soma], teaching you manifold arts to deceive and destroy mankind, for which arts you are notorious everywhere."

5. "Ye devas and thou evil spirit! Ye by means of your base mind, your base words, your base actions, rob mankind of its earthly and immortal welfare by raising the wicked to power."

In the second Gátha the authors confine their attention chiefly to the good spirit, and extol him with great enthusiasm, affirming his absolute supremacy in the good creation. He is declared to be the giver of the highest blessings of the Zoroastrian religion, "health and immortality"—"the two everlasting powers"; the creator of all "good true things by means of the power of his good mind at any time"; "the lord of the good creation subject to his dominion." His worshippers are blessed in almost every verse, and his enemies, the devotees of *the Evil Spirit*, are almost as frequently condemned; thus:—

15. "May the number of the worshippers of the liar (the evil spirit)

diminish! may all those (that are here present) address themselves to the priests of the holy fire!"

16. "Thus prays, O Ahuramazda! Zarathushtra and every holy (pure man for all that choose (as their guide) the most beneficent spirit. May vitality and righteousness (the foundations of the good creation) become predominant in the world!"¹

In the 45th Yasna the Zoroastrian doctrine of dualism is most emphatically asserted:—

1. "All ye, who have come from near and far, should now listen and hearken to what I shall proclaim. Now the wise have manifested this universe as a duality. Let not the mischief-maker destroy the second life, since he, the wicked, chose with his tongue the pernicious doctrines."

2. "I will proclaim the two primeval spirits of the world, of whom the increaser thus spoke to the destroyer: Do not thoughts, do not words, do not wisdoms, nor doctrines, do not speeches, nor actions, do not meditations, do not souls follow us?"²

In spite of these explicit declarations on the subject of the duality of the Zoroastrian gods, Dr. Haug, or rather Dr. West, makes the statement—"That his (Zarathushtra's) theology was "mainly based on monotheism, one may easily ascertain from "the Gathas, especially from the second." "A separate evil of "equal power with Ahuramazda, and always opposed to him, is "entirely foreign to Zarathushtra's theology; though the exist- "ence of such an opinion among the ancient Zoroastrians can "be gathered from some of the later writings, such as the "Vendidad." Of course these scholars are at perfect liberty to hold any opinion they choose; but we would warn our Zoroastrian brethren, who unfortunately have made them the expounders of their religious faith, to consider how far they are justified in following them, when they so openly disregard the clear and authoritative teaching of their most sacred writings. It is not at all creditable to such an enterprising and intelligent people as the Parsis to submit to the authority of foreigners and unbelievers in religious matters. Why should they not acquire a fitness, like their Hindu brethren, to examine their own books, and determine for themselves what their contents are? They cannot feel too thankful to one of Dr. Haug's ability and learning for the most valuable service he has rendered to them in translating and explaining their writings, but we beg humbly to state that, valuable as is the information which he has furnished, the inferences which he has drawn from it are not equally trustworthy. Other scholars of equal reputation with Dr. Haug have arrived at diametrically opposite conclusions. Indeed, the Gathas speak of a multiplicity of gods and goddesses (Yasna xxx. 7, 10; xxxi. 8, 19; xliii., etc.) who in the prose portions inserted in them (also written in the Gathic dialect) receive the highest worship—in fact, the same as that offered to

¹ *Essays*, p. 158.

² *Ibid.*, p. 162.

Ahuramazda. These prose compositions are designated *Yasna Haptanhaiti*, or the Yasna of seven Hás, which Dr. Haug thus describes :—

“Its contents are simple prayers, in prose, which are to be offered to Ahuramazda, the Ameshaspentas, and the Fravashis ; to the fire, as the symbol of Ahuramazda who appears in its blazing flame ; to the earth and other female spirits (called *gena*, wife, Greek *gynē*, see Yas. xxxviii. 1), such as the angel presiding over food (*ishá*, corresponding to *ilá*, a name of the earth in the Veda), devotion, speech, etc. ; to the waters, to the animating spirit of creation, and to all beings of the good creation.”¹

The following are some extracts from these Hás :—

Yasna xxxv. “We worship Ahuramazda the righteous master of righteousness. We worship the Ameshaspentas (the archangels), the possessors of good. We worship the whole creation of the righteous spirit, both the spiritual and earthly, all that supports (raises) the welfare of the good creation, and the spread of the good Mazdayasnian religion.”

4. “We beseech the spirit of earth by means of these best works (agriculture) to grant us beautiful and fertile fields, to the believer as well as to the unbeliever, to him who has riches as well as to him who has no possession.”

Yasna xxxvii. 4. “We worship righteousness, the all-good, all that is very excellent, beneficent, immortal, illustrious, everything that is good.”

The contents of the later Yasna are of a more varied character than those of the older. It consists—

“Evidently either of fragments of other books or of short independent writings. Thus, for instance, the chapters i.—viii. contain the preliminary prayers to the Ijashne ceremony ; chapters ix.—xi. refer to the preparation and drinking of the Homa juice ; chapter lvii. is a Yasht, or sacrificial prayer, addressed to the angel Srosh ; chapters xix.—xxi. are commentaries on the most sacred prayers, *Yathá ahú vairyo*, *Ashem vohu*, and *Yénhé hátām*.”²

The burden of the whole Yasna is declared in the following verse, uttered by Zarathushtra himself in his sacerdotal address to “the heads of houses, villages, towns, and countries :”—

“I bless the splendor and vigor of the whole rightful creation, and I curse the distress and wretchedness of the whole wrongful creation.”

The worship of material splendor and happiness runs through the whole of this Yasna ; and its countless gods, who are most enthusiastically lauded, are nothing but real or personified forms thereof. The hymn addressed to Homa (Sk. Soma) is a most spirited composition, and looks as if it had been produced under the elevating inspiration of the ardent deity. The god was originally a plant from which an intoxicating beverage was extracted, but it was afterwards replaced by another plant. “There were many stories current in ancient times about the miraculous effects of the drinking of the Homa juice (a panacea for all diseases), which led to the belief that the performance of this ceremony (which is only

¹ *Essays*, p. 170.

² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

“ the Soma worship of the Brahmans, very much reformed and “ refined) proves highly beneficial to body and soul.”¹ The word ‘Homa’ is used in two senses in the Zand Avesta. “ First, it “ means the twigs of a particular tree, the juice of which is “ extracted and drunk before the fire; secondly, they understood “ by it a spirit who has poured his life and vigor into that par- “ ticular plant.” We will quote a few verses from the hymn addressed to this remarkable god, whom even Zarathushtra devoutly worshipped :—

Yasna ix. 1. “ In the forenoon Homa came to Zarathushtra, while he was cleaning around the fire, and chanting the Gáthas. Zarathushtra asked him : Who art thou, O man? who appearest to me the finest in the whole material creation, having such a brilliant, immortal form of your own.

2. “ Thereupon answered me Homa the righteous, who expels death : I am, O Zarathushtra ! Homa the righteous, who expels death. Address prayers to me, O Spitama ! and prepare me (the Hom juice) for tasting. Repeat about me the two praise hymns, as all the other Soshyants repeated them.

3. “ Then spake Zarathushtra : Reverence to Homa ! who was the first who prepared thee, O Homa ! for the material world ? What blessing was bestowed upon him ? What reward did he obtain ?”

16. “ Then spake Zarathushtra : Reverence to Homa ! Good is Homa, well-created is Homa, rightly created, of a good nature, healing, well-shaped, well-performing, successful, golden-colored, with hanging tendrils, as the best for eating and the most lasting provision for the soul.”

19. “ On this first walk I ask from thee, O Homa ! who expellest death, the best life (paradise) of the righteous, the splendid, the all-radiant with its own brilliancy. On this second walk I ask from thee, O Homa ! who expellest death, the health of this body. On this third walk I ask from thee, O Homa ! who expellest death, the long life of the soul.”

22. “ Homa grants strength and vigor to those who, mounted on white horses, wish to run over a race-course. Homa gives splendid sons and righteous progeny to those who have not borne children. Homa grants fame and learning to all those who are engaged in the study of books.

23. “ Homa grants a good and rich husband to those who have long been maidens, as soon as he (Homa), the wise, is entreated.”

25. “ Hail to thee who art of absolute authority through thy own strength, O Homa ! hail to thee ! thou knowest many sayings rightly spoken. Hail to thee ! thou askest for no saying but one rightly spoken.”

27. “ O Homa ! (thou) lord of the house, lord of the clan, lord of the tribe, lord of the country, (thou) successful physician ! I further invoke thee for strength and prosperity for my body, and for the attainment of much pleasure.”

Yasna x. 6. “ Homa grows when being praised. So the man who praises him becomes more triumphant. The least extraction of Hom-juice, the least praise, the least tasting (of it), O Homa ! is (sufficient) for destroying a thousand of the Devas.”

8. “ All other liquors are followed by evil effects (wrath), but this which is the liquor of Homa is followed by elevating righteousness, (when) the liquor of Homa (is in him who) is grieved. Whatever man shall flatter Homa, as a young son Homa comes to the aid of him and his children, to be their medicine.

¹ *Essays*, p. 176.

"9. Hama: give me some of the healing powers whereby thou art a physician. Hama: give me some of the victorious powers whereby thou art a victor."

In the *Srosh Yasht* the god *Srosh* who is "the personification of the whole divine worship of the *Parsis*" is thus worshipped:—

2. "We worship the angel *Srosh*, the righteous, the righteous, the victorious, who protects our territories, the true, the master of truth, who of *Ahura Mazda's* creatures first worshipped *Ahura Mazda* by means of arranging the sacred rings *Garos*, who worshipped the *Ameshaspenas* (the archangels), who worshipped the two masters, the two creators (*Khvreshtas*); who create all things.

3. "For his splendor and glory, for his power and victory, for his praying to the angels in our behalf, I will worship him with an audible prayer and with the offering of consecrated water *Lawan*. May he come to help us, he, the victorious, righteous *Srosh*."

15. "He who is the guardian and protector of the whole world here below. . . . He who never enjoyed sleep since the two spirits, the beneficent and hurtful, created the world: he is watching the territories of the good creation and fighting, day and night, against the *Devas* (demons) of *Mazdezan*."

24. "He who walks, teaching the religion round about the world *Ahura Mazda*, *Vohu-mana*. . . . the *Ahura* question and the *Ahura* creed (*i.e.*, their respective angels, believed in this religion).

25. "Protect our two lives, that of the body and that of the soul. O *Srosh*! against death, against the attacks of the evil spirits," etc.

In the second and fifteenth verses of the above hymn the two chief gods of the *Zanda Avesta* are mentioned under the designation of "two masters" and "two spirits, beneficent and 'hurtful'", and in the former passage the god *Srosh* is represented as worshipping them both, without distinction. The *Zanda Avesta* is consistent throughout, and there is nothing strange in worship being offered to the Satanic agent. For both the good and the evil gods are "primeval spirits" according to the *Gáthas*, and also twin brothers, having, according to the *Vendidad*, *Zarvan Akarana* for their father. Indeed, according to the *Zanda Avesta*, *Angro-mainyush* (the evil principle) is the elder brother, and *Ahura Mazda*, the younger. Though Doctor Haug would deny the personality of *Angro-mainyush*, and the modern *Parsis* are shy to acknowledge his divinity and equality with *Hormazd*, the divine *Srosh*, who so prominently figures in the *Zanda Avesta*, is not ashamed to believe in either. Indeed, he humbly offers *Angro-mainyush* divine homage and worship! In the twenty-fourth verse *Ahura Mazda*, along with some other gods, is declared to be a believer in the religion propounded by *Srosh*, *i.e.*, in the Zoroastrian religion.

The Visparada.—The *Visparada* is a *Zand* compound—*vispe ratavo*—denoting 'all chiefs or heads.' It is a collection of prayers addressed to the heads of creation on the occasion of offerings "made to them. The offerings consist of sacred bread, the

“twigs of Homa, with a twig of the pomegranate tree, and juice
 “obtained from them, fruits, butter, hair, fresh milk, and flesh,
 “which are carried round about the sacred fire, and after having
 “been shown to it, are eaten by the priest, or by the man in whose
 “favor the ceremony is performed.” In the Yasna the enumeration of ‘the heads’ begins with Ahuramazda and the archangels, while in the Visparada the invitation commences with the heads of the spiritual and terrestrial world, the chiefs of all that is in the water, in the sky, born out of eggs, of what is walking on its face (quadrupeds), and of water crabs. In this rough division of created beings of the good creation, only the whole animal kingdom is comprised.¹ Next follow the chiefs of the year, viz., the six seasons, which are now called Gahambars, then the chiefs of the sacred prayers, and so on till all the heads of the good creation are enumerated. They are solemnly invited to partake of the sumptuous banquet prepared for them. It is curious to find the little creature the water crab figuring prominently among the *ratus*, or the aristocracy of creation.

The Yashts.—The Yashts are like those Yasnas which are addressed to individual deities, and two of which we have described above. The word *Yasht* denotes ‘worship by prayer and ‘sacrifice’, and the beings thus worshipped are called *Yazatas*, or *Isads*. The principal Yazats, to whom the Yashts are addressed, are Ahuramazda, the Ameshaspentas, the heavenly waters Ardtvi, Sura, Anahita, the sun (Mithra), the star Tishtraya, the Fravashis, etc. In the Yashts “the devotee endeavors, by an enumeration of all the glorious feats achieved by the particular angel
 “[rather god], and the miracles wrought by him, to induce him
 “to come and enjoy the meal which is prepared for him, and
 “then to bestow such a blessing upon the present worshipper
 “as had been bestowed by the angel [god] upon his devotees in
 “ancient times.”²

The *Yashts* reproduce the whole of the Vedic theology; the gods and goddesses of the Rishis appear on the scene in their full blaze of glory. They are lauded in extravagant language, and their imaginary exploits are described with poetic fervor. They are sometimes elevated even above Ahuramazda, the latter being represented as offering them divine homage. This bold and faithful assertion of the old polytheistic faith is found, however, in its most emphatic form in the Vendidad, in which Ahuramazda is most plainly traced, as we have observed above, to

¹ *Essays*, p. 192.

² *Ibid.*, p. 194. We do not know why the word *Yazata* should be translated by the word ‘angel’, and not ‘god.’ Ahuramazda is a Yazata, but not an angel, a ‘messenger’, a ‘servant.’ Angels are ministering spirits, and not, therefore, objects of divine worship; and if Yazatas are angels, why should they be ranked with Ahuramazda, and worshipped with him?

the same progenitor from whom Anglo-mainyush derives his existence, namely, Zarvan Akarana. Zarvan is claimed by both as their common father, from whose bosom they proceeded as twins—Angro-mainyush the elder, and Ahuramazda the younger.¹

In the Hormazda Yasht Ahuramazda or Hormazd mentions some twenty names as belonging to him, which he commands should be employed as spells for protection from demons, the associates of Angro-mainyush. Ahuramazda says, "If you call me by day or at night by these names, I will come to assist and help you, [O Zarathushtra]; . . . the spirits of the waters and the trees, and the spirits of deceased righteous men will come to assist you."² In the Haptan (Sk. सप्त) Yasht the seven supreme spirits, Ahuramazda and his six councillors, are invoked. The Ardibehesht Yasht is full of *mantras* (Sk. मंत्र) or incantations to ward off evils, similar to those contained in the Atharva-

¹ Drs. Haug and West, in their zealous advocacy of the monotheism of the Parsi religion, deny the distinction between Ahuramazda and Angromainyush, God and Satan, and regard them as properties or energies of one individual, but they do not specify who that other being of a compound nature is. He (if such a being exists) is an utter stranger to the Zand Avesta, which habitually claims its dualism as its chief and distinguishing characteristic, and whose claim to this its attempt at a philosophical solution of a great theological problem has been universally acknowledged in all ages, both by believers and unbelievers. The personality of Zarvan Akarana, the father of Ahuramazda and Angromainyush, is also denied by Dr. Haug, but it is clearly asserted in the Parsi scriptures, and has always been believed in by the Zoroastrians themselves. Even the Greek historians testify to his existence and divinity, on the authority of the contemporary Zoroastrians. Damascius thus observes:—

"The Magi and the whole Aryan nation consider, as Eudenas writes, some Space, and others Time [Zarvan Akarana], as the universal cause, out of which the good god as well as the evil spirit separated, or, as others assert, light and darkness, before these two spirits arose." (*Essays*, p. 12.)

Another author writes thus:—

"In the first book of his work (on the doctrines of the Magi), says Photios, he propounds the nefarious doctrine of the Persians which Zaratrades introduced, viz., that about Zarouam, whom he makes the ruler of the whole universe, and calls him Destiny; and who when offering sacrifices in order to generate Hormisdas, produced both Hormisdas and Satan." "This dualism", observes a living author of great authority (James Darmesteter), "satisfied the popular mind, but philosophers found it necessary, in the end, to set up a First Cause, whom they called Boundless Time, or Destiny, and from whom they imagined that both the creative beings proceeded."—*Essays*, p. 53.

The principal sacred authority is a passage in the 19th chapter of the Vendidad, the authority of which, though disputed by Dr. Haug, has been declared by Dr. West as commonly admitted by the Zoroastrians. In order to ascertain the teaching of a passage, we should not simply follow the abstract rules of philology or logic, but the sense put upon it by the believers generally; and when this sound principle of criticism is lost sight of by *historians*, they make the same mistake that a student of a language would make if he should attempt to determine the usage in regard to a word or phrase by its *etymology*, and not by the prevailing understanding of the people.

² *Essays*, p. 195.

Veda, and still used everywhere by wizards. It attaches great merit to the destruction of wolves, frogs, mice, ants, snakes, etc. so injurious to agriculture and to *light* (?), over which the god Ardibehesht presides. The Khordad Yasht contains incantations for the preservation of the health and vigor of the good creation, and the spells are considered so effective that a knowledge of them is commanded to be rigidly preserved as secret. In cases of necessity it might only be communicated to "a son, or brother, or relative, or to a priest of one of the three orders (*thrayava*, i.e., Herbads, Mobeds, and Dasturs). Such interdictions of divulging *mantras*, or spells, are not uncommon in the Yashts."¹ The Aban Yasht is dedicated to a female deity, who holds the same place in the Parsi pantheon that Venus does in the Greek. She is styled *Ardivi Sura Anahita*, literally signifying Sublime, Mighty and Pure, and representing celestial waters (rain). She is the giver of fertility, purifier of the seed of all males, the invigorator of the womb of females and the provider of nourishment in the breasts of the latter. Like the Hindu Ganges, she descends from the summit of a high mountain, and dwells on earth in the shape of springs, canals and wells, spreading everywhere life and health. Woman commands homage from all men, whether civilized or uncivilized, and the beautiful and powerful Anahita naturally ruled the hearts of the Zoroastrian gods. When Ahuramazda failed in persuading Zarathushtra to become his prophet, he had recourse to the aid of this fair deity, whose intercessions completely overcame the scruples of the haughty mortal. It is no wonder, then, that such great heroes of antiquity as Hoshang, Jamshed, Fredun, were enthusiastic in their devotions to Anahita. "The example", says Dr. West, "set by Ahuramazda himself and the great heroes and sages of Iranian antiquity, of worshipping Anahita in order to obtain blessings from her, was followed, of course, by Zarathushtra and his royal disciple Kava Vishtaspa (Kai Gushtasp in the Shahanamah), who are always represented as having respected the ancient forms of worship."²

The Khurshed and Mah Yashts are addressed to the sun and moon. Khurshed is the Persian form of the Zand word *hvar* *khshaeta*, 'Sun the king', and Mah is the Persian form of *mâdô*. In the Khurshed Yasht darkness and all objects relating to it are represented as devils, while all bright things, such as light, sun, moon and stars, are designated gods or "heavenly spirits." "As long as the sun has not risen, all the demons are endeavoring to spread havoc throughout the seven regions of the earth, and none of the heavenly spirits withstands and slays them, wherefore all the living creation is drowned in sleep."³ The Tir Yasht

¹ *Essays*, p. 197.² *Ibid.*, p. 198.³ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

dedicated to Tir or Mercury, who is a god of a beautiful and ruddy countenance. He is the patron of rain, and is, therefore, described by the significant epithet of "water-faced" (*afsh-chithra*). He is engaged in continual conflict with Deva Apaosho, the demon of drought, who inhabits the body of a black horse, with black ears and tail. Tir, to match his "dread foe" in equal combat, assumes the form of a red horse with yellow ears. After three days of hard battle, in the lake of Vouru-kasha, the god sustains a total defeat, and, abused and mortified, flies from the field of conflict, exclaiming, "I am lost, the waters are lost, the trees are lost, the Mazdayasnian religion is destroyed. Men do not worship me as they worship other angels [gods]. If they would worship me, I would gain the strength of ten horses, ten camels, ten oxen, ten mountains, ten navigable rivers." At last Tir conquers his foe by the aid of the prayers of his worshippers.

The Gosh (cow) Yasht invokes the goddess cow (Sk. गौ), which was especially worshipped by the heroes of antiquity. She is also called Dravaspa, *i.e.*, "one who keeps horses in health", and is the patron of all good animals. Mihir Yasht is dedicated to the Sun, under a certain form, and Mihir is the Persian form of the Zand *mithra* and the Sanskrit *mitra*, a friend. In the Zanda Avesta he is represented as the "patron of truth." "Mithra gives those who do not belie him swift horses; the fire, Ahuramazda's son, leads such men on the straightest way; the Frohars (Fravashis) give them children of superior qualities."¹ Mithra is thus described in the Yasht:—"Mithra, who always speaks the truth, has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, and is always watching, without falling asleep, over the welfare of the creation." He dwells on Mount Alburz, corresponding to the mountain of Meru of the Hindus, where there is "no night, no darkness, no cold wind nor hot, no smoke, no putrefaction, no fogs." He drives in a splendid chariot, drawn by four white horses. He carries with him weapons of all kinds for the destruction of the Devas—among which is the *vazra*, the most powerful. The word *vazra* corresponds to the Sanskrit *vajra*, 'thunderbolt', and the Persian *gurs*, a club, 'a battle-axe.' The longest Yasht is that dedicated to Fravashis, or Frohars, signifying 'protectors.' These protectors originally "represented only the departed souls of ancestors, comparable to the pitaras, 'fathers' of the Brahmans and the Manes of the Romans." In the Yashts they are regarded, however, as divine beings, who, being numberless, "are stationed everywhere by Ahuramazda for keeping the good creation in order, preserving it and guarding it against the constant attacks of fiendish powers. Every being of the good creation,"

¹ *Essays*, p. 202.

[probably of the bad creation too ?], "whether living, or deceased, "or still unborn, has its own Fravashi or guardian angel who "has existed from the beginning. Hence they are a kind of "prototypes, and may be best compared to the 'ideas' of Plato, "who supposed everything to have a double existence, first in "idea, secondly in reality." Ahuramazda himself and his chief six courtiers have also their own guardian angels.

"We worship the good, strong, beneficent, guardian angels of the righteous, those of the immortal benefactors (Ameshaspentas), the rulers with their watchful eyes, the high, powerful, swift, living ones of everlasting truth. All *seven* are of the same mind, speak the same words, perform the same actions."

In the following verse, Fire is said to have a Fravashi :—

"We worship the good, strong, beneficent, guardian angels, that of the blazing, beneficent, penetrating fire, and that of Sraosha, the righteous, swift, self-speaking, swiftly-running, the living, and that of Nairyosanha [a god]." ¹

In the verses 88 to 94 the Fravashi of Zarathushtra is invoked, and Ahuramazda, in company with his compeers, the Ameshaspentas, offers him worship:—"Whom all Ameshaspentas, together "with the Sun, worship with believing inquiry in the mind", etc. The reason assigned for the worship of the manes is that without their assistance Ahuramazda says he would not be able to uphold the universe; the "cattle and men, the two best "of the hundred classes of beings, would no longer exist for me; "then would commence the devils' power, the devils' reign, the "whole living creation would belong to the devil." It does not, however, appear that these good, strong, beneficent guardian angels are quite independent of the gracious offices of weak mortals. At certain seasons of the year these gods come to the village-gates during the night, imploring food and raiment. They cry aloud, "Who will praise us? Who will worship us? "Who will pray to us? Who will adore us? Who will satisfy us "with milk and clothes in his hand, with a prayer for righteous- "ness?" The provident worshipper, who readily attends to their supplications, is gratefully rewarded with a liberal recompense. "In this house (where they are worshipped in such a way) "there will be abundance of cows and of men (posterity); "there will be a swift horse and a well-fastened carriage." The prudent man, the Yasht declares, will not neglect thus to secure their favor. "There will be found a "prudent man who "will worship us (in future) with milk and clothes in his hand "and with the prayer for righteousness."

This Yasht speaks in plain language of the deadly hostility existing between the two creators, Ahuramazda and *Angromainyush*. "Between earth and heaven may the devilish spirit

¹ *Essays*, p. 210.

after their decease, remain for three nights on earth, sitting on the tops of their heads, reciting certain Gáthas. On the following morning, at daybreak, they commence their journey to the invisible regions, the good arriving on the shores of the paradise, where Ahuramazda sits enthroned in stellar glory, while the bad, wafted by disagreeable odors, are lost "in darkness without a beginning."

Of the shorter works, the five *Nyayishes* are praises of the sun, the Mithra, the moon, the waters, and fire. The *Afringans* are blessings to be recited over certain sacred meals; the five *Gahs* are prayers, addressed to the five deities "who preside over the five watches into which the day and night are divided"; and *Sirozah* is "a calendar enumerating the names and attributes of the thirty spiritual beings, each of whom is supposed to preside over one of the thirty days of the month, and by whose names the days are called."¹

The Vendidad.—The word *Vendidad* is composed of three words, viz., *vi*, *daevo*, and *datem*, signifying "what is given against the demons." It is probably, says Dr. Haug, the joint work of Zarathushtra and his immediate disciples. It principally treats of ritualistic observances and magical incantations useful for protection from demons. It is divided into chapters, each chapter being composed of the Avesta or text, the Zand or commentary, and the Pázand, or re-explanation. The following passages illustrate this threefold division:—

The Avesta, or the Original Text.

32. "When barley occurs, then the demons hiss;
When thrashing occurs, then the demons whine;
When grinding occurs, then the demons roar;
When flour occurs, then the demons flee."

The Zand, or the Commentary.

"So the demons are driven out from the place [(Pazand): in the house for this flour]; they shall burn their jaws, whereby it happens that the greater number are fellow-fugitives when barley becomes plentiful."

33. "Then may he (the cultivator) therefore, recite the text:—

Avesta.

"There is no strength in those who do not eat,
Neither for vigorous righteousness,
Nor for vigorous husbandry,
Nor for vigorous begetting of sons.

[(Pázand): For by eating all living beings exist; without eating they must die.]"

The Vendidad, except a few passages, is a religious production of a most indifferent character. Whole chapters are devoted to the consideration of topics of extreme triviality,

¹ *Essays*, p. 225.

such, for instance, as the efficacy and sanctity of the *gomes*, or cows' urine, the disposal of the cuttings of nails and hair, the feeding of a cock, the nursing of pregnant dogs, etc.; and so minute are the injunctions given, and so extravagant the phraseology in which they are embodied, that it is impossible to charge Sir William Jones with severity for inditing the following criticism on the publication of the first translation of the Vendidad in a European language:—

"They (the Parsi scriptures) contain nothing which corresponds with the character of a philosopher and of a legislator. We shall cite only the description of the dog; and if, after this absurd rhapsody, the most intelligible, and the most important part of the work, the reader wish to read it entirely, he is indeed a bold spirit.....Hormazd, great Hormazd, origin of all good among the Guebres, if thou hast dictated this description of a dog to Zoroaster, I give thee no *yeshé*; thou art but a foolish genius; perhaps, with the color of lilies and roses, but certainly without brain."¹

We will, however, give a brief summary of the contents of the Vendidad.

The Vendidad is divided into twenty-two chapters called *fargards*, or sections. There are some fourteen chapters devoted to the consideration of the impurities connected with a dead body, the manner of its disposal, and the construction of the *dakhmas*, in which it is deposited. "A man who touches a dead body, the contagious impurity of which has not been previously checked by holding towards the corpse a peculiar kind of dog, is said to be at once visited by a spectre, representing death itself." Among the rules given for the preparation of the sacred fire, one is to the effect that "the fire in which a dead body is being burnt is indispensable. Although it be the most impure of all (for to burn a dead body is, according to the spirit of the Zoroastrian law, one of the greatest crimes), it is believed to have absorbed the fire (heat or electricity) which was in the animal body." Fires from sixteen places are required for the purpose, such as from the burning of a dead body, from the shop of the potter, the glassworker, the blacksmith, etc., but the first is considered the most important. "The collective fire obtained in this way represents the essence of nature, the fluid pervading the whole earth, the cause of all growth, vigor and splendor, and it is therefore regarded with great reverence by the Parsis." Fire is throughout the Zand-Avesta styled "the son of Ahuramazda", whom not only men worship, but even the great Ahuramazda himself. In the ninth chapter the purificatory efficacy of the *gomes*, or the cow's urine, is dwelt upon, and it is declared to be a panacea for all bodily and moral evils. It is drunk, as well as applied to the body; and it is the special prero-

¹ Sir W. Jones, quoted in Wilson's *Parsi Religion*, pp. 325, 327.

gative of the priesthood to partake of this potion. It is quite unaccountable to us how Zarathushtra, preëminently the prophet of material purity and splendor, should give such injunctions. The thirteenth and fourteenth chapters treat of the sacredness of the canine tribes, which are strictly forbidden to be wounded, mutilated, starved or killed. Those guilty of cruelty to them are commanded to destroy a large number of snakes, mice, lizards and frogs. In the fourteenth chapter minute rules are given on the treatment of pregnant dogs. This tenderness to dogs is natural, as their services are absolutely required for a safe journey to paradise. The dying man is shown a dog before he closes his eyes, that he may recognize, on the bridge *Chinvad* which separates the righteous from the wicked, the faithful canine attendant of the handsome god Srosh, who comes to lead him to his happy mansions. The seventeenth chapter teaches about the disposal of the cuttings of nails and hair, which should not be carelessly thrown about, lest the demons should employ them as tools for the destruction of the good creation. The eighteenth chapter describes, in glowing language, the services of the brave *Paro-darsh* (a cock), which, among other acts of gallantry, wages a successful war with the demon Sleep. He thus addresses men at the approach of the dawn :—

“ Arise ye men ! praise the righteousness which is most perfect ; repulse are the demons ; this one oppresses you, Bushyastu the long-handed, sl lulls to sleep the whole living creation after it is awakened by the light.”

The *Paro-darsh* (cock) in waking mankind renders great service to the god Fire, who, sorely tried by the pangs of hunger and oppressed with the dread of the malignant monster de called *Azi* (Sk. *ahi*, a serpent), who seeks to strangle him, makes an earnest attempt to arouse them from sleep. The god ! asks for food and raiment in the following plaintive tones :—

“ Arise to help, O master of the house ! put on thy clothes, wash hands, fetch firewood, bring it to me, with washed hands make me again by means of purified firewood ; the demon-formed *Azi* (covetous may get at me, he seems clinging around (my) life.”

The god next addresses “ the husbandman”, and last the handsome deity Srosh :—

“ Arise to help, O righteous, handsome Srosh ! does one bring to of the purified firewoods of the material world with washed hands ? the formed *Azi* may get at me, he seems clinging around (my) life.”

The voice of entreaty, at last, prevails with the beautiful Srosh, who commands his faithful attendant *Paro-darsh* to blow his mighty trumpet, at whose dread peal the demon is aroused, and flies for life. The worshippers, delivered from a painful grasp, promptly attend to the necessities of the suppliant, who gratefully pronounces the following bene

“ May a herd of cattle accompany thee ! (and so) may a mu

(sons) ! May an active mind and an active life attend thee ! Mayest thou subsist, with an existence of the nature of (this) blessing, so many nights as thou shalt live !"¹

Since the cock is so useful, both to gods and men, it is justly commanded by Ahuramazda to be treated with especial deference. It should never be entertained with animal food, which is of a polluting nature, and the man who disregards this explicit injunction offers a personal insult to the great Ahuramazda himself. Thus :—

"And whoever had given a morsel of flesh to this my bird Paro-darsh, I who am Ahuramazda shall never be asking him a second word, forth I will depart to the best life (paradise)."

In the eighteenth chapter the sanctity of the *Kusti* is expatiated on. "The Kusti or sacred thread-girdle is an indispensable symbol" of the Parsi religion; it "is formed of seventy-two fine woollen threads twisted together." One not wearing it is worthy of death :—

"Whoever, during three spring seasons, does not put on the sacred thread-girdle (Kusti), does not recite the Gathas, does not reverence the good waters, and whoever sets this man, who neglects his duties as before stated, delivered into my custody [of Ahuramazda] again at large, thereby performs no better work than if he should cut the extent of the skin off his head."

Persons visiting courtezans without the magical protection of the Kusti and Sadarah, the sacred shirt, are declared great offenders. Courtezans are thus condemned :—

"They are more destructive than darting serpents, or than howling wolves, or than a she-wolf suckling her young, who rushes into a sheep-fold, or than a frog spawning thousands (who) dives into the water."

"She (the courtesan) stagnates one-third of the mighty waters flowing in streams. With a look, O Zarathushtra, she destroys one-third the growth of the upshooting, flourishing, golden-colored trees."

It is with pleasure that we, at the conclusion of this brief summary of the contents of the Vendidad, quote the following two passages from its nineteenth chapter :—

The Trial of Zarathushtra by Angromainyush.

5. "Zarathushtra informed Angromainyush: Evil-doing Angromainyush ! I will destroy the creatures produced by the demons, I will destroy death produced by the demons", etc.

¹ In the face of these passages in the Vendidad, and numerous others scattered throughout the whole of the Parsi sacred books, we cannot understand how the Parsis should disclaim the deity of Fire, and its worship. Fire is not a mere *Kibla*, the place or the object towards which the face is turned while worshipping God, but a living and personal object of worship. Or how can fire be tormented by the pangs of hunger, and pinched by cold ? How can it entertain any feeling of pain or dread at the sight of a foe determined to quench its vitality ? How can it offer a prayer to men and gods, and then in gratitude pronounce a blessing upon its benefactors ? If these things do not establish the personality and divinity of Fire, then the personality and divinity of even Ahuramazda can never be proved. Why, the very words for priests, '*atharvan*' and '*soshyontos*', mean 'fire-priests.'

6. "To him spoke Anglo-mainyush the creator of evils : Do not destroy my creation, O righteous Zarathushtra ! Thou art Paurashaspa's son, from birth thou invokest. Curse the good Mazdayasnian religion, (then) thou shalt obtain fortune such as king Vadhagahana obtained.

7. "To him replied Spitama Zarathushtra : I will not curse the good Mazdayasnian religion, not (if my) body, not (if my) soul, not (if my) life should part asunder.

8. "To him spoke Anglo-mainyush the creator of evils : With whose words wilt thou smite ? with whose words wilt thou suppress my creatures (who am) Anglo-mainyush ? (and) with what well-made weapons ?

9. "To him replied Spitama Zarathushtra : The mortar and dish and Homa, and the words pronounced by Mazda, are my best weapons ; with these words will I smite, with these words will I suppress, with these well-made weapons, O evil-doing Anglo-mainyush !

The Fate of the Soul after Death, vv. 27-32.

27. "Creator of the settlements supplied with creatures, righteous one ! What are the events [(Paz.) what events happen ? what events take place ? what events are met with ?] (when) a man shall give up his soul in this world of existence ?

28. "Then said Ahuramazda : After a man is dead [(Paz.) after a man has departed, when the running evil-doing demons make destruction (of his life)], at daybreak after the third night [(Paz.), when Aurora is shining], he reaches Mithra, rising above the mountains resplendent with their own rightful lustre [(Paz.) when the sun rises].

29. "The demon Vizareshô by name, O Spitama Zarathushtra ! carries the soul bound towards the country of the wicked Deva-worshipping men. It goes on the time-worn paths, which are for the wicked and which are for the righteous, to the Chinvad bridge, created by Mazda, and right, where they ask the consciousness and soul their conduct in the settlements (*i.e.* world) [(Paz.) what was achieved in the world of existence].

30. "She, the beautiful, well-formed, strong, (and) well-grown, comes with the dog, with the register, with children, with resources, with skillfulness. She dismisses the sinful soul of the wicked into the glooms (hell). She meets the souls of the righteous when crossing the (celestial mountain) Haro-berezaiti (Alborz), and guides them over the Chinvad bridge [(Paz.), the bridge of the heavenly spirits].

31. "Vohu-mano (the archangel Bahman) rises from a golden throne ; Vohu-mano exclaims : How hast thou come hither to us, O righteous one ! from the perishable life to the imperishable life !

32. "The souls of the righteous proceed joyfully to Ahuramazda, to the Ameshaspentas, to the golden throne, to paradise (Garo-nemana) [(Paz.), the residence of Ahuramazda, the residence of the Ameshaspentas, and the residence of the other righteous ones]."¹

Having thus taken a comprehensive survey of the Parsi scriptures, we are in a position to judge of their merits as a divine revelation. We have wholly followed the guidance of Dr. Haug, the only authority acknowledged by the Parsis in reference to their literature and religion, and we are happy to observe that his book affords adequate information for forming a just and competent estimate of their sacred books. We regret that we cannot *wholly assent* to the view which Dr. Haug, as well as his

¹ *Essays*, p. 254.

appreciative editor, Dr. West, takes of the theology of the Zand Avesta, as we humbly believe that it is not supported by satisfactory data. The law of induction is of universal application, and is as paramount in reference to conclusions arrived at from an observation of natural phenomena as in regard to inferences drawn from an examination of information presented in a printed book. The whole of the Zand Avesta, including even the Gáthas, so much extolled by Dr. Haug, asserts in the plainest possible language the plurality of the Parsi gods. Besides the two independent and supreme rulers, born of one mysterious abstract progenitor, Zarvan Akarana, the books speak of a host of others, male and female, claiming divine names and titles, divine homage and prerogatives. Even if the Gáthas taught pure and unadulterated monotheism, as Dr. Haug and Dr. West would aver, the testimony of a few fragmentary and incoherent songs, whose authorship cannot be traced, and whose right to a place in the Zand Avesta cannot be established, being deficient in the essential characteristics of a Nask, cannot invalidate the explicit and emphatic teaching of authoritative works. Who would think of judging of the teaching of the Rig Veda by the selections of the Sama Veda? Or of the theology of the Puranas by the philosophical episodes here and there inserted in them? Who would speak of the Hindu religion as monotheistic, because the Bhagvad Gita, in lofty verse, discusses sublime themes relating to the unity and supremacy of the divine essence? The Vendidad, in reality, is the only book that has a claim to a place in the Zand Avesta, and is, therefore, the only real authority in determining points of religious doctrine and practice. And in all ages of the Parsi history, so far as can be ascertained, the Vendidad alone has really been influential in giving a shape to the Zoroastrian ritual, while the Gáthas seem to have exerted no influence whatsoever.

Not only is the teaching of the Parsi books of religion polytheistic, but the very practice of the people themselves is of the same character. Like the Hindus, the Parsis daily offer prayers and sacrifices to gods and goddesses without number; and these deities are not spiritual conceptions, but simply the material, visible phenomena of nature, from the glorious sun walking in majesty in the sky, followed by an endless train of luminous bodies, down to the most despicable vermin crawling in the dust. If such be the so-called monotheism of the Parsis, we have no reason to quarrel either with the Parsis, or their European apologist: the Zoroastrians might enjoy their name and title with perfect freedom and peace. But, then, they should not forget that the Calmuck who bows before his fetish, a piece of bone or feather, may as well call himself a monotheist.

This gross polytheism of the Parsi books has always been revolting to thoughtful Zoroastrians. Long before the birth of Jesus

Christ, the Magi renounced the worship of Ahuramazda and the Yazats, and sought satisfaction for their monotheistic aspirations in the metaphysical fiction of Zarvan Akarana. Dr. Wilson, in his work on the Parsi Religion, mentions the case of a learned Parsi priest who, during the time that the missionary carried on a religious controversy with the Parsi Dasturs, published a catechism in which he entirely omitted the name of Ahuramazda. This shyness of the priest to acknowledge the deity of Ahuramazda did not fail to attract the notice of his co-religionists, one of whom thus wrote about it:—"It is highly to be regretted that "the author does not foresee that the name of Hormazda would "be quite undervalued in the sight of the missionaries, merely "from the circumstance of its being not made mention of." We have no sympathy, however, with those people who would adhere to a system which has ceased to command the assent of their reason; and if educated Parsis have been dissatisfied with their religion, they ought boldly to renounce it, without any consideration of the consequences of their abandonment of it. Faithful adherence to a truth that is not acknowledged by the generality of the people amongst whom we live will always excite opposition and persecution; but there is no royal road to truth. The way to it is strewn with thorns and thistles; it is strait, and there be not many that walk in it. He who is destitute of a manly and courageous love of truth has no title to the name of man. In this respect some of the educated Hindus have, to a certain extent, commenced to act nobly. Dissatisfied with the polytheism of the Vedas and the Puranas, they have publicly renounced them, and raised an altar to the unknown God. The Parsis ought to follow their brethren, the Hindus, and abandon the Zand Avesta, which is but an imperfect copy, a dim reflection of the Vaidic theology. In comparison with the Zand Avesta the religion of the Hindus has infinitely higher claims. It contains not a little that has intrinsic religious and ethical value. Even in the literature of the Vedas, old as it is, there are passages of great power and sublimity, raising the soul to expatiate in regions of transcendental speculation. But the Zand writings are characterized by extreme poverty of thought and sentiment; their diction is innocent of all literary excellencies. Their moral and religious teaching is extremely defective. The very Gáthas teach a theology and philosophy that do not suggest one single great thought, or evoke a single lofty sentiment; while the Vendidad, though full of information in regard to the "whining" of the devils, and the virtues of *barley-flour* in the production of a healthy and vigorous population; the disposal of the hair and nails; the nursing of pregnant dogs, and the feeding of the sacred bull; the sipping of the urine of the cow, and the worship of crabs, is absolutely silent on the

subject of the moral wants and necessities of man, his relation to the Supreme Being, and the duties founded thereon. There is no doubt that the Parsi books speak of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection, and constantly repeat the formula, "Purity in thought, word and deed:" but they do not hold up a pattern or exemplar, in whom this purity in thought, word and deed has been fully realized, and conformity to whose image would constitute the glory of the resurrection.

Indeed, the Parsi scriptures teach nothing of practical religion, beyond good living, and the worship of bright and shining objects. Food is necessary to health, and health is necessary to beget strong children, and, therefore, a Zoroastrian must eat good and nourishing food, and worship it into the bargain. There is no safety in drought and darkness: hence all darkness and drought shall be hated, and their opposites—light and plenty—courted, honored, and adored. Ahuramazda is nothing but light idealized; and his councillors are luminous natural objects honored with deification. In the prayers addressed to these luminous gods the most extravagant phraseology expressive of luminosity is copiously employed. Hormazd is Spento-mainyush, the White Spirit, and holiness is *whiteness* or brightness. Besides the principle of luminosity or brightness, the principle of prudence, or a regard to one's own happiness and comfort, lies at the foundation of the Zoroastrian theology and morality. Hence the great good God is designated Ahuramazda, *i. e.*, the Prudent Ahura or God, and their religion is called the Mazdayasnian religion, *i. e.*, the religion of prudence. A system of religion based upon two such inferior principles, the principle of material beauty and the principle of self-interest, cannot possess high merits; it is powerless to produce any great moral or religious results. Hence it has produced a race of shallow epicures, who have no higher aspirations than to eat well, dress well, and live in splendid mansions. The Epicureanism of the Zand Avesta has nothing of the intellectual grasp and the moral majesty of that of the Greeks, either as unfolded in the pages of the great Epicurus himself, or that of his immediate disciples. The Epicureanism of the Parsi books is characterized by extreme sensuousness.¹ Hence

¹ We say 'sensuousness', and not sensuality. The Parsi religion does not countenance sensuality *in principle*. It favors only what is conducive to health and natural prosperity, and declares in emphatic language that concubinage or sensuality is most injurious to health (the above passage condemnatory of courtezans might be consulted). Hence, though the Zand Avesta preaches, throughout, the love of earthly life, health and splendor, it does not contain a single precept or a myth that might be compared with the licentious fables that fill the Hindu books. The Kuran removed this wholesome restraint, and the Muhammadan Parsis, the present

the Zand Avesta does not contain a single precept on the subject of abstinence, self-abnegation, an heroic pursuit of the Infinite and the Absolute. Even so early as the Vaidic times, Yadnavalkya and his wife had come to perceive the vanity of this life, and to seek a higher form of existence beyond this world; and the Hindu works have, in all ages, been pervaded with high moral and religious speculation, giving rise to such men as Buddha, Dharmaraj and Shankar, Nanak, Ramanuj, Chaitanya and Tukaram. The stern influence of Islam could not counteract the enervating influence of Zoroastrianism. The Muhammadan Iranians are a race of voluptuaries, utterly vain, superficial and false; devoted to pleasure and delighting in everything that partakes of the character of the "brilliant, "splendid and sublime Hormazd." They have cultivated only one department of literature, viz., poetry; and a poetry, too, that sings, in soft and effeminate verse, the attractions of sparkling wine and black-eyed houris. The very language itself has lost its comparative vigor. The Zand, a dialect of Sanskrit, appears in the Zand writing in a soft and disintegrated form, ready to drop its inflexional system. In the Pehlvi the degradation advances most rapidly, and in its present form of Persian it has become reduced to the bald and agglutinative condition of the Chinese. No Indian vernacular has reached this extreme state of degradation.

How fully just is our estimate of the Zand Avesta will appear from the following opinion expressed of it by Dr. Max Müller:—

"Let them (Europeanized Parsis) but read the Zand Avesta, in which they profess to believe, and they will find that their faith is no longer the faith of Yasna, the Vendidad, and the Visparad. As historical relics, these works, if critically interpreted, will always retain a prominent place in the great library of the ancient world. As oracles of the religious faith they are defunct, and a mere anachronism in the age in which we live."

With reference to the derivation of the Zand Avesta from the religion of the Vedas, certain Vaidic priests who ministered at the sacrificial fire had begun to feel very great devotion to it, and a love for the sacrifices offered to it. Two ideas became strongly fixed in their minds, the idea of brightness, and the idea of the omnipotency of food, or material enjoyment, and they sought the establishment of these principles in their community. These priests belonged chiefly to the classes of the Adhavaryas and the Atharvans. The Adhavaryas were subordinate priests who

inhabitants of Persia, are a most licentious people. Licentiousness now is the burden of all their poetry. And the Indian Parsis have also, by their excessive fondness for alcohol, in imitation of the Europeans, and by their love of women, in imitation of the aristocratic races of the Hindus, already injured their health, and reduced their numbers.

were engaged in performing those parts of the ritual which required manual labor, such as "preparing the sacrificial ground, the adjustment of the vessels, the procuring of the animals and other sacrificial oblations, the lighting of the fire, the killing of the animal," etc. They were exempted from all hard intellectual work, and as the proper pronunciation of the sacred texts required considerable study they were allowed simply to mutter the verses which they used during the sacrifice. "Hence they stood most exposed to the seducing influence of material considerations. They had close fraternal intercourse with the Atharvans and Angiras", whose special office it was to protect the sacrifice by means of magical formulas, "against the effects of any accidents that might happen." And the principal characteristics of both these classes of priests belong to the Zoroastrian priesthood, and the names of both occur in their writings.¹ Indeed *Atharvan* appears to have been the general name in Zand for a priest; and the Vendidad, the most complete and influential sacred book of the Parsis, is but a degraded copy of the Vedas of the Atharvans. The following description of the Atharvan Veda applies to the Vendidad without the slightest abatement:—

"The most prominent characteristic feature of the Atharvan is the multitude of incantations which it contains; these are pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefited, or more often by the sorcerer for him, and are directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends; most frequently, perhaps, long life, or recovery from grievous sickness, is the object sought; then a talisman, such as a necklace, is sometimes given; or in very numerous cases some plant endowed with marvellous virtues is to be the immediate external means of the cure; further, attainment of health or power is aimed at, the downfall of enemies, success in love or play, the removal of petty pests, and so on, even down to the growth of hair on a bald pate."

A dread of the power of the demons pervades the whole teaching of the Vendidad, and the same is true also of the Atharva Veda. "In the Rik", says Dr. Roth, "there breathes a lively natural feeling, a warm love for nature; while in the Atharva, on the contrary, there predominates the anxious apprehension of evil spirits and their magical powers." An old Sanskrit writer thus observes regarding this peculiarity of the Atharva Veda:—"The Veda is divided into Rik, Yajus and Sáman for the purpose of carrying out the sacrifice under its three different forms. The Atharva, on the contrary, is totally different. It is not suitable for the sacrifice, but only teaches how to appease, to bless, to curse", etc. And what is most conclusive on the subject in question is that the Atharva Veda is designated *chhandas* in the Rig and Atharva Vedas, as well as in some other old Indian writings; and among the several senses given of that word (*chhandas*) in the celebrated St. Petersburg Lexicon the

¹ Dr. Muir's *Texts*.

second sense is to this effect:—"A sacred hymn, and, according to the first three texts about to be quoted, especially that sort which is neither Rich, Saman, nor Yajush:—hence, perhaps, originally, an incantation." And the word *chhandas* is identified by Max Müller with the word *zanda*, which forms a member of the compound that designates the Parsi sacred scriptures.

The Zand Avesta corresponds to the Atharva Veda in numerous details of doctrine and ritual, which have been copiously noticed by Dr. Haug in his Essays. The old Vaidic gods, such as Varuna, and even Indra, do not play an important part either in the Atharva Veda or the Zand Avesta; and, like the Zarvan Akarana of the Vendidad, a new god, designated Bhovu-Sárva, enjoys a kind of absolute supremacy over all the old deities in the Atharva Veda. Indeed, Zarvan Akarana, "Time", actually occurs in the Atharva Veda under the name of Kála as a supreme deity; Kála is represented as "the first god", who, "existing in many forms", drew forth the worlds, and encompassed them. "There is no power superior to him. Time generated the sky, and these earths. Set in motion by Time, the past and the future subsist. . . . Time is the lord of all things; he who was the father of Prajapati. That (universe) has been set in motion by him, produced by him, and is supported by him." (*Atharva Veda* xix. 53.) This doctrine of Time, as the one "source and ruler of all things", is "altogether a new doctrine", says Dr. Muir, "and foreign to the Rig Veda." As there is a repression of the poetical sentiment in the Atharva Veda, so do the authors of the Vendidad write completely shackled by a domineering superstition. And the Atharvan was emphatically a fire and Soma priest. According to the Vedas, the Atharvan is the first priest who "calls down fire from heaven, offers Soma, and presents prayers"; with miraculous powers he overcomes the demons, and receives celestial gifts from the gods. The Zand priest, in like manner, is always designated a fire-priest, whose principal office it is to offer *homa* (Soma) to the fire. But *Homa* is also a god in the Zand Avesta. There are points of agreement between the Soma worship of the Indians and Persians, one of the most important of which is as follows:—"In the Vedas, Soma is not merely a sacred sacrificial beverage, but also a god. Precisely in the same manner, Homa is, in the Zand Avesta, not a plant only, but also a powerful deity; and in both works the conceptions of the god and the sacred juice blend wonderfully with each other."¹ Dr. Spiegel mentions that there is actually "a distinct allusion in the Zand Avesta to the initial verse of the Atharva Veda."

¹ Dr. Windischman in Dr. Muir, ii. 472, 769.

“These common reminiscences cannot be explained from any communications such as neighboring nations might make to one another; on the contrary, we perceive sometimes a varying, sometimes a contradictory conception of important traditions and applications, which is only intelligible if we presuppose an earlier agreement which had, in part, become lost and modified in the course of time, after the separation of the two nations, and in part had become converted into a contradiction by a division in their opinions. Even this contradiction indicates a closer connection between the two nations at an earlier period.”¹

A further proof of the derivation of the religion of the Zand Avesta from the Vedas is supplied by the Zand language. The Zand resembles the Sanskrit more intimately than either the Greek or Latin languages, and their correspondence in regard to their radicals and the vocables derived from them, together with their inflectional system, is almost as close as that existing between the Pali and the Sanskrit. This correspondence between the Zand and Sanskrit cannot be explained in the same way as that obtaining between the Sanskrit and the old European languages, the Greek or Latin. When the Atharvans, the Angiras and Adhavaryas migrated to Persia, they carried with them their vernacular, the Vaidic Sanskrit—no doubt, a good deal modified, as is evident from the dialectical difference existing between the language of the Atharva Veda and the other Vedas. A change of place, and an opposition of ideas and feelings, aggravated the difference. We have no time or space at our command to enter more fully into this most interesting subject of inquiry, but what has been stated satisfactorily proves, in our opinion, the view we have advanced.

Now what was it that caused a separation between the Iranians and Hindus? Why did the Atharvans, in conjunction with the tribes of warriors, cultivators, and laborers, leave their own country and people and migrate to other lands? It is imagined that the causes of the breach were exclusively religious; that the Iranians, entertaining highly monotheistic notions, could not conscientiously associate with the polytheistic Hindus, who were fast sinking into idolatry. Although this view is maintained by many of great authority, we are not prepared to endorse it. The Zoroastrians had never a deep religious conviction or feeling; their materialistic proclivities could not find anything congenial in abstract virtue or pure religion. The causes of the breach, judging from the nature of the civilization and theology developed by the Zoroastrians, as evinced by their religious books and their history, must have been other than purely moral or religious. The Zand Avesta, as we have remarked above, discovers two important elements,—the love of material splendor and the love of material *happiness*,—and both of these principles have habitu-

¹ Quoted by Dr. Muir.

ally influenced the Parsis, and it was these things that made them separate themselves from the Hindus. The Hindus, soon after their quiet settlement in the Panjab, began to feel a kind of dissatisfaction with their present life, and an earnest longing for the Eternal and Infinite ; and this passion for abstract metaphysics was specially fostered by the solemn and awful grandeur of the scene in which they had settled themselves. The thought of self, of enjoyment, of personal glory, which converted the Greeks and Romans into mighty rulers and warriors, who by their intellect and prowess conquered brute force, and adorned and embellished their earthly existence with all that was beautiful and glorious, was reprobated by the Rishis. Their highest idea of God was that he was a mere abstraction, and the goal to which they anxiously looked forward was the extinction of their personal identity in the being of the Supreme Abstraction. This kind of religion and philosophy was incompatible with the philosophy and religion suggested by the hecatombs which the Adhavaryas and Atharvans always witnessed, and at which they ministered : metaphysics did not, could not, satisfy their passion for earthly enjoyment and splendor ; their love for food, health and children. They were what Dr. Haug most appositely calls "prophets of agriculture" ; and Zoroaster himself is never tired of praying for the protection of his fields, his well-fenced lands, his cows and dogs. The high-priest in the 8th Yasna thus declares his faith :—

7-8. "I who am Zarathushtra, exhort the heads of houses, villages, towns and countries to think and speak and act according to the good Zoroastrian Ahuryan religion. I *bless the splendor and vigor* of the whole rightful creation ; and I *curse the distress and wretchedness* of the whole wrongful creation."

The spread of the Mazdayasnian religion is declared to be identical with the spread of agriculture :—

Vendidad I., 3rd ch., 30 :—"What causes the growth of the Mazdayasnian religion ? There said Ahuramazda : Whatever is efficacious in the cultivation of barley, O Spitama Zarathushtra."

Tir, the god of rain, thus exclaims when there is drought :—"I am lost, the waters are lost, the trees are lost, the Mazdayasnian religion is destroyed." The highest blessing asked by the prophet Zarathushtra from Homa is to this effect :—

Yasna ix. 27 :—"O Homa ! thou lord of the house, lord of the clan Thou successful physician ! I further invoke thee for strength and prosperity for my body, and for the attainment of much pleasure."

Enclosed settlements and fenced fields are declared to be Ahuramazda's property :—

"I will enclose thy settlements ; I will become the conservator and herdsman and protector of thy settlements ; in my empire there shall be no cold wind nor hot, no fog, no death."

The great prosperity of Jamshed (Yoma-kshaetra) is thus described:—

“He had abundance of flocks, the most glorious of those born, the most son-like of men; that he made, during his reign over her (the earth), men and cattle free from death, water and trees free from drought, and they were eating inexhaustible food.”

The Vendidad speaks of the sanctity of the cow, the dog, and other creatures useful to agriculture; while the frog, the rat, the snake, etc., injurious to it, are condemned to destruction. Animal sacrifices were also hurtful to agriculture, and they were suppressed. Dasyus who destroyed crops, and laid waste well-fenced fields, were turned into demons. The Vaidic gods who were in any way unfavorable to agriculture were converted into devils, while those favorable to it were retained. Sometimes the same god is enumerated under one name among the gods, while under another name he is assigned a seat in the council of the Black Spirit. Since Indra was a god who delighted much in animal sacrifices, devouring at one meal three hundred buffaloes, he is particularly degraded. Shiva, the favorite god of the Dasyus, fares no better in the Zand Avesta. Darkness and drought are regarded with extreme horror, and are represented as arch-fiends who inflicted the greatest misery on mankind. To chase away the devils, light was essential, and hence all luminous bodies have been dear to the Zoroastrians. The sun was their greatest god among the celestial bodies, and Fire the vicegerent of Ahuramazda on earth. And it would appear that the Vaidic Aryans had commenced to form marriage alliances with the Dasyus, who were nomads, and to adopt their gods. The Atharvans and the Hindus could not, therefore, be at peace with each other, could not live together; they must separate. The Zoroastrians left their brethren, and set out in search of new lands, where they could enjoy perfect freedom. It is no wonder that men so diametrically opposed to each other by all considerations of interest, material as well as spiritual, should have regarded each other with intense hatred. Their very language was changed to express their mutual antipathy. *Deva*, the general Aryan term for a god, was degraded by the Zoroastrians into a word denoting a demon or devil, while the Hindus reluctantly wrought the same change in reference to the word *asura* adopted by their enemies. In the following passage from the Aitareya Brahmana of the Rig Veda the open enmity of the Hindus and Iranians is thus described:—

“The Devas and Asuras waged war in these worlds. The Asuras made these worlds fortified places (*pur*, i.e. *polis*, town) and made them as strong and impregnable as possible; they made the earth iron, the air of silver, and the sky gold. Thus they transformed these worlds into fortified places (castles). The Devas said: These Asuras have made these worlds

fortified places : let us then build other worlds in opposition to these (no occupied safely by them)."¹

Thus the schism between the Parsis and the Hindus was caused by a war between material civilization and spiritual transcendentalism ; by the passion for mundane happiness and glory in conflict with self-abnegating asceticism. This material and ethical dualism laid the foundation, also, of the religious dualism of the Zoroastrians.

The next and final question for our consideration is, Where did the Zoroastrians migrate? Where did they originally live with the Hindus as members of their race? We hold that they originally lived in India on this side of the Hindu Kush ; and our reasons for this belief are thus cogently stated by one who is in every way competent to speak on such a subject with authority—we mean Professor Max Müller:—

“ If regarded from a Vaidic point of view, the gods of the Zoroastrian come out once more as mere reflections of the primitive and authentic gods of the Vedas. It can now be proved, even by geographical evidence, that the Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they immigrated into Persia. say the Zoroastrians, for we have no evidence to bear us out in making the same assertion of the nations of Media and Persia in general. That the Zoroastrians and their ancestors started from India during the Vaidic period can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Massilia started from Greece. The geographical traditions in the first Fargard of the Vendidad do not interfere with this opinion. If ancient and genuine, they would embody a remembrance preserved by the Zoroastrians, but forgotten by the Vaidic poets—a remembrance of times previous to their common descent into the country of the Seven Rivers. If of later origin, and this is more likely, they may represent a geographical conception of the Zoroastrians after they had become acquainted with a larger sphere of countries and nations subsequent to their emigration from the land of the Seven Rivers.” “ The purely mythological character of this geographical chapter has been proved by M. Michel Bréal.”² Again, “ The Zoroastrians were a colony from Northern India. They had been together for a time with the people whose sacred songs have been preserved to us in the Veda. A schism took place and the Zoroastrians migrated westward to Arachosia and Persia. . . . They gave to the new cities, and to the rivers along which they settled, the names of cities and rivers familiar to them, and remind them of the localities which they had left. Now as a Persian *h* points to Sanskrit *s*, Harôyu would be in Sanskrit Sarayu. One of the sacred rivers

¹ Most of these quotations are from Dr. Muir's *Texts*.

² Max Müller, quoted in Dr. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*. Even if the list of countries be genuine, and the migration an historical fact, the emigrants are represented as going to the region of the Seven Rivers, which is declared to be an excellent (“best”) country. If the Zoroastrians had always regarded it as inhabited by their enemies, the followers of the Devas they would, without doubt, have condemned it. But they do not speak of it with disfavor. They represent it as a good country, beyond which *lie countries* “fortunate, renowned, lofty, prosperous and splendid.” And we must therefore consider the testimony of the Vendidad as favorable to our view of the origin of the Zoroastrians.

India, a river mentioned in the Veda, has the name of *Sarayu*, the modern Sardju."¹

It is a matter of great gratification that the Indians and the Zoroastrians, so long estranged from each other, have again met, and met for an indissoluble union. Although the old Hindus on the western coast were unable to recognize the original relation the Parsis bore to them, when they came to them for shelter from the persecutions of the Moslems, they gave them a generous welcome. They offered them both religious toleration and civil protection. And this kindly reception of them has been always gratefully acknowledged by the Zoroastrians, and the Zoroastrians have proved a source of great happiness and power to the Indians generally. A closer union, both social and moral, needs yet to be effected; and such a union shall assuredly be brought about—not, however, through the intervention of the religions and philosophies of either race, but by the more enlightened and powerful influence of another nation, which at a period anterior to that when the Zoroastrians separated from their Vaidic brethren was identical with both of them. The English have introduced Christianity into this country, and Christianity is a most powerful solvent. It has produced peace and harmony wherever it has been established, binding jarring nations into one loving brotherhood; and already it has, to a certain extent, asserted this its peculiar power in this country. The true basis for a social and national union is not education, is not government, nor is it social enlightenment—it is emphatically religion. Men must become united in their spirits—in the depths of their moral consciousness; and Christianity acts most powerfully on the spirits of men. When it shall have thoroughly cleansed and renovated the individual consciousness of both the races, they will spontaneously seek a complete union. Hence the necessity of Christianity. It may not remove all intellectual doubts and difficulties; may not lead the logical faculty, untrammelled, to attain to a clear knowledge of those problems which cruelly lacerate the minds of advanced thinkers; but it is, nevertheless, an infallible antidote for all the moral evils which appertain to our nature. It effects our direct union with God, in whom is perfect light and life, through Jesus Christ, who is his image and glory, and thus enables us to embrace the whole of humanity in the arms of pure and holy love.

A NATIVE MISSIONARY.

¹ Quoted in Dr. Muir's *Texts*.

ART. VI.—NOTES AND INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN MISSIONS AT HOME.

A NORMAL and most cheering token of progress in the enterprise of evangelization is the growing disposition on the part of missionary societies to compare notes of the work done, and to confer together concerning the methods for pushing on the same work in the future. The Conference held in London last October will take its place with the New York and the Liverpool Conferences as a prominent and promising event of missionary history. We cannot understand, however, why so long an interval as eighteen years should have passed between the Liverpool and London Conferences. Only six years intervened between the New York and Liverpool Conferences. Surely once in ten years, at least, Christian workers from all lands might profitably meet for the discussion of themes vitally related to the spread of the Gospel throughout the earth. The Union Conferences held last year in Africa, China, Japan and Syria resulted in much good, and there can be no question as to the benefit accruing from a World's Conference of Missions every ten years.

The Union Conference recently convened in Mildmay Hall, London, was a magnificent gathering of missionary workers from many foreign fields. As set forth in the prospectus issued by the committee, the object of this meeting was not so much to consider missions in reference to their agencies and plans as in their geographical distribution, "in order to exhibit the special features of those missions, and bring out their special needs." India was well represented in the Conference by practical missionaries who had devoted years to the service,—such men as Dr. J. Mullens, Dr. Murray Mitchell, Rev. M. A. Sherring and others. Africa was abundantly represented by Dr. Robert Moffatt, whose stirring address was a most prominent and pleasing feature of the day devoted to that dark continent. China and Polynesia had their faithful representatives, who set before the Conference the condition and claims of their respective fields. Every day had its special inspiration, and the listener could not fail of gathering much pleasure and profit from the words of men thoroughly in earnest for the world's evangelization. The opening address, by Sir William Muir, was in excellent taste, and it was a real pleasure to hear such words of hearty appreciation and cheer from one who, from long residence in India, has had ample opportunities for studying the workings of the pagan systems, and estimating the results of Christian effort upon them. Sir William occupied the chair on one of the succeeding days, and by his presence and assistance did much to enhance the interest of the meeting. Would that India had more such men in high Government positions! Thank God for those we have, who are always ready, both here and at home, to speak boldly in favor of foreign missions!

The first paper read, by Dr. Mullens, on the increased coöperation of missionary societies, with a view to overtake the wider work opening to the Gospel, was just the keynote for such a Conference. He showed how harmoniously the Church, London, Free Church of Scotland and

Church of Scotland Societies had worked together in Central Africa, he illustrated genuine Christian union and coöperation by ample references to missions in India, China, Madagascar and other sections of the great field, and pointed out how grandly and successfully the whole Church by her diverse agencies and detachments, is marching on to the conquest of the world. We cannot, without the report before us to quote from, give the reader any adequate idea of this very inspiring address. Its influence must have been felt throughout the deliberations of the entire week.

These serving as introductory exercises, Tuesday, October 22nd, the first full day of the Conference, was devoted to Africa, the Earl of Cavan presiding. Dr. E. B. Underhill, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, read a very able and suggestive paper on the results of emancipation in the West Indies, social and religious, and their probable influence on Africa itself. He was followed by Sir T. Fowell Buxton, who presented a paper on discovery in Africa as bearing on the new mission schemes in Central Africa. Rev. Dr. Stewart spoke on the Lovedale Institution and its special work. This missionary of the Free Church in Livingstonia greatly interested the Conference, and there cannot fail to be on the part of all who heard him a warmer and juster appreciation of the imperative claims of that comparatively new field. The last paper of the day was by Dr. Lowe, of Edinburgh, on Medical Missions. It abounded in strong, practical suggestions, which all our societies would do well to heed. The strongest point was well put, and pressed home with cogency—that every medical missionary should be an evangelist, making his work for the souls of his patients his chief care. The more such medical missionaries the better for pagan lands.

Wednesday, 23rd, was devoted to India and China. Rev. M. A. Sherring of Benares read an admirable paper on the growth and position of Christianity in India, both with regard to the increase of Christian churches, and its influence on the general population. This excellent paper, bristling with sturdy facts from all parts of India, will well repay the careful perusal of every reader. Dr. Murray Mitchell next read a paper setting forth how far the various systems of education pursued in India promote the spread of true Christianity. The principal interest in this paper centred around the part of it relating to the education provided by Government. A meeting was subsequently called in one of the committee rooms, and this point fully discussed; but, although the opinion seemed to prevail that Government should retire from higher education, confining itself to primary instruction for the masses, no action was taken. A very scholarly and interesting paper was presented to the Conference this day by Rev. E. E. Jenkins, Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, on the subject—“To what extent is the spread of Christianity assisted, or “otherwise, by the truths or principles which underlie the systems of “Hinduism or Muhammadanism, and which are presumed to correspond “with the truths and principles of the Gospel?”

Thursday, 24th, was devoted to Polynesia, Madagascar, and the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and Friday to the progress of Christianity among the Oriental churches, and among Roman Catholics and Jews. Indian hearers, however, were this day most interested in an able paper upon missions among Muhammadans, by Rev. T. P. Hughes.

of Peshawar. The several evenings were well occupied by public meetings. That of Thursday evening was in relation to female education in the East. At this meeting entertaining and instructive addresses were made by Mrs. Urmston, Mrs. Ferguson and Mrs. Etherington of India, and by Miss West of Syria. The closing public meeting on Friday evening at Exeter Hall was addressed by the Earl of Shaftesbury, Rev. C. Billing, Rev. Dr. Murdock, Rev. Dr. Punshon, Rev. Dr. Stewart, and Rev. Dr. Clark, Secretary of the American Board. We wish these earnest and eloquent missionary addresses might have been heard by thousands in America and Europe, who do little or nothing for foreign missions. We wish that a cheap edition of the doings of this Conference might be placed within the reach of multitudes who very much need to be informed on all topics relating to missions. How many a church and community might thus be stirred to reflect upon its duty to a perishing world! and so might the streams of benevolence be greatly swollen also.

We have spoken thus far of the work of the London Conference. The papers read were exceptionally good, and deserve a wide circulation. Men of large experience and well known ability were there, thoroughly prepared for imparting instruction upon every department of missionary work. Still the Conference seemed throughout to lack enthusiasm. One thing that could not but dampen the ardor of the speakers, and detract largely from the enthusiasm of the occasion, was the remarkably small audience that came together for these meetings. Mildmay Hall is capable of accommodating at least twenty-five hundred persons. Probably at no session of the Conference were a thousand persons in attendance. The women's meeting of Thursday evening drew the largest house, but even that fell far short of filling the main auditorium. The galleries were never needed. We heard much complaint concerning the small attendance, which many seemed disposed to attribute to the lack of adequate advertising. England stands foremost as a missionary country. In proportion to its size and population it far exceeds all other lands in its benevolent contributions. Probably no city in the world has so many agencies for both home and foreign evangelization as London. Surely in no city might we so reasonably expect a large and intelligent audience for a missionary meeting. Even the public meeting at Exeter Hall was a sore disappointment in this respect. Such an audience room, which has many times been filled to overflowing at the anniversary exercises of single societies, is a cheerless spot when full three-fourths of the seats are vacant. Dr. Punshon and the other eloquent speakers of Friday evening could gather little inspiration from the scanty, scattered audience that greeted them. London surely could have done vastly better than this. The Committee should ascertain the defect in their arrangements, and remedy it.

Next to lack of enthusiasm, another conspicuous defect in the London Union Conference was the lack of a full representation of missionary workers. To be sure, the English and Continental societies were fairly represented, but there was a conspicuous absence of American delegates. A country doing so much for foreign evangelization, should have been represented by a strong delegation, comprising men from all of its most prominent and successful societies. Where the fault was we do not *undertake* to say; it is enough to state the fact. The Americans who did *attend the Conference* and participate in its work were strong men, who

worthily represented their respective societies, but, on the whole, the American delegation was most meagre and unsatisfactory.

Once more borrowing an Englishman's privilege to grumble, we may cite one other prominent defect in the London Conference, which was the lack of the very thing for which the delegates and their friends came together, *viz.*, *real conference on missionary themes*. It was the glory of the Liverpool Conference that so much time and such full liberty were granted all who wished to speak upon the topics brought before the meeting. This was also a distinguishing feature of the Allahabad Conference. The volumes of published proceedings of these two great gatherings are chiefly valuable to the reader from the fact that the thoughts and opinions of so many earnest, practical missionaries are embodied in them. No volume of papers or essays on missionary work could be so attractive or so instructive. The London Meeting had, as we have remarked, its excellent papers, but these should have been freely and fully discussed by competent men from many fields. One day we heard it said from the high platform—which of itself was a barrier to free and successful conference—that all persons wishing to speak upon the topics covered by the papers were requested to send up their names or their cards to the chairman! We know of none who heeded this direction—and no wonder. It seemed to some that no more effectual method could have been adopted for preventing expression of opinion, and strangling hearty and fraternal conference.

In future meetings of this character, might not some method be employed for social interchange of opinions? Why need missionaries from many lands be together for days without knowing each other or exchanging a word? We heard frequent complaints on this score. For instance, one experienced worker was heard to say,—“I have been a missionary “in ——— for thirty years, and have been at this Conference three days, “yet I know no one, and no one knows me.” There were other expressions of this sort, full as striking as the one we have cited. “This is not a “Conference”, said an efficient Indian missionary, “it is only a meeting “for hearing reports from all sections of the field.” Many could have responded to the truth of that remark. We heard repeated references to the very friendly character of the Allahabad Conference, in contrast with the stranger-like feeling that seemed to pervade the meeting in Mildmay Hall.

We have perhaps said enough. We came away from the London Conference with this thought:—how great an improvement might be made upon this missionary meeting! Every possible effort should be made to render such a Conference successful, not merely to justify the large outlay of funds, but to secure for missionary themes the most full and thorough treatment, and the largest possible hearing.

In a recent number of the *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* there is an interesting Article on *Roman Catholic Missionary Literature in its relation to Evangelical Missions*. In these days of eirenicons between the churches, it is instructive to look beneath the surface and observe the under-current of real feeling which is revealed in the missionary literature addressed by the Roman Church to those within its own pale. We here reproduce some portions of the Article referred to:—

“One might naturally expect that at least on the broad ground of missions to

the heathen, where the most widely separated denominations work side by side in more or less friendly relations, and seek to rejoice in each other's success, it might have been possible to establish a somewhat satisfactory relation with the missions of the Roman Catholic Church. But such, alas! is not the case in the mission field. On the contrary, systematic attempts are made on the part of the Roman Catholics to ignore evangelical missions, and there is scarcely a Roman Catholic missionary paper in which evangelical missions as such find any recognition. They are either altogether ignored, as if there were none but Roman Catholic missionaries in the whole world; or, in cases where the evangelical missions are too conspicuous and well known, and have perhaps overshadowed those of the Roman Catholics, they are spoken of in most bitter terms, or represented as altogether unfruitful, and that generally with the favorite turn—'on the authority of Protestant writers themselves.'

"We cannot be surprised at this when we reflect that the main object of the Jesuits, in whose hands the management of the entire foreign mission of the Roman Catholics is placed, has been from the beginning to combat the Reformation by all possible means, and specially by those of a literary kind. On this account Roman Catholic missionary literature is for the most part incapacitated for the work of sober, just and truthful narrative.

"Dr. Huber in his work on the order of the Jesuits (p. 111) thus writes:—'Every historical work from a Jesuit pen is to be received with suspicion. Jesuit writers have not only been guilty of suppressing and misrepresenting the truth; they have even fabricated false documents, or repudiated those which were genuine. Leibnitz was therefore right when he declared that no library or archives should be entrusted to the Jesuits, because they could easily falsify or destroy what did not suit them.'

"As an illustration of the manner in which they employ their favorite manœuvre of quoting Protestant authorities, let us mention the work by Father Wiseman, entitled *The Unfruitfulness of Protestant Missions in the conversion of the heathen*. In the preface he writes:—'It occurred to me that a strong argument against the Protestant sects might be found in the fact that they sow with a zeal which is unfruitful, and toil in vain in the work of conversion; in the manner in which they collect money, send forth missionaries in troops, sometimes availing themselves of the influence and support of the worldly power, sometimes seeking to gain adherents by means of flattery and liberality, while everywhere they boast, they hope and they promise, and yet at last must confess that, notwithstanding all their efforts, they have not succeeded in achieving any result—as if the Lord had afflicted them with barrenness.' He quotes in support of their statements the expressions which the English missionary Bishop Heber makes use of in his diary on the occasion of one of his visitations:—'How sad to find this church [that of Trichinopoli, founded by Schwartz] in a state of decay, and to see the mission in such a pitiful condition!' After quoting this, he adds, '*Ab uno disce omnes!* If the missions of Schwartz are in such a pitiful condition, and their churches have already begun to fall into ruins, what shall we say of the others more remote?'

"One sees from this how careful one must be of complaining of want of success, since these complaints are diligently sought out and abused by the Roman Catholics for the purpose of proving the unfruitfulness of Protestant missions; as well as of that disproportionate praise of Roman Catholic missions, especially those of the Jesuits on the part of Evangelicals—a praise which seems now at last to be subsiding.

"The undeniable success of the Gossner Mission to the Kols is specially distasteful to the paper called *Catholic Missions*.¹ On this account it is all the more diligent in seeking to convince its readers of the unfruitfulness of this mission. Take an example. 'We have at present two stations among the Kols,—Hazaribag and Chayabassa,—at the latter of which Father Stockmann has been residing for many years. Over against this mission with its two missionaries there is a Protestant mission with quite a host of European agents. The latter boast of its great successes, but when we take up its latest official report we can easily

¹ No. 6, 1875, p. 128.

'ascertain that these are not so important. One is struck with the fact that success is measured by the number of Bibles sold or distributed. In one place we read:—"Things are going on well—we have disposed of many Bibles." The Rev. Mr. Nottrott and the Rev. Mr. Voss of Chayabassa write that "things are not going on well, because no one will buy Bibles." Oscar Flex, the Protestant missionary at Ranchi, contemplating with great satisfaction the success during the year 1873, says—"We have done our best to introduce the Word of God into their villages in the form of books and portions of Holy Scripture." Every one who has his name entered, who receives a Bible and has himself baptized, is regarded as a member of the Protestant Church. Notwithstanding, the Protestants would have no conversions if their agents did not employ other means. Whenever a heathen is in want he is immediately visited by a Protestant catechist, who, out of "pure Christian love", offers him a quantity of rupees. Thus the poor man is saved from want, but also sold to the Protestants. Soon a missionary appears to baptize and enrol his new convert. That in this and in no other way Protestant conversions take place can be easily read in these official reports—of course only between the lines, still clearly enough.' What shameful calumnies, especially when we reflect on the well-known fact that Roman Catholics everywhere assail the circulation of the Bible with hatred and scorn!

"The Protestant missionary,' says Marshall in his work on *Christian Missions*,¹ trusts chiefly to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures or religious tracts, which he distributes along the coast or sends into the interior, and then allows them to do their own work. In many countries the activity of Protestant missionaries has been almost entirely limited to the distribution of books, although, as one of themselves remarks, it seems to be of little use to give books in abundance without abundant personal preaching.'

"In opposition to this, Venn and Hoffmann, in their *Francis Xavier*, reply very pointedly that 'there cannot be a grosser falsehood than the assertion that evangelical missions neglect preaching for the distribution of the Scriptures. They carry on the latter, and that on a large scale, in places where the inhabitants can read, before the Word has been preached, as a preparation for it; afterwards amongst those who have first been taught to read by the Mission, in order to confirm and deepen their impressions; and this is well—nay, indispensable. Mr. Marshall may regard it (like Judas in the story of the precious ointment) as a useless waste of money that many a tract and many a Bible portion is torn or used for window-panes; but we shall not mourn over this loss of paper so long as we have proofs before us amounting to thousands that whole villages and districts have been led through these writings to inquire after the way of salvation.'

"The Roman Catholics have, besides, no right to act as critics in such matters, since they occupy themselves to the smallest possible extent with preaching and Bible translation, scarcely even with the learning of the vernacular.

"Let us hear the testimony of a missionary of the London Society from China:—

"I know a good deal about Roman Catholic missions, and can with confidence assert that scarcely any Roman Catholic missionaries learn to speak the vernacular with any fluency. They care nothing for the literature of the people, they never distribute books—they do nothing whatever for the spiritual elevation of the people. Protestant missionaries, on the other hand, make it their chief aim to study the language and literature of the people, to preach correctly and fluently in their language, and I believe scarcely a day passes that they do not thus preach. It is the traditional "œcumenical" Church language especially which deprives the Romish ministers of the desire to study the language of the country.'

"Let us see how the Romish missionaries proceed in their work. Octave,² missionary at Petscheli, writes to his superior in Europe:—"Send us, above all, pictures. Every time a new family reports itself as anxious for instruction my delight is marred by the impossibility of meeting their demand, "Father, give us pictures which may take the place of the images of the gods which we used to worship." On such occasions I am not a little perplexed, as it is impossible to

¹ Vol. I., pp. 17, 18.

² *Evangelical Missionary Magazine*, 1877, p. 40.

'gratify all their requests. Each family requires a picture for itself,—a large colored one,—and without such a substitute the catechumens who join us can scarcely be got to remove their images.' The writer of *Catholic Missions* remarks that 'this refers only to pictures, not to statues. The latter would not be sufficiently distinguishable from the figures which they were wont to adore, and might prove a snare.'

"Father Delplace writes from Kharee :—'In the district of Kharee several villages require a Catholic missionary. A respectable chapel in which we may represent the Catholic Church in her magnificent service will be a standing sermon in the midst of the ruined Protestant chapels. I have already a beautiful statue of St. Joseph carved in wood and richly painted. I place the young Christian congregation in Kharee under the especial protection of the glorious patriarch.'

"So we have also statues! And that these are worshipped, Zorn, formerly missionary at Pudukotta, has shown. 'In Karambagudi', he writes, 'there are three respectable Romish families. One of them once invited me to the family shrine. It had cost them something. A beautiful altar with lamps in massive silver—a crucifix in the midst—above, an image of the Virgin gilded and with a golden crown besides St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Xavier, St. Anthony, and the archangel Michael. The gentleman of the house said,—“We worship here every Sunday, and the priest comes once in the year to say Mass and to administer the Sacrament.” “Now be honest,” I said, “what do you worship? Do you worship these figures?” “Yes,” he answered!'

"And these missionaries are bold enough to reproach the Gossner Mission and declare that they would make no conversions if they did not use worldly means, especially bribery. 'Now and then', writes the *Jahrbücher der Verbreitung des Glaubens* (Journal of the Progress of the Faith), 'the Berlin missionaries fall upon still more contemptible means. While they transplant the customs of their own country to the soil of India, they threaten the natives with stripes and imprisonment; and these poor people in their terror sometimes believe that the preacher has the authority which he tries to display, and in order to escape his vengeance they consent (that is, after baptism) to his demands.'

"We shall not waste a word upon a polemic of such a low order, but only adduce as an offset what a correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* writes in reference to the persecutions which the Roman Catholics had to suffer in Tibet, Corea, Japan and China. He inquires whether the universality of this phenomenon might not lead us to infer a common reason for all these persecutions. He then describes the conduct of Faurie, the Vicar Apostolic of Kwei Chow, in Hupeh :—

"‘How does this man live? He exercises the power of life and death—he imprisons and releases—makes peace and declares war. He marches through the land with a retinue and display befitting a viceroy. He has the night-watch announced by his cannon; and every time he leaves or enters his dwelling three salvoes of artillery are given. “I dine always alone”, he says; “the greatest chiefs stand in full state around my table and serve me, while a band of music plays.”’

"Some of the strongest complaints which enter into these attacks are those which are directed against the character of the missionaries themselves.

"Marshall, already quoted, writes in the following strain (Vol. III., p. 446) :—'Do they bear in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus? Have they made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake? They would laugh at such questions with scornful mockery. While they receive the pay of a missionary society, they have simply chosen an occupation or a calling as another might choose it; they have secured for themselves a competency, and much more substantial one than they could have obtained for themselves at home. They busy themselves with all the smallest details of housekeeping—they are chained by every possible worldly tie. If wife or child becomes sick the mission is forthwith closed. They aim at being heads of families, not apostles. It is contemptible enthusiasm to seek to be soldiers of God, to hunger and to thirst, to be scourged and imprisoned. It would be incongruous to speak of “call” here. God in heaven does not deign to notice the sending forth of such. Like the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field they enjoy the protection of his common providence. More than that they desire not—they expect not.'

"If we want testimonies on the other side, we have one at hand in the opinion expressed by an accomplished French writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1866, regarding the work of the Protestant missions in Cape Colony:—

'Argue who will on the much discussed question of the marriage of Protestant missionaries; I for my part must confess that no position for woman seems more beautiful or more noble than that of the missionary's wife; and God be thanked that experience shows how truly the feeling is shared by the poor tribes whose eyes we seek to open! Casalis, one of the missionaries, writes:—"As long as we were here alone, the Bassutos always thought there was something mysterious and suspicious in our presence among them. They whispered one to another various explanations of the phenomenon, all of them unfavorable. Everything wore a new aspect when the lady missionaries by their arrival assured the people of the continuance of the work, restored in their eyes the dignity of the minister's calling, and set before them the example of a regular attendance in the house of God."

"We cannot estimate too highly the influence of Christian family life upon the heathen. In some places also, and especially in the East, it is only through the missionary's wife that the Gospel can be brought near to the women, since by custom and law men can have no access to them.

"In the *Fahrbücher*, from which we have already quoted, we find (1876, p. 34), the following from Father Delplace, who has been already referred to:—

"After an absence of three months I found my beloved mission threatened by the enemy of all good. The Protestants had been scattering their money. The cold season has begun, the only season in which the zealous apostles of heresy bestir themselves from their homes. The most insignificant of these hirelings receives a salary of Rupees 500 a month, which amounts to 15,000 francs per annum, and these worldly advantages are of course able to produce a certain appearance of missionary activity.'

'These statements with regard to worldly revenues are a gross exaggeration. If such writers would take the trouble to inquire, they would find that in the case of the German missionaries these sums would need to be reduced to one-third or one-fourth of what is stated—an income which in India will scarcely support one who tries to live in the most unpretending way.

"It is, at any rate, very striking that the compactly organized Romish Church falls far behind the much derided Protestant Church in its labor of love in the missionary cause. She can collect her millions for the poor (?) imprisoned Pope, but for the really poor heathen she has comparatively little to spare, her total income for missionary purposes amounting to only one-third of what is contributed in England alone for Protestant missions. Surely those complaints which they make with regard to the amount of money which Protestant missions can command tell by contrast against themselves, while they point to a want of self-sacrifice and missionary interest in the Church which has to look, not without envy, on the more abundant contributions of others."

ADVERTING to the regulations issued by the Senate of the Calcutta University for the examination of female pupils, Dr. Murray Mitchell writes—as quoted by the *Indian Christian Herald* of Nov. 8, 1878:—

"India will have education—and higher education—for its women, as well as its men. But we look to the results of this movement with some anxiety. The fruits of non-religious education have been anything but satisfactory in the case of men; what will they be in the case of women? Sir George Campbell, when Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, refused to extend Government education to females, because he felt that its non-religious character would make it to women a curse rather than a blessing. We draw simply one inference from this new movement. Our Christian agency among the women of India ought to be increased, and very largely increased, without delay. Let the women of Scotland come to the rescue!"

THE failure of some of our home committees to realize the pregnant truth contained in this quotation, and to see the consequences which

flow from it, seriously injures the work of the missions which they support. "India *will* have education." If missionaries provide a high Christian education, India will accept it; if they do not seize the opportunity thus afforded, the people will seek their education from other sources, but have it from some source they will. This fact once afforded missionaries an opportunity, than which no better could be imagined, for moulding the intellectual and moral growth of the young, and infusing in the thought of the people the influence of Christian ideas. This opportunity they have now to a certain extent suffered themselves to lose, as Government, with an education necessarily neutral on religious topics, has forestalled them.

Had the missionary societies thirty years ago been quick to discern and prompt in seizing the opportunity which lay before them, the better results might have followed. The opportunity is not wholly gone, even now. The strange thing is that any should be blind to its existence, as to the importance of making the most of it.

INDIAN NOTES.

REV. C. B. LEUPOLT, of the C. M. S., formerly at Benares, is publishing in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* some very interesting and valuable "Recollections of an Indian Missionary." We quote from his article *Evangelistic Efforts* :—

"Sometimes we meet with persons who will not listen to plain preaching, we then string parables together. Thus, one day I met an old pandit, who certainly did all he could to harden his heart and deceive himself. He had an idol before him, and told me he must worship it, because God had commanded him to do so. I asked him what god—the god before him or any other? He replied, 'I worship my god, and him I must obey.' I asked again, 'And who is your god?' 'Oh!' he replied, 'this is of no consequence; let him be whom he will, it is all the same to me; we only have a god; honor him, and all will be right. You may call him Raja, or Jesus, or God.'

"I replied, 'There were three zamindars (landholders) who had to pay revenue to the collector. One of them said, "Never mind to whom we pay it; let us but pay it." "Imagine that the person to whom we pay it is the collector, and all will be right." So he paid the revenue to the Raja. The second, being of the same opinion, paid it to the Nawab. The third said, "Let me first find out who the collector is, lest I pay my revenue to some one to whom it is not due." He inquired, and, finding out the right person, paid his revenue to him and received a receipt. At the proper time the collector sent his people to the two zamindars for their revenue. They replied, "We paid it—I to the Raja, and my friend paid his to the Nawab." Do you think this plea satisfied the collector?' The pandit replied, 'No; but who can say who is the rightful owner to whom the revenue is due? We believe in our religion, the Muhammadans in theirs, you in yours; but which is the true one?'

"I replied, 'There were three men, each of whom had a rupee; the rupees were similar, but different as to image, superscription, and weight', and then he carried out the parable of the true coin.

"When I had finished, he replied, 'Supposing yours to be the right coin, what should you trouble us with your preaching? What is it to you whether we perish or are saved?'

"I replied, 'A father had six sons; four of them went away and astray, and retained no knowledge of their father and their father's house beyond the'

One of them set up a stone, and called it father; the other built his hut by the river, and called the water father; the third looked at the sun, and called that luminary father; and the fourth was so foolish as to imagine himself to be the father.

"The other two sons remained at home. Hearing of the folly of their four brothers, they took counsel with their father. He said, "Let one stay with me and take care of my house, and let the other go and reclaim his brothers." Upon this one of them went and reasoned with his brethren, and told them of their father's love, and that he had sent him to them. Now was he wrong in loving and pitying his brothers? Was he wrong in doing all he could to reclaim them?

"Two of the brothers listened to the good news of their father's love, and the comfort and beauty of their father's house. They reasoned and said, "It is very true our father cannot be a stone or water. His love to us must be great to send you to us, notwithstanding that we have forsaken him and dishonored his name by making images of him which are unbecoming his dignity. We have erred, we have sinned; we will arise and go with you to our father." They did so and were graciously received by him.

"The other two scorned the invitation, and asked their brother why he troubled them, for they knew their father as well as he did, and better; but, after some time, famine and disease entered their dwellings, and they perished with their families.

"Now, Pandit, was the father wrong in wishing to reclaim his sons, or was it unkind of his son to go to his brothers endeavoring to rescue them, and sparing neither time nor trouble, life nor money, to bring them back to their father?" The answer was, "No!"

"Tell me, then," I continued, "which of the sons do you consider the wise and the better ones?" The Pandit replied, "Those that accepted the invitation." "You have rightly judged," I rejoined; "therefore, pandit, go and do likewise."

"Of all the doctrines of Christianity, that of Christ crucified is most disliked, for they say, 'If it be true that Jesus Christ was God manifested in the flesh, and had to die for us, then salvation can only be in Him'; and they are right. If we left out this doctrine, Hindus and Muhammadans might confess Christianity, and yet a Hindu might remain a Hindu, and a Muhammadan a Muhammadan. This idea was stronger in former years than it is now, for in Benares, at least, the death of Christ is understood."

Once Mr. Leupolt with his assistants had been preaching on the folly of trusting to the waters of the Ganges for removing sin:—

"The Brahmans were displeased; the people were serious, and listened attentively. At length one of them exclaimed, 'We received this custom from our forefathers, and they from theirs, and we are enjoined to keep it up. We cannot give up the religion of our forefathers nor their customs.'

"Padre S—— stepped forward and said, 'Listen, my friends! A family were in possession of a ring which they were told was of immense value. They had received it from their forefathers, and were told never to part with it. In a time of distress the family agreed to pawn the ring in order to save themselves from starvation. The eldest son took the ring to a jeweller and asked him to lend the family some money upon it. The jeweller examined the ring, looked at the jewel it contained, and said he could not lend him anything on the family treasure, "but", he added, "you are a fine young lad; come and learn my trade, and I will provide for you, your mother, and family. Meanwhile, take back the ring." The lad returned to the jeweller, who kept his word, providing for him, his mother, and family.

"Four years elapsed when the jeweller one day said to the young man, "You have now learnt your business, and you are able to form correct opinions of the value of jewels. Go and fetch your family ring." The lad went and brought it. The jeweller then told the young man to examine the stone. The young man looked at it; his heart failed him, for the supposed diamond was nothing but a piece of glass. He now understood why his master would not in their time of need lend them any money on the ring, for the supposed gem was valueless."

"S — then urged the people carefully to examine their jewel, their religion, before it was too late, lest it should prove *gāj* (imitation) instead of a *hird* (diamond)—glass instead of a diamond—for, if such were the case, it would profit them nothing on the judgment day."

We like to get hold of the actual results of experience ; to know precisely what forms and methods of address are used by preachers in their daily contact with the people. We wish other missionaries would follow the example set by Mr. Leupolt, and tell us exactly what they are in the habit of saying in their bazar addresses—what illustrations they use, and in what forms they present the leading truths of the Gospel. Such reminiscences could not fail of being useful.

A small field well worked is the title of an essay recently read by the Rev. S. R. Wells, of the American Marathi Mission, at a mission meeting. His opinion is that although the effort to occupy a large extent of country may have its advantages, it has also its manifest disadvantages, in that it compels the missionary so to scatter his activities as to fail of producing a large effect in any one place. "It seems that the only rule one can lay down", says Mr. Wells, "is that each one should have only so much of a field as he can work well ; one the principal portion of which can be visited, and visited often." He rightly lays much stress on the necessity of occupying important centres strongly and working out from them. There is undoubtedly a very great temptation for a missionary to try and cover a larger field than he can work efficiently. The needs are so great and so pressing, and the preachers so few, that it requires no small degree of self-denial for an energetic missionary to refuse himself the privilege of long missionary tours into fresh and untrodden regions, where multitudes dwell who hear the Gospel, if at all, but seldom. Some work of that sort we hold to be wise and necessary. The danger lies in trying to do too much of it, to the neglect of nearer fields where much continuous work is needed for the edification of the young native Church.

Yet it is not unfrequently the case that a missionary has no choice as to the kind of work he will adopt. Here is the field of his mission, stretching out over vast areas. A small native Christian population is scattered in little clusters of twos and threes in many of its villages. Perhaps the mission was once strongly manned, so that each member could attend to a comparatively small extent of territory ; now the working force may be reduced so that a necessity is laid upon each one of trying to do, after fashion, far more than he can really do well. Again, there are some missionaries fitted by natural disposition for wide-reaching evangelistic tours. They ought to be not only allowed, but encouraged, to take such tours. Theirs is a talent which the Church must employ. Such tours are far from useless. They at least result in making many familiar with the name of Christ, and with the Gospel which he brought. They leave their impression. It is largely owing to such tours that the more intensive labors of a different class of missionaries are speedily successful when they enter a field. The fact we apprehend to be this, that we shall err greatly if we lay down a hard-and-fast rule which all must follow, and if we condescend to do not adopt the particular style of work which

individually may seem the best. And we shall act wisely if we carefully consult and follow the dispositions and individual aptitudes of different missionaries, allowing each to do that work which, feeling an inclination for, he can do best.

A CORRESPONDENT in Bengal has very kindly given us the following particulars with reference to the present working staff of the missions at and near Calcutta :—The Church Mission has 11 missionaries in Bengal and 5 among the Santhals. Four have joined during the year,—Rev. Messrs. H. D. Day, R. Elliott, H. P. Parker, and G. Thornton. One, Rev. C. Bomwetsch, has retired from the mission, though still remaining at Calcutta ; and six have been absent for a whole or a part of the year,—Mrs. Baumann and Dyson, and Rev. Messrs. J. Brown, A. Clifford (left at close of 1878), F. Gmelin, and J. Welland (just returned).

The Wesleyan Mission reports one new accession,—Rev. J. A. Macdonald,—and one of the former staff has been transferred to Lucknow.

The Free Church Mission received no reinforcements in 1878 ; Rev. W. C. Fyfe was absent on furlough from April to November, and Dr. Dyer returned in October. While the Mission is largely engaged in educational labors, Dr. Dyer and Mr. Campbell do no educational work, and Mr. Stevenson itinerates with his pupils.

The London Missionary Society met with a sad experience. Rev. A. Strachan, a most promising young missionary, joined early in the year, and died in July. He was engaged in the College at Bhawanipur. Mr. Ashton is the only other European instructor in the College.

The Baptist Mission loses permanently Rev. C. B. Lewis, the veteran author and superintendent of its Mission Press ; he went home enfeebled by disease, the result of his arduous Indian labors. Rev. Mr. Rouse succeeds him at the Press. Rev. Messrs. Kerry, of Barisal, and Thomas, of Serampore, are away on leave. Rev. Mr. Trafford has returned to Serampore ; and the two Messrs. James, both of whom are at Barisal, joined the Mission during the year. Rev. A. Williams is to have charge of the Serampore College from January 1.

The flourishing Mission of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists among the Cherrapunji Hills received as accessions Rev. Messrs. Griffiths and Evans ; and the American Free Will Baptist Mission in Orissa welcomes Rev. Dr. J. L. Phillips from a long furlough in America. There have been no changes in the S. P. G. staff.

THE Catalogue of the Karen Theological Seminary at Rangoon lies before us. It is printed in two languages—English and Karen. The President of this Seminary is Rev. D. A. W. Smith ; he is assisted by four native professors. The curriculum of studies covers four years ; and the number of students in attendance is 49,—9 in the first class, 12 in the second, 18 in the third, and 10 in the fourth. The average age of the students is twenty years. “The object of this Seminary”, says the Report,—

“Is to train a native Karen ministry for effective service as pastors and evangelists, among *their own people*. In pursuance of this object, the great work of the Seminary is to give to young men, called of God, as they and we believe, to *this service*, a more thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures in their own

vernacular. Other studies are pursued, only for the sake of the mental discipline and enlargement of thought, thereby secured."

The studies are conducted in the Karen vernacular; yet, as the preachers who go out from the school will of necessity be brought into contact more or less with the Burmese, the managers of the Seminary design to do more and more in qualifying the students for that wider usefulness which familiarity with the Burmese language and religious books will ensure. The expense annually, including the salary of the foreign President, is about Rs 5,000. And though the Karens are already doing much to support their own local educational and evangelical institutions (see our third Article in the present Number), an appeal is to be made to them to remember, as they may be able, this Seminary, which is to supply them with properly trained religious teachers. We have no doubt but that they will respond with generosity to the appeal.

This Seminary was begun in May, 1845, by the late Dr. Binney, who has but recently closed his honored and useful life. It has passed through many vicissitudes. Dr. Binney was obliged to return home in 1850, and did not resume his labors in connection with the Seminary until 1859. In his absence it was cared for by Dr. Wade. On Dr. Binney's return it was removed to Kemendine, Rangoon, and opened there in May, 1859, with 80 pupils. In 1864 it was again removed, this time to Rangoon, where a site had been procured for it, on which it now stands. Mr. Smith entered upon his duties as President in 1876. "As I am now able to remember," says Rev. Sau Tay, one of the Karen instructors,—

"There have gone out from the Seminary 43 ordained pastors, and 59 unordained pastors now living; 6 ordained pastors have died. I have not attempted to reckon the great number of preachers who have acted as evangelists and teachers without taking pastoral charge of churches, nor those who have taken brief periods of instruction at the Seminary. . . . By the grace of God, only one ordained preacher has ever brought disgrace upon the cause of Christ, or upon the school, and he is not now living. Those who are living are firm in the faith, the pillars of our churches at every mission station. . . . In this we greatly rejoice; and those who have died, with a single exception, have died firm in the faith, remaining, some of them through much persecution, steadfast to the end. Our venerable teacher was accustomed to call over their names, with great affection; now he has been permitted to meet them around the throne of God. Are they not his crown of rejoicing? One of his beloved pupils is now a foreign missionary among the Kah Khiens, and we expect others will soon join him in the mission field."

The Seminary has been the recipient of generous donations, which testify as well as anything can to the conviction which Christian men have ever entertained of its value and efficiency :—

"Major, now Lieutenant-General, Sir David Russell gave, in its very start, funds for the erection of a comfortable building for the chapel and schoolroom, funds for dormitories for the accommodation of more than sixty pupils, and for brick walks covered with thatch, leading to them from Dr. Binney's house, besides contributing monthly for the support of pupils. Captain, now Sir Arthur, Phayre gave repeatedly for its support, and General Bell gave a monthly subscription of Rs. 100 nearly all the time that Dr. Binney was in Maulmain, and the same sum after the removal of the Seminary to Rangoon, until the General left the country. Others gave regularly lesser sums, and contributions of from fifty to one hundred rupees were not infrequent. These in later years gradually diminished, until now, though no less needed than formerly, they have ceased."

Nor have the American friends been less mindful of it :—

"One individual, the late Wm. Ruggles, LL.D., for half a century Professor of Natural Science in Columbian University, Washington, D.C., purchased the valuable estate now occupied by the Seminary, and in other ways contributed for its support. The names of Binney and Ruggles were intimately associated in this work, and they almost simultaneously entered upon their higher service which is their 'rest' and 'reward.' Three gentlemen of Philadelphia, Wm. Bucknell, Esq., the late Dr. Jayne, and Wm. McIntosh, Esq., assumed the salary of Dr. Binney for several years, and the former gentleman has twice invited Dr. and Mrs. Binney home for rest and change at his own expense."

Can capitalists, we venture to ask, find a better investment for their surplus funds than these schools of Biblical learning now starting up in all parts of India? We could name a half-dozen of such new seminaries, all in centres of large populations and surrounded by young and growing native churches, to whose wants they are designed to minister, in aiding which by permanent endowments money can be most wisely and usefully spent. In no department of missionary education are the results so soon apparent and so satisfactory as in these theological schools. Money invested in them yields a large return—not, indeed, of silver and gold, but of joy to the giver, and of religious light and comfort to thousands of Christian souls, over wide expanses of country.

MENTION has been made by Mr. Carpenter, of Bassein, in his recent Articles in this *Review*, of the first Karen convert, and of the fiftieth anniversary of his baptism, which was celebrated at Bassein, last May. Some account of that anniversary, which was one of very great interest, will doubtless be acceptable to our readers; and we accordingly append here such an account, condensed from an article furnished by Mr. Carpenter to the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, of Boston, U. S. :—

"On the 16th of May, 1878, occurred the fiftieth anniversary of the baptism of the first Karen convert, Ko-thah-byu. He was not only the first in point of time. As an humble, persistent, and prayerful preacher of the Gospel to his heathen countrymen, he ranks easily first among the hundreds of faithful men who have succeeded him.

"Dr. Mason, in his autobiography, says of him:—'Ko-thah-byu was the 'most effectual preacher with the untaught Karens we ever had, and he 'was the most ignorant. He had very few thoughts, but these were grand ones, 'and everything else he deemed rubbish: the fall of man, his need of a Saviour, 'the fullness of Christ, and the blessedness of heaven. And he used these thoughts 'like an auger in drilling a rock. It was round, round, round, and round, round, 'round, until the object was accomplished. The Christian Karens, as they became more fully instructed, could not bear to hear him,—they required better 'educated teachers; but the schools have not turned out his equal, and probably 'never will, for an untaught assembly.' ¹

"The simple fact is that Ko-thah-byu was raised up and peculiarly prepared by God himself for a peculiar work. After twelve years of most earnest and successful labor, he passed over Jordan to receive his crown, Sept. 9, 1840.

"The semi-centennial anniversary of so marked an event as the first Christian baptism in the history of the Karen people, and its association with a man so highly honored of God, seemed to call for some fitting celebration. Ko-thah-byu was a Bassein Karen. His widow and son are still with us, faithful members of one of our best churches. Hence the celebration might with propriety be held in Bassein; although the baptism took place three hundred miles and more away, in Tavoy, at the hands of the sainted Boardman.

¹ *A Working-man's Life*, pp. 55, 56.

"At the meeting of the Bassein association in March last, it was resolved unanimously to celebrate the occasion by a mass-meeting in the town of Bassein on the fifteenth and sixteenth days of May, to which the surviving actors of the olden time should be invited from all parts of Burma, and by the dedication of our new Institute building to the service of God, under the name of the 'Kothah-byu Memorial Hall.'

"The jubilee proper began with an early morning prayer-meeting on Wednesday. The meeting was conducted by the veteran Poh Kway. The burden of his short discourse and the prayers which followed was humiliation for sin and worldliness, and supplication for the divine blessing, both upon the meetings and the entire Karen people. After this meeting, a fine photograph of the Memorial Hall was taken, with many of the attendant missionaries, pastors, and delegates.¹

"At ten A.M. Rev. Sau Tay, of the Karen Theological Seminary, one of the best and ablest sons of Bassein, delivered the commemorative discourse. It was largely historical. The speaker also dwelt at some length on the defects and weaknesses of the Karen character, their clannishness and roving habits; the unfortunate, and in his judgment needless, division in Pwo and Sgau work. He dwelt upon the consecration of ourselves, as well as our property, and with some forebodings suggested hopes for the future. The discourse evinced genuine ability; but, owing probably to his unfortunate manuscript, it did not rise to the level of eloquence.

"The aged *Qualah* had been invited; but, suffering as he is from partial paralysis, he was unable to come so far. He wrote a long letter, however, telling what he knew of Ko-thah-byu and the early work in Tavoy, which was read to the congregation at this session.

"*Maukoh*, one of the first, if not the very first Karen preacher in Bassein, still lives, not far away, in comparative health. He was expected to address the meeting, but failed to appear.

"*Th'rah Nahpay* also was expected, but failed to come. The two last suffered much from the cruelty of the Burmans, for the name of Christ. They were beaten savagely with bamboos and with the elbow; their feet were put in the stocks, and suspended high in air; besides being heavily fined. The latter especially bears in his own body the marks of the Lord Jesus. His lower limbs have never recovered from the distortion to which they were subjected in the stocks, and he suffers much from rheumatism. In deep poverty, his church had contributed Rs. 701 for the Memorial.

"In their stead, old *Mauryay* of the lion-heart addressed the meeting. He is over seventy, but is still tall and erect, and his eyes still flash with much of his pristine power. He was the first Karen in Bassein to learn to read his own language, and he began at once to teach others. He is one of the men who never grow old. He learned to sing by note when he was over sixty; and he still loves to teach and sing with the children. He has several musical instruments, constructed by his own ingenious hand. A price was set on his head in Burman times; and it is said that his enemies made a cross, on which they intended to kill him. He told the people of the early times, and of his present feelings. It was good to listen to him. This church had contributed Rs. 1,331 for the Memorial Hall.

Th'rah Myat Keh, an old man of fine presence, and one of the very best of our Karen leaders, then gave a most touching and thrilling account of the first beginnings of Christianity in his vicinity, and the persecutions to which he himself, with others, was subjected. To the sustaining grace and the abounding love of God, even in the midst of fiery trials, he bore emphatic testimony. As an orator he would hold any audience in America but for the want of a common language. *Th'rah Shway boh*, the eldest of the Bassein Pwo pastors, and one of Abbott's pupils, then gave his interesting experience.

"The venerable Cephas Bennett, of the Mission Press at Rangoon, followed with a carefully prepared statistical table, showing the amount of matter printed in Karen from the humble beginning in Tavoy forty-one years ago down to the

¹ A copy of this photograph has been kindly sent us. We regret our inability to give an engraving from it—with Mr. Carpenter's vivid description—in this connection.—Ed.

present time. A hundred millions of pages in Karen have been printed and scattered among these children of the forest, and they are what we see them now. Here was plainly revealed one of the main levers which have been lifting this race of drunken devil-worshippers into the light and liberty of the sons of God. That lever, hewed out by Jonathan Wade, has been vigorously plied by the spirited old man before us for forty years, and there is work in him yet. His honored wife, who also entered heartily into the services of the occasion, has, as it were, literally plucked out her eyes by over-much proof-reading, and given them for the elevation of Burma. All honor, we say, to the few surviving missionary veterans who have borne the burden and heat of the day !

"The session closed with prayer by *Th'rah Dahboo*, one of the noblest burden-bearers in the land.

"The widow and only surviving son of Ko-thah-byu were introduced to the audience ; and a collection was taken for the former, who was also the first Karen woman ever baptized.

"The Ko-thah-byu Memorial Hall' stands on a fine knoll in the outskirts of the town, and is visible for a long distance to people approaching Bassein from the north and west. The entire length of the building on the south front is 134 feet ; the east front, including the wing and tower, is 131½ feet long ; and the west side, including the wing, is 104 feet. The tower is 60 feet high, and is surmounted by a gilded Greek cross.

"On the wall of the south veranda we have carved in large gilded Burmese character,—

"1828, KO-THAH-BYU, 1878.

"Our prayer is that the building may long stand, and do its part towards training and sending forth hundreds of men and women far better equipped for the service of the Master than Ko-thah-byu, and with a spirit no less fervent and devoted."

DIRECT information from Ceylon, we regret to say, we have not, but we clip the following from the *Lucknow Witness* of a recent date :—

"The difficulties between the Bishop of Colombo and the Church missionaries of Ceylon, so far from being settled, as the public has been at various times assured, are much more serious than ever, and have, indeed, reached now a very decided crisis. The missionaries have protested against the Romish ritual which the Bishop has introduced and declares he will not recede from. They, on their part, declare they will not adopt it, nor allow it to be introduced into their churches, nor sanction it even by attendance at his cathedral. There is thus open war. The Bishop has written to the Secretary of the C. M. S. stating his intention of not ordaining the agents or licensing the clergy of the Society unless they will accept his ritual. They feel that they are contending for a principle of immense importance to the interests of the native Church, and that they cannot yield without doing violence to their own consciences, and putting themselves in an altogether false position with the native Christians. They have accordingly deliberately excommunicated their own Bishop."

A PRAYER Union similar to an organization of the same name in England has just been established in this country. Its objects are thus stated :—

1. "The increase of personal religion and active zeal on behalf of others.
2. "The awakening of the careless and those living without God in the world.
3. "The formation of a bond of union between Christians at home and in India for the advancement of the Redeemer's cause, with special reference to the spiritual welfare of absent children and friends."

Cards of membership are circulated among subscribers ; these cards contain in detail the objects and plans of the Union, together with a list of

weekly subjects of meditation and prayer for six months. They can be obtained from the Secretary of the Union, Col. Anderson, Dehra Dun, N. W. P.

We cordially welcome any effort to bring Christians into closer sympathy with each other, and to promote their growth in the Christian life, and their efficiency in Christian work.

A LETTER most excellent both in spirit and matter has been addressed by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society to the native clergymen, one hundred and seventy in number, connected with the Society in its various missions. That part of the letter which refers to the relations of the native Churches with the parent Church we quote at length, with great satisfaction :—

"You are representatives of the Native Church. You and your Christian fellow-countrymen will always feel a fraternal and filial affection towards the Church of England, for through it you have received the Gospel of Salvation; but this does not necessarily mean that you will always be subject to it. The Protestant Episcopal Church of America loves the Church of England, and its members are mostly descendants of emigrants from England. But it is neither dependent on it nor subject to it. So in future years in China and Japan, and perhaps in India and elsewhere, there will be churches attached by affection to the Church of England, but neither depending upon it, nor subject to it.

"What I have just said refers to the future. At present many of you are supported by the Church Missionary Society, and therefore are bound by its rules. The rules of the Society require its agents to act in accordance with the laws of the Church of England, and as long as you receive the Society's money you are subject to the authority of the Parent Committee, exercised usually through the European missionaries.

"I need hardly say that the Parent Committee have no wish that this state of things should continue. They would far rather see you free from their control, in complete connection with the Native Church. They trust, therefore, that Native Church Councils and Native Church Committees, and whatever may tend to the development of the Native Church, may receive your warmest encouragement. It is by such means that every intelligent adult Native Christian is enabled to take his proper place as a member of the body of the Native Church, and, therefore, to help forward its prosperity."

THE *Indian Mirror* takes bolder ground on the Bible and school question than our educational departments. In a paragraph published since our last issue it says :—

"We always regret the policy of religious neutrality, which has excluded the scriptures of different nations, among others the Bible, from our educational institutions. The educational value of these works cannot be exaggerated. The Bible above all may be safely recommended to our school authorities. Even if the doctrinal or dogmatic portions of it were rejected, there would be enough left to afford life to successive generations of men."

The *Bombay Guardian* commented on this paragraph in a forcible style. As we certainly cannot improve upon what the *Guardian* said, we will quote its words as they were published :—

"Even the *Indian Mirror* fails to understand why the Indian Government should so determinately exclude the Bible from the public schools and colleges. If it were only on the ground of its educational value, the *Mirror* would have it taught. If the students in Government schools and colleges were to think about the matter, they would find it very singular that one entire body of ancient literature, and *that in some respects the most remarkable of any*, should be carefully excluded

from their curriculum. They would wonder why the book of Job, a poem unsurpassed for sublimity, older than the Iliad, older perhaps than any other work of antiquity that has reached us in its integrity, should be kept from them. It could hardly appear to them a reasonable thing that the collection of Hebrew psalms should be withheld from them simply because it is the praise of the one Supreme God, and not of a number of divinities, that is celebrated in them. Why the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, who has exerted such an indisputable influence on modern thought and modern society, should be singled out from all the teachings of antiquity, to be placed in the Index Expurgatorius of the department of public instruction, must be a mystery to them. Of course they who exclude the Bible from the course of public instruction in this country, do it on the ground that it would be an injustice to deprive the scholars of their ancestral faith and make them Christians. Two questions suggest themselves: 1. Does not the present course of study tend to destroy the faith of the scholars in their hereditary faith? 2. Does the study of the Bible necessarily make men Christians? Does it deprive men of their freedom? Does it not simply put men into a better position to judge what is truth? At all events this difficulty remains, that that which is acknowledged to be one of the most potent instruments of culture and of mental and moral development, is strictly banished from the studies of the Government schools."

THE "failure" of Indian Missions is a subject on which certain persons have so fully made up their minds that it is of no use to attempt to show them the true facts of the case. "There are no converts" to Christianity in India, says *Fraser's Magazine*. "The failure of the missionaries is indisputable." To these words, quoted in the *Unitarian Review* of Boston, the Rev. C. H. A. Dall, Unitarian missionary, Calcutta, answers:—"There are seven hundred thousand to eight hundred thousand baptized (Trinitarian) converts in India; and conversion is going on far more rapidly than it did around Peter and Paul." And there are few more qualified to give an authoritative opinion upon this subject than Mr. Dall. Being a Unitarian, he cannot be supposed to be in such sympathy with our missions as to be a prejudiced witness. Then he is one of the very oldest residents in India, and he annually travels over a large portion of it, from the Himalayas to the Nilgiris. Well, Mr. Dall characterizes *Fraser's* statement as "blind, impudent, and in flat contradiction of well known facts." We consider Mr. Dall's testimony of far greater weight, and less prejudiced, and more in accordance with the facts of the case than that of Brahmists, whose knowledge, as founded on their own experience, is very limited, and who, as a body, have shown no faith in, or knowledge of, statistics. It is, for example, impossible to obtain from them any correct idea of their own number. And they ridicule the statistics supplied by Government, even when founded on the most carefully taken census, in regard to their own body. What importance can then be given to hap-hazard statements like that of their organ, the *Indian Mirror*, of Nov. 10th last? Referring to the above controversy between *Fraser's Magazine* and Mr. Dall, and to the *Inquirer's* remark on it, that "the testimony of enlightened members of the Brahma Samaj" bears out the statement that the "nominal converts to Christianity do little credit to their profession, and that missionaries, with few exceptions, fail to command an influence among the intelligent Hindus", the editor of the *Mirror* adds:—"Without reflecting upon the missionaries, many of whom are most estimable men, we may safely say that in Bengal, at least, the number of conversions has shown a marked decline. The rise of the Brahma Samaj is no doubt a principal cause of this

“falling off.” We ask the editor of the *Mirror*, how can he “safely” write so confidently unless he has examined into the matter? If he has examined, will he favor the public with the facts which have justified him in making such a statement? We have before us the statistics of the Bengal Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, with which, we take it, the *Mirror* is as well acquainted as with any other mission in the country,—only we suppose he is equally ignorant of all. The Free Church Mission was established by Dr. Duff in Calcutta in 1830. In 1860 the number of those admitted from heathenism, on public profession at baptism, had amounted to 137, which gives on an average less than *seven* for each year. The number for 1860 was *nine*. The total for the next ten years (1860 to 1870) was eighty-seven, giving very nearly *nine* on the average. The eighth year since 1870 is not altogether out as we pen this, yet the total for these incomplete eight years is 149, which gives more than *eighteen and a half*, on an average, for each of these last eight years. Yet the *Mirror* “may safely say that in Bengal, at least, the number of conversions has shown a marked decline.” In the statistics of the Free Church Mission we have not included those of the Gopalganj mission, which is really a branch, or offshoot, of the Bengal Free Church Mission, and has been during its short history very greatly blessed in the number of its converts. Then, in addition to it, there have been other new missions in the field within the last few years: such as the English Wesleyan Mission, with its branches at Chitpur, Barrackpur, Dam-Dam, Raniganj, Asensole, and Birbhum; and the American Methodist Mission and its various branches. Both of these new missions have had very encouraging success. Then, again, we find that in 1850 the number of *communicants* was 3,371, in 1861 they numbered 4,620, in 1871 the number was 13,502. We refer, of course, to Bengal. The number of native Christians in Bengal in 1850 was 14,177; in 1861, 20,518; and in 1871 it was 46,968. We anticipate for the years 1871 to 1881 a still greater increase. Yet the *Mirror* “may safely say” that there “is a marked decline.” Missionaries may well triumph in such a decline. As to the character of the converts, as it is difficult to apply a test that will be regarded as satisfactory by all parties, we will not attempt any. But this much we will say—that of all people the Brahmists of Bengal ought to be the last to criticize. The proverb about those who live in glass houses throwing stones is a little too applicable to Brahmists at the present moment. Comparisons are odious, and we will make none. But a few little facts *might* be brought forward showing how very inappropriate at the present time are any criticisms from the Brahma Samaj on the character of native Christians. To say *et tu quoque*, however, proves nothing.

A sign of the times more interesting than hopeful we may discern in the starting of a new Anglo-Tamil paper at Madras. The paper is called the *Philosophic Inquirer*, and has now been in existence for about three months. It is secularist in religion, while it aims at being critical in philosophy and utilitarian in morals. Really it is but an echo of the *National Reformer* of England, and of the other utterances of Mr. Bradlaugh and his following. When we have said that, probably we have said enough to indicate its character. Still we insert a paragraph from a recent issue, as a specimen of what the new organ can say when it tries:

and this paragraph, we may add, is but a fair average specimen of its style. It is cut from an article on *Missionary Enterprise* :—

“ It is for the purpose of popularizing the mysterious, not to say ridiculous, dogmas of Christianity, mission societies have deputed men to preach in street corners the ‘good news’ or Gospels, often called by infidels ‘bad news’, to the folk that pass by, assuring them they are infallible truths, which, when questioned upon, they have the effrontery to proclaim as mysteries above common comprehension. The spectacle of itinerant preachers standing in street corners on benches and vociferously preaching, so that their bewailing voice, jarring even to pious ears, might draw the passers-by, with outstretched arms like the railway signal-post, with weeping faces aping their ‘God’s Lamb’ on the cross in attitude, has at least the comic effect of exciting the risibility of the audience and mocking their seriousness. And when the audience naturally give way to nature, and begin to laugh at the (to them) ridiculous posture and gestures of the preachers, they, in opposition to the proverbial meekness of their Lord, who when smitten on the one cheek turned the other also, furiously hurl foul anathemas, and damn them to hell for their unbelief and scoffing”, etc., etc.

The *Indian Mirror* greeted the new secularist paper in a paragraph which for its admirable tone and matter is well worth quoting here. We can only wish that the Brahminist paper would always speak as nobly :—

“ The first number of the *Philosophic Inquirer*, a weekly Anglo-Tamil free-thought journal published at Madras, has been sent to us. Its contents have startled us, for we never knew the number of free-thinkers in Madras was so large as to necessitate, or even to justify, the publication of a journal like this. The *Philosophic Inquirer* makes the English *National Reformer* its prototype, Mr. Bradlaugh its hero, and, if we are permitted to say so, Mrs. Besant its heroine. Positivism and utilitarianism form the religion and creed of the *Inquirer*. How far the Hindu, who is naturally religious, will relish the lucubrations of our contemporary, remains to be seen. To us the appearance of this journal is a mournful sign. We cannot sincerely say we wish it success, as courtesy demands that we should whenever a new brother starts up in the journalistic field, for its success would mean the success of atheism. As a foe, however, and an honorable foe, we hope, we give our contemporary a hearty welcome, and hope that the progress of true thought will lead to his disappearance in time, or, if he is to be born again, to his re-appearance as a devout, God-fearing, *Philosophic Inquirer*.”

THE *Indian Mirror* sees evidences in Calcutta society of a wonderful reaction against the process of “Europeanizing” India which has been supposed for some time to be in progress. In matters of religion, as well as in social usages, this tendency to go back to the ways of the forefathers now asserts itself. “Those who ran madly after English modes of life”, says the *Mirror*, “and swore they abhorred everything Indian, are now “re-establishing their faith and life in Orientalism with a vengeance.”—“There was a time when a decided preference was shown for flannel shirts and tight trowsers, but the old *dhuti* is winning back Anglicized renegades.”—“Everything that had the smell of Hinduism was at one time most repulsive to the English educated native, and he could not bear the touch of a Hindu book or a Hindu institution. But now we find even amongst the most advanced men a sincere desire to cull great truths from Oriental books, and conform to such Hindu usages as are pure.” The *Mirror* thinks all this is but the action of an inevitable law. It is but the swing of the pendulum to the other side of its arc.

We tried to get information from others as to how far the judgment of the *Mirror* was sustained by independent observation. The only fact reported to us was that the production of Bengali books had been of late

largely on the increase. This certainly is an important fact tending to corroborate the opinion expressed by the Brahmist paper. That such a movement should set in is most natural. Nothing can be more evident than that for a number of years a most artificial, and hence unnatural, style of life has been fashionable among our educated young men. Such tendencies are seldom permanent. Nature ere long asserts her sway.

THERE are, however, other considerations which make us slow to adopt — the *Mirror's* conclusions on this point, at least without caution. Outsiders have long noticed a tendency in the Brahma Samaj towards a modified Hinduism. It has seemed to some that the Samaj, acting on its chosen principle of eclecticism, was choosing those elements and doctrines of Hinduism which could be dressed up in such manner as to appear consistent with its monotheism, and which yet savored sufficiently of the old religion to attract Hindus to the Brahmist fold. Several such steps of apparent retrogression have been chronicled on our pages in years past. It would therefore be natural that the *Mirror* should be swift to notice and to encourage any tendency in Hindu society towards a return to the style of life practised by Hindus of a former day, since the Samaj, which it represents, is itself, or seems to be, seeking to incorporate into its own religious life so many of the ideas of Hinduism.

WE hope we are not doing any injustice to the Samaj in writing the above paragraph. But we really do not see how on any other theory of Brahmist development certain facts in its present aspect are to be accounted for. Take for instance the following extracts from the *Mirror* of a few months ago—just after the last Durga Puja holidays:—

"The great national festival of the Hindus is just over. Thousands and tens of thousands in all Bengal have offered their homage to the goddess Durga. Are we to fold our arms and remain indifferent to the spectacle? Or shall we with iconoclastic fury curse this idolatrous festival, and turn away with disgust and indignation from its impure doctrines and impure practices? Is there nothing good in the Durga Puja? Is it to be hated and shunned as an absolutely unclean thing? Or is there anything in it that we should love and honor, even we who are opposed to idolatry? The Brahmo may hate the falsehood which idol-worship involves, and the vices which generally accompany it, but he must humbly sit at the feet of the true Durga-worshipper and learn the truth and devotion which Durga Puja inspires. Justly has this festival been regarded as the highest and the greatest of all Hindu *pujas*. In other *pujas* only single gods and goddesses are adored; hence they are more or less sectional; and the benefits reaped are of a qualified character. But in the Durga Puja a great number of deities are adored, and a wider culture is given to the religious faculties and sentiments of the devotee. No less than five deities are introduced to the worshipper, and simultaneously adored by him. The figures represent Durga with Saraswati and Lakshmi on either side, and Kartic and Ganesh seated below. The Hindu in worshipping Durga, the chief deity, indirectly worships the companion deities as well, and is influenced by them all. Each of these deities represents a specific idea and inspires peculiar feelings and sentiments. Durga, or Durgati-Nivarani, means the Destroyer of Evil, and the name is given to the goddess who delivers sinners from sin. Durga Puja is thus nothing more than the worship of the Divine Mother, the Saviour of sinners. When the Lord enters the devotee's house, he always comes with true wisdom and prosperity. Hence on either side of Durga are placed Saraswati, the goddess of learning, and Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity. Kartic, the most handsome of all Hindu deities, represents beauty; while Ganesh stands for *mangal*, or true welfare. Spiritually interpreted, this would

mean that the Lord comes always with beauty in his countenance and benediction in his hands. The only other figure is that of the Asura vanquished and prostrated by a lion. This evidently represents the almighty Saviour as destroying the animal propensities of man with the power of grace acting with a lion's might. The whole picture there is the picture of human redemption wrought by the motherly tenderness of the Lord, who comes with wisdom, happiness, beauty and welfare into the devotee's heart and subdues sin with his almighty grace."

We may be wrong in thinking so, but it is our decided opinion that the *Mirror* would not have written in this way a few years ago. Its tone of late towards Hinduism has been always apologetic, sometimes approving.

THE name of new papers just now is legion. We chronicle the birth of at least five since our last issue, besides the *Philosophic Inquirer*, mentioned above. The *Dharam Darpan* is to be published by the Baptist Mission at Monghyr, Bengal: it will be printed in double columns of Hindi and Roman Urdu, for the special benefit of native Christians who read those languages. It is to be issued monthly, and each number will consist of about 24 pages. The price is Rs. 3 per annum. The projectors of the work do not propose to begin it unless they receive a sufficiently large number of subscribers to justify them in doing so. These we hope they may secure, if they have not already. The paper will contain—

"Original articles on Bible subjects of general belief among all Protestant people; outlines of theological questions of use to preachers; skeletons of sermons will be included, as well as hints, how best to present the truth, as it is in Christ, to the people, and how to meet the objections of Hindus and Muhammadans. There will also be interesting selections from English periodicals, and a summary of missionary news, &c."

The enterprising publishers of the *Lucknow Witness* have begun to publish a monthly supplement to their paper, called the *Monitor*, which will contain the evangelistic matter appearing from time to time in the columns of the *Witness*. Five copies monthly are to be furnished at the very low rate of Rs. 1-8 per annum. It is hoped that many will avail themselves of this opportunity of getting cheap supplies of attractive reading matter, for wide distribution. Of papers which are not distinctively religious in their character, we may mention first the *Bombay Review and Indian Advertiser*, a well-written weekly published in Bombay. It gives especial prominence to the political questions of the day, particularly as they affect India. Its tone and spirit is excellent, its literary style good, and every way it promises to be a paper well deserving the highest and best success; and so long as it is conducted in its present fashion we hope it may have such a reward. We rejoice to welcome another among the very few Indian papers whose voice on the moral aspects of present political questions is so unmistakably correct. It will, we trust, prove a useful ally to the very outspoken, and very honest, and, as we believe, very correct *Statesman* of Calcutta.

The *Deccan Star* of Poona and the *Weekly Reporter* of Surat are the result of the Vernacular Press Law—an Act which irreverent mortals speak of as the "Gagging Act." As the provisions of that law render the free expression of opinion in the vernaculars of the land risky business, the proprietors of these papers have resolved to shelter themselves under the ægis of the English tongue. Their utterances will not probably be any the more lamb-like on that account. We can only hope that, while freely criticizing, as occasion may arise, the policy of the Government,

and exposing what they consider wrong and unjust in it, they will succeed in doing so in a calm and temperate manner, avoiding those distorted and prejudiced views and that bitterness of expression which so unfavorably distinguish some of the English papers edited by natives of India.

All of these new enterprises have our best wishes for success.

MISSIONS IN OTHER LANDS.

THE Presbyterian missionaries in SIAM held their annual meeting at Bangkok in the latter part of October last. We notice with much satisfaction that in the judgment of the missionaries their work is in quite a prosperous condition. Besides Bangkok, where there are three or four missions sustained by as many different agencies, mission stations have been established at Petchaburi, about 75 miles south-west of Bangkok; at Bangkabun, where there is a colony from the Petchaburi church; at Chiangmai, among the Laos, several hundred miles north of Bangkok; and at other towns in the vicinity of Bangkok. At all these stations growth and progress,—slow it may be, yet actual and visible,—were reported.

A SAD occurrence is reported from the very ends of the earth, from a mission field perhaps less known than almost any other,—an occurrence sad not only in itself, but doubly so when considered in connection with that to which it led. Nearly a year ago, in April or May of 1878, in the island of NEW BRITAIN, a party of native missionaries supported by the Australian Wesleyan Missionary Society were murdered by a party of cannibals and their bodies eaten. So far as can be learned, the outrage was wholly unprovoked, as it was unexpected. The region where it occurred had been explored by one of the victims of the sad tragedy, and the people seemed desirous of receiving the Christian teachers. They went, a party of four—the native minister who had explored the region, two native teachers, and another, a Fijian, in what capacity we do not know. After the murder of this party, the chief who had ordered it planned also the destruction of the widows and children of his victims, but in some way failed to carry out his bloody plan. We imagine that dread of the new religion lay at the root of the outrage.

Mr. Brown, the superintendent of the Mission, after consultation with the other white inhabitants of the island, came to the conclusion that an expedition was necessary to avenge the death of the Christians and to teach the natives better manners. He accordingly headed such an expedition himself. The savages were taken by surprise; the towns whose inhabitants had participated in the outrage were burnt. At least twenty (we have seen a larger number stated) of the savages were killed. The number killed includes several women, though the native members of the avenging force had been specially warned against killing non-combatants. It is said that the expedition was successful, not only in avenging the *death of the murdered men*, but also in establishing peace on a firm basis; *that the savages expressed their sorrow for what had occurred*, that *Mr. Brown assured them of the forgiveness of the missionaries, and their*

desire to live hereafter in friendship with them. Another teacher was asked for and promised, and the expedition returned.

At this distance, and in ignorance as we are of all the circumstances of the case, we cannot judge Mr. Brown. His conduct is defended strenuously by the foreign residents who acted with him. He himself considers it to have been a necessary act of self-defence. A vicious and dangerous spirit had been excited in the breasts of the savages by this outrage; they were like lions that had tasted blood; they needed a lesson, and Mr. Brown gave them one. It is still to be seen if his dealings with them have not aroused in their minds a spirit of revenge and hatred as dangerous as the cannibal fury which he sought to eradicate. Public opinion in Australia sustains him. While most deeply regretting that a missionary should find himself placed in circumstances where a policy so wholly contrary to the spirit of the Gospel should seem necessary, we must also express our grave doubts as to its probable success in restraining the passions of the savages. We cannot judge; but neither can we approve.

NEW BRITAIN, we may state, in case any of our readers have not their maps before them, lies north-east of Australia in east longitude about 150° to 155° , and in latitude 2° to 6° south. The nearest Australian port is Brisbane, which is due south, at a distance of over 1,500 miles. The mission to which the murdered men belonged was established by the Australian Wesleyan Missionary Society about three years ago. Mr. Brown is the superintendent, and the staff of missionaries associated with him are almost or wholly natives of the Fiji and Tonga Islands. Although the murder took place, as we have said, in April or May of last year, it was not known in Australia until the latter part of September. Our readers will doubtless remember the item, which appeared in the newspapers shortly after that time, stating that a party of Wesleyan missionaries in *New Zealand* had been killed and eaten. How the mistake originated we do not know. New Zealand we trust has got well beyond the cannibal state.

THE Papists of MEXICO seem to be rather more fiery than those of any other country. A few years since, a Protestant missionary was murdered by a mob of Romanists, hounded on by Romish priests. An American paper of last November gives an account of another scene of violence at the town of Atzala, a few miles from Puebla. It was the bloodiest onset yet made by the Catholics against Protestant missions in Mexico. Twenty-six Protestants were slain by a crowd of infuriated Catholics. "The rage of the people", says our authority, "seems to have been excited by the rapid growth of Protestantism, and the mission house at Puebla, where Brother Drees [the missionary in charge] resides, was attacked by a mob of fifty men, but they were soon dispersed by the troops." The priests were at the bottom of this outrage too. They had fulminated at the Protestants from their pulpits; the streets also were placarded with incendiary documents, probably through their instrumentality. The President of the Mexican Republic, General Diaz, though not himself, we are told, a believer in Christianity, is a believer in religious liberty, and shows a commendable desire to ensure the enjoyment of it to all persons and sects. It is probably owing to him that the Puebla mission has not ere this been

utterly exterminated. It is said that the people of the state of Puebla are more superstitious than in any other of the Mexican states, and that the task of ensuring religious liberty is therefore more difficult there than elsewhere. A liberal infusion of Protestant ideas will ultimately heal the difficulty which now they have occasioned.

THOSE of our readers who care enough about the matter to refer to the back Numbers of this *Review* will find at page 374 of the Number for April last, and at p. 514 of the last July Number, a little discussion which we had with the Foreign Secretary of the American Board with reference to the educational policy of that society in TURKEY. It will be noticed that we appealed to Dr. Hamlin, who has been styled "the father of education in Turkey", to see how far his opinion bore out that of the authorities of the American Board on the question at issue. His reply, which we here subjoin, will be read with interest:—

"MR. EDITOR: In your Number of July, 1878, you ask me how far residence near Constantinople unfits 'students for usefulness in other places.'

"I would say in reply that this depends mainly upon individual character. Human nature is everywhere substantially the same. In our own country some young men are ruined for life by going to a city employment from a country home, or to a great university. The same result will follow, although, I think, in a less degree, at Constantinople. The students are under a far more watchful care. But all along the path of life there are those who do not endure temptation. Would such men be very useful anywhere?

"But while some fail on entering upon the new temptations incident to a city neighborhood, others are fitted for the highest usefulness. Some of the most useful and able co-workers in the Harpoot, Vaisereh, and Aintab fields have been graduates of the Seminary at Bebek. The honored pastors at Nicomedia, Broosa and Adabazar were from that institution. Baron Zenope, the lamented teacher at Aintab, was a city boy and educated at the Bebek Seminary. He was there converted. Having a remarkable genius in chemistry and natural science, he was offered a situation in England which thousands of dollars could not procure for a common man. He replied that he had covenanted with God to spend his life in teaching his poor ignorant nation, and he deliberately, firmly, though tearfully, turned his back upon one of the most brilliant offers ever made to a young man in his circumstances. He took in preference a place of poverty and hard work, in which he soon wore out his noble life.

"The graduates of Robert College are widely scattered over the empire, and they generally seem ready to go where there is anything to do. It is the half-educated man that dares not leave home. The *Missionary Herald* for July notices the fact that the chief agent in promoting the revival in Marsovan, Asia Minor, is a graduate of Robert College. Previous to the late war, so destructive to Bulgaria, the graduates of the College were to be found in many parts of Bulgaria as teachers. But that most young men would prefer a good place at the capital to a poor place in the interior is probably true. But such places are rare.

"The chief reason for removing the Bebek Seminary to Marsovan was to inaugurate a new system of education wholly vernacular—foreign languages, literature and science excluded. It was thoroughly tried there and at Harpoot. It produced great dissatisfaction and much bitter feeling, and was finally abandoned. The preparatory studies at Harpoot and Marsovan are just about what the preparatory studies at Bebek used to be, or probably even more extended. The experiment will probably never have to be repeated.

"C. HAMLIN."

We think that this letter shows that the fears entertained by the American Board's Deputation in 1855, as stated by Dr. Clark at p. 514 of our issue for July last, were groundless.

OBITUARY.

THE Church Mission in the Southern Presidency has been sorely afflicted during recent months. Three of its missionaries have fallen at their posts : Ellington, Fenn and Baker ; and Mrs. Sharkey, widow of the late Rev. John Sharkey, has also passed away, in a ripe old age.

It is now beyond our power to do more than chronicle the death of these faithful laborers ; save that in the case of Mr. Fenn we can give a few extracts from a small pamphlet published just after his death, a copy of which now lies before us, showing the manner of man he was.

David Fenn was born at Cottayam, South India, in 1826, and, we may believe, inherited from his father, Rev. Joseph Fenn, C.M.S., his missionary ardor. He was educated at Cambridge, where he took his degree, in double honors, in 1849. After two years' work in London, he entered the service of the Church Missionary Society, and arrived in India in September, 1852. He was assigned in 1854 to the North Tinnivelli itineracy, which had been planned by the devoted T. G. Ragland ; and in company with Mr. Ragland and the Rev. R. R. Meadows he entered at once on his appointed duties. The work was hard and trying—often discouraging. Sickness and death once and again broke in upon the little band of missionaries. Fenn was obliged to seek health in travel ; he went to Ceylon, to Mauritius, and later to Calcutta. In Ceylon he is said to have been instrumental in founding the Tamil Cooly Mission ; he strongly, and not without effect, urged that a similar mission should be established in Mauritius. In 1864 the Committee invited him to return to England, partly to consult with him on mission plans, partly that he might see his aged parents.

Returning in 1867 he was appointed to the itineracy around Madras. Of this work he says :—

"It maintains a witness for Christ over a considerable tract of country round Madras, which, but for it, would be almost entirely neglected by the Christian Church. In former years efforts were made in various ways by different societies to branch out from Madras, but they have been all but abandoned. We are now taking up the torch which has been dropped by our predecessors, and striving to light up the gloom and darkness of heathenism, and to re-kindle, if it may be, impressions which have been made, but will die out if not revived. It deserves, too, to be borne in mind, that, in thus making a special effort to reach the village community round Madras, we are aiming at what would appear to be the most vulnerable part of Hindu society. At all events it is the part which has yielded the largest accessions to the Christian Church."

For a few months in 1871 he was Acting Secretary to the C. M. S. in Madras ; and he became Joint Secretary with Rev. J. Barton in August, 1872. In March, 1875, he again visited England, returning in December of the same year to his post at Madras. Says the pamphlet referred to :—

"Besides discharging the duties of Secretary, Mr. Fenn was also an active member of the committees of the Tract and Bible Societies. He took a hearty interest in every good work, receiving the visits of Hindu gentlemen, and helping the new Madras Native Christian Students' Prayer Union. He was ever ready with a word in season for all of every rank with whom he met. On Sundays he took services sometimes in Tamil and sometimes in English, and his blameless life had a wonderful attraction even with worldly men, and none could be with him without feeling the reality of the things of which he spoke."

He had already suffered from several attacks of what the physician termed "strangulated bowel", and during the last rainy season he had an attack of fever, from which he soon recovered. On Sunday, October 13 he participated in the public services of the day, preaching in the forenoon and reading prayers in the evening. On the next day, also, he seemed as well as usual. That evening he was indisposed and unable to be out. On Tuesday, October 15, a committee of missionaries of which he was secretary was to meet at his house, to make arrangements for the proposed Missionary Conference at Bangalore, next June. The members of the committee assembled as appointed, but found Mr. Fenn lying on the couch, in great pain. The physicians had been with him; yet they hoped to be able to meet the committee later in the day. At two o'clock the disease had so far progressed that the physicians, in consultation, decided that a surgical operation alone would save life; but before preparations could be made it was evident that the patient's strength had too much declined to admit of it. Towards night he added a codicil to his will and listened to the reading, by one of his colleagues, of a few verses from the book of Revelation. We quote the words of Rev. R. Stephens, Chairman of the Wesleyan Mission, who, with others, was with him:—

"Soon after six he was lifted from the couch, on which he had been lying, to the bed. The medical men had now given up all hope, and it was evident the end was near. Major S. Clarke, the Rev. William Stevenson, and Mr. Pringle, were standing with us near our dying friend. He spoke two or three times for some moments consecutively, but I was not near the bed and could not catch all he said. He seemed engaged partly in exhortation and partly in prayer. Once I heard the words, 'My dear friends, I trust you are all ready.' Presently, in a voice singularly clear, he asked, 'What time is it?' and, on being told, went on to say, 'About two years ago at this time my dear mother yielded up her spirit to the Lord. Again his voice became indistinct, but presently I heard him say, a peaceful and even joyous look irradiating his face, 'God be merciful to me his servant, and 'bless me.' These were the last words I could distinguish. Two minutes after this prayer had escaped his lips, the spirit of our brother had joined the blessed company of the saints made perfect."

We close our notice of this good and faithful servant of the Master with an extract from a sermon preached at Utacamand after his death by the Rev. H. Pope:—

"I cannot close this sermon without placing my humble wreath of tribute on the grave of one who a few months ago stood where I now stand, and who on Sunday last was preaching in Madras. Mr. Fenn was an eminently holy man, as a man who were in his society for only a short time could not but feel. He gave very good abilities, sanctified by unfaltering devotion, to his Master's service. He is the last, but not the least, who has given his life for the good of India. He was bright and cheerful Christian, always rejoicing; and whatsoever things were put before him he thought on these things. Gladness and goodness were exemplified in him, and no one could read the account of his last hours which has appeared in the newspapers without wishing he were like him, in character and in experience, in life and death. 'Let me live the life, and die the death of the righteous, and may my last end be like his.' 'Mark the perfect man and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.'"

We acknowledge with thanks receipt of the following Reports since the publication of the last Number of the *Review*:—

The Seventeenth Report of the United Presbyterian Mission in Rajputan
1878.

Fiftieth Annual Report of the Bombay Tract and Book Society, presented March 28th, 1878, for the year 1877.

Twenty-second Annual Report of the Colportage Operations carried on in connection with the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society for the year 1878.

Report of the Bangalore Tract and Book Society, with a Catalogue of English Vernacular Publications, for the year ending September 30th, 1878.

Report of the Bangalore Bible Society, an Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for the year 1878.

The Nineteenth Annual Report of the Rangoon Missionary Society for the year 1878.

The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Burmah Bible and Tract Society for the year 1878. With the Treasurer's Report, etc.

London Missionary Society, Madagascar. Report of the Madagascar Mission for 1878.

ART. VII.—BOOK NOTICES.

THE FAMINE CAMPAIGN IN SOUTHERN INDIA. Madras and Bombay Presidencies and Province of Mysore. 1876-1878. By William Digby, Honorary Secretary of the Indian Famine Relief Fund. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1878. Two Vols. Pp. 515, 492, 8vo.

If the fearful famine of 1877 was unhappily distinguished above other famines which have desolated India by reason of its wide-spread severity, it is also remarkable for another reason,—it is, so far as we know, the first and the only visitation of its kind that has been made the subject of a historical work. Both as the editor of a Madras daily paper, and as Honorary Secretary to the Committee of Relief which did so much in the Southern Presidency to alleviate the distress caused by the famine, Mr. Digby was exceptionally well qualified to undertake the work of preparing this history; while, by the courtesy of Lord Lytton and the Duke of Buckingham, materials were placed at his disposal, from the use of which he greatly profited, and which in his preface he gracefully acknowledges.

The history before us embraces, in its two handsome and well printed volumes, the whole course of the last great Indian famine, from the time when, in the middle of 1876, the rains failed, until, in 1878, the famine was declared over, honors distributed, and the survivors of the famine left to take care of themselves. The geographical divisions of India over which the famine spread its desolating sway suggest the principal divisions of the work; and the history of the famine campaign is traced first in the Madras Presidency, then in that of Bombay, and finally in the native state of Mysore; while a supplementary chapter in Vol. I. alludes to the distress in Northern India, which did not, at least in the official eye, assume the magnitude and importance of a famine. This fills the first volume; the second takes into consideration questions generally connected with the progress and treatment of the famine, which required more extended and thorough discussion than could be allowed them in the course of the narrative. Private charity forms the subject of the first five chapters of this part of the work; and the efforts made in India, as well as in England,

Scotland and the colonies, to raise money for the stricken millions of India, are related in detail. The "one-pound ration" controversy occupies four chapters. The discussion, somewhat acrimonious in character, between Sir Richard Temple and Dr. Cornish, the Sanitary Commissioner of Madras, is given, not indeed *in extenso*, but in a condensed form, though with very copious quotations from the voluminous minutes of the Famine Delegate, and the scientific replies of the medical officer. The whole will well repay reading, both by those who like sharp writing, and by those interested in the scientific aspects of the case; but the question, we regret to find, Mr. Digby considers himself obliged to declare as still unsettled. Medical opinion, we may note, supported, with tolerable unanimity, Dr. Cornish as against Sir Richard Temple. The work of the Indian railways in transporting grain to the famine districts—"Free trade in Famine Times"—relief camps—village relief and village agency, are other subjects discussed in the successive chapters of the second volume; while grouped together under the head "Miscellaneous" we find short discussions on emigration, the condition of the weavers, seed-grain, and prickly-pear as food for cattle, on all which subjects Mr. Digby gives us much information. In his discussion on the mortality due to the famine Mr. Digby felt the disadvantage of writing so soon after the events which he narrates occurred. Time enough has not elapsed, as Mr. Digby himself observes in his preface, to enable a proper history of the famine to be written. And though Mr. Digby, by his industry, and with his exceptionally good facilities for knowing what was done, and for collecting information, has written a most useful book, especially when regarded as a storehouse of facts, he has been unable, on the question of mortality, as well as on some other topics, to sum up results, and to give well reasoned conclusions founded on the facts.

The work as a whole is one for the statistician, the political economist, the statesman and the philanthropist. It bristles with facts and statistics. It is a work which has cost its author vast labor, and which will be of the utmost service to public men in India and to students of social science everywhere. Its value to the general reader, from the necessities of the case, is not so great. Yet it contains many pages of thrilling narrative, and we venture to say that any one who may sit down to its perusal, while he may wish to run hastily through some of its chapters and to skip some of the drier discussions, will yet find his attention caught and his interest excited by many of its less technical details. Mechanically the book is all that could be asked, except perhaps in respect of its illustrations, of which only a very few are given; to these we can hardly award the highest degree of praise, though the engraving, in Vol. II., entitled "Forsaken", copied by permission from the *Graphic* newspaper, is certainly true to fact, and vivid enough in its details, whatever may be said of it as a work of art. An illustrated history of the famine would have been incomplete without one picture of this horrible kind. We are glad that the author and publishers had the taste to resist the temptation to insert more; a temptation, we may be sure, to which too many would have yielded. A couple of well and clearly drawn maps afford material aid in elucidating the text of the work.

If in the future Indian famines—which, unhappily, we must make up our minds to expect from time to time—are not successfully met and

grappled with it will not be the fault of the author of this work. Every famine administrator for years to come will owe him a debt of gratitude ; and it is not too much to say that thousands, whose lives may hereafter be preserved by means of the knowledge which he has made accessible, will have cause, though they may not know it, to bless the memory of William Digby.

THROUGH ASIATIC TURKEY. Narrative of a Journey from Bombay to the Bosphorus. By Grattan Geary, Editor of the *Times of India*. With a Map and Illustrations. London : Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington. 1878. Two vols. Pp. 339, 356, 8vo.

MR. GEARY has done very much more than write a book which, like many works of travel, is merely entertaining. His book indeed is exceedingly entertaining ; but it is also very instructive and, at this juncture of events, very useful. It might be said to be the result of a train of fortunate circumstances. It is fortunate, for more reasons than one, in its author, and fortunate in the time at which it was given to the world. At any other time, it would have commanded attention as a book of travels through a region none too well known, of more than ordinary interest, and manifesting literary and descriptive abilities of a high order. But just at this time, when the fate of the Turkish Empire is the great question of the day, and when anything about Turkey, good, bad or indifferent, is pretty sure to find readers, a really good and well-written account of a journey through that empire will go far to make the fame of its author, and perhaps his fortune too. Among Mr. Geary's qualifications for his task, not the least is the fact that he is the editor of a Bombay paper, and therefore not only well acquainted with, but also deeply interested in, everything affecting Bombay interests. Now the development of that part of the Turkish Empire of which Baghdad is the capital, and the Persian Gulf the natural outlet, affects Bombay very intimately. Hence an exceedingly valuable part of the work before us is that in which the author describes the districts we have mentioned, and shows the manner in which they might be developed.

Mr. Geary's route was first by steamer from Bombay to Baghdad. There he paused to visit Kerbela and other famous Musalman shrines, as well as the ruins of Babylon and the supposed Tower of Babel, and other remarkable spots in that centre of antiquarian interest. Then, on horseback,—a mode of locomotion adopted rather from necessity than from choice,—he proceeded by way of Mosul (Nineveh), Mardin, Diarbekir, Oorfa and Aleppo to Alexandretta, where he again took steamer and accomplished the remainder of his journey to Constantinople as he had begun it.

The style of the narrative, the graceful and often humorous manner in which all the incidents of travel and adventure are recorded by Mr. Geary, will be sure to excite the interest of the reader, and if he takes up the book with high anticipations he will not lay it down with disappointment.

Mr. Geary is a firm believer in the possibilities of the Turkish Empire ; and in holding this belief he is undoubtedly correct, though it may be questioned if *this confidently expected development will be attained though the agency of the Turks themselves*. The land itself is rich with *undeveloped resources*, but the resources of the government and of the

people—the moral and intellectual force available for beginning and carrying forward a new work—are at a very low ebb. Turks like Midhat Pasha and Kadri Pasha, Governor-General of Baghdad, are rare enough.

In conclusion, we may quote a few lines from the last page of Mr. Geary's book—a book, let us repeat, every way worthy of, and sure to repay, careful perusal :—

“A great future awaits these magnificent provinces, which have so long lain fallow after centuries of boundless prosperity. Already the evidences of a slow revival are visible. It does not, I think, require the gift of prophecy to foretell that in a few years the whole face of the country will be changed, and that the traveller who makes his way from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean will not see it, as I have seen it, with the desert visible from the minarets of the most populous cities, and wild Arabs and wilder Kurds making every league of the road picturesque but unsafe.”

A SKETCH OF THE MODERN LANGUAGES OF THE EAST INDIES. By Robert N. Cust. London: Trübner & Co. 1878. Pp. 198, 8vo.

THIS seems to be a tentative effort to systematize, and thus to afford means of enlarging, the existing knowledge of the subject of East Indian Philology. “It occurred to me”, writes the author in his introduction, “that it might be of use to others to publish in an arranged form the “notes which I had collected for my own edification. Thus the work “grew upon me. . . . I invite corrections, as I seek for accuracy : “I look for scientific and practical suggestions, on the chance of a second “edition being required.” A second edition, we are sure, will be required. The field of view covered by the book is immense ; including not India merely—though that, one would think, were a field sufficient in extent and variety for a much larger work than this—but also Tibet, Burma, Siam and adjacent lands, and the islands of the sea from Madagascar to Formosa. The languages of this vast area are divided provisionally, upon presumed ethnological affinities, into eight families—Aryan, Dravidian, Kolarian, Tibeto-Burman, Khasi, Tai, Mon-Anam, and Malaya. Each of these families is treated in due order, and divided and sub-divided into its appropriate branches, languages and dialects. Within the limits of a small book the languages, whose name is legion (the author gives at the end a list of 243 languages and 296 dialects arising from them), must each be content with a very small space, and with an exceedingly condensed description. Thus, the description of the Hindi, which is doubtless the most important language spoken in India, fills only about five and a half pages ; while Tamil, which is spoken of as “a strong vernacular, not likely to be “supplanted”, is despatched in a page and a half, and Canarese in less than a page. Marathi, the leading tongue of Western India, has three pages, and Bengali two. In the case of each language the effort is made to give, succinctly and accurately, the boundaries of its field, its condition as to literature and development, and an enumeration of its dialects with the distinctive features of each. The relations of the different languages to each other are not pointed out with as great distinctness as might be desired. As a basis for future and more extended investigation, and as a summary of facts already ascertained, this book, small though it is, will be prized by all scholars of Eastern languages. It is unpretentious *in plan*, and, so far as we are able to judge, accurate in detail. Since it

Only professes to be the result of notes hastily jotted down in the course of private study, and afterwards slightly elaborated, it would not be fair to judge of it as one would of a book more highly wrought. It is useful as it stands ; in later editions it may be made develop into a work of the utmost importance. Two language maps which accompany it add much to its value.

MINOR NOTICES.

MR. BUDDEN, of Almora, N. W. P., preached a sermon, which has been published, and a copy of which we acknowledge with thanks, before the United General Committee of the Kumaon and Garhwal Missions, on the "Alleged Failure of Indian Missions." The trouble with all such tracts and sermons, as we have more than once pointed out, is that the persons who ought to read them with the most care are the very ones who most diligently seek to avoid them, and will on no account look at them, even if they be thrust upon their attention. Mr. Budden's argument, which is supported by numerous instances drawn from sacred history, and might also be profitably illustrated by well-known illustrations from a general history, is, (1) that "delay, or even seeming failure, in the work of God, "is no proof either of the unfaithfulness of the workmen, or the unwisdom "of their plans." (2) That their apparent failure is often only apparent, not real. (3) That, "whether the failure be apparent or real, it is foreknown "and arranged for in the plans of the great Ruler of the kingdom." (4) That "seeming temporary failure and defeat are sometimes essential to "final complete success." And lastly, by way of "improvement", as the old sermonizers used to say, "That absolute success in the work of "Christ means, for us, absolute and cheerful conformity with all his "arrangements." A most excellent and convincing discourse.—*The Coming Mission*, is a sort of an apologetic sermon, preached by the Rev. Luke Rivington, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, last November in Calcutta, "in reference to the proposed Mission for the week beginning "February 23rd, 1879." A "mission", as we need hardly explain, with Mr. Rivington, and High Churchmen generally, is only what a "revival of "religion" is with non-Episcopalians. And it seems a little strange that Mr. Rivington should have found it necessary to preach such a sermon as this, of which the object seems to be to remove misapprehension and to allay prejudice. A "mission", he explains, is not a mere party movement, although its plan would exclude all who do not believe in apostolical succession ; nor is it a time of unwise excitement, nor a mere adventure and experiment, but a combined effort to win souls to God. The sermon is one with whose object all can sympathize, and with the sentiments of which there need be difference of opinion on only one or two points.—*Our Mission to the East* is the substance of an address delivered by Rev. W. Fleming Stevenson, the energetic Convener of the Irish Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committee, at the General Assembly of that church last June. As Mr. Stevenson had then just completed a tour of observation through the mission fields of India and China, he was peculiarly well fitted to utter words

alike of wisdom and incitement, such as we find in this stirring address.—Another little tract which we only wish could be got into circulation among those who need it most is *The Unreasonableness of Brahmaism*, being the third and enlarged edition of a letter to Babu K. C. Sen, first published in 1870. Its title is unfortunate, as it will surely repel the persons whom the author of the tract seeks to influence; the writer is a native of Bengal, and in his attack on the Samaj he does not spare hard blows, nor hesitate to call a spade a spade. The leading doctrines of Brahmaism are examined one by one and subjected to a searching analysis; we know of no other publication, save Dr. Dyson's tracts on *Brahmic Dogmas*, in which this work is attempted; and here it is not only attempted but done, and done well. A little less of the tone of controversy would have improved it.—Two or three political pamphlets have been sent us. First comes a *Blacker Pamphlet*, or an attempt to explain the severity of the late famine and the causes of the poverty of the Madras ryot. The author is a member of the Bengal Civil Service—Mr. H. A. D. Phillips. He believes that the answer to the question he sets himself to answer is to be found in "the abuse of the ryotwari system", and its remedy in a permanent settlement. He seeks to write without wrong animus; he hopes to elicit criticism, and a fuller statement of facts; acknowledges the possibility that he himself has erred; and finally blames no person, but makes "that abstraction called the Government" the scapegoat. The subject—one for the statesman and political economist—we cannot enlarge upon, but commend this pamphlet to all who are engaged in the study of such questions.—We have also, though it is rather late to notice it, the *Report of the Proceedings* of the second public meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall to protest against the Vernacular Press Act. In this meeting our friend Mr. Macdonald, of the Scotch Free Church, took a prominent part. This is a thing which we notice with the more pleasure, as we sometimes see on the part of missionaries what we consider an unworthy shrinking from all duties and scenes which are merely political; as if preachers moved in a higher circle, and could not stoop to meddle with mundane things. In one sense this may be so; but does a missionary cease to be a man, a citizen and a subject, when he becomes a missionary? As to the meeting itself, and the action which it took, it failed, as we all know; and everybody knew it would fail before it was held. But that made the holding of it no less a duty, nor the things which were there said and done less important to the well-being and the liberties of India.—The *Quarterly Journal* of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha has reached its third issue. Strangely enough, one of the articles in this—the January—Number undertakes a subject so foreign to the purpose of the publication as the refutation of Dr. Shoepfer's theory of the fixity of the earth. But the publication, on the whole, is well kept up.

THE INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

No. XXIII.

APRIL, 1879.

ART. I.—MISSIONARY METHODS.

HOW far do the instructions of Christ and the example of the Apostles furnish a rule for our guidance as to the method of evangelizing the nations?

At last, nearly all Christians are happily agreed that the work of evangelizing the nations has been thrown by the great Head of the Church upon his people. On *à priori* grounds one might suppose that the Lord, who gave his Church a commission of such vastness and difficulty, would also give them instructions so definite as to leave no room for error or hesitation, in any circumstances that might arise, throughout the course of world-evangelization. But *à priori* reasoning is not always reliable. There are parents who have preferred, for their children's good, to throw them largely on their own resources. There are merchants who have wisely given trustworthy agents in distant places large discretionary power; and if it should appear that Christ has seen fit, after imposing the task and stating concisely the great end to be reached, to leave considerable latitude to the successive generations of his servants *as to methods of labor* we need not be surprised or alarmed. That considerable latitude of method has been exercised even by Bible-loving Protestants can be easily shown, and one object of this Article will be to justify the exercise of such latitude.

Our Saviour promised before his departure (John xiv. 26) that the Father would send the Holy Ghost, and that he would teach

the disciples all things, and bring all the things which he himself had said to their remembrance. In John xvi. 7-13 he assured them that it was expedient for them that he go away, in order that the Comforter, the Spirit of truth, might come. He would convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. He would guide them into all truth. He would show them things to come, and he would *abide with them for ever*. (xiv. 16.)

Besides the two Bibles spoken of by a popular lecturer and philosopher,—that of Revelation and that of Nature,—there is a third, the Bible of Church history and Church experience, gathered little by little under the help and guidance of the blessed Comforter. It is possible, certainly, that as to methods of working—not in religious doctrine or ordinances—God may have designed that the first Bible should be supplemented by the third. We are venturing, it may be said, into dangerous waters, but there is absolutely no danger to the humble believer who knows and shuns the false lights of Romanism and mysticism.

In order, then, to frame a proper answer to the important question at the head of this Article,¹ let us first carefully examine the directions given by Christ to the earliest missionaries, and then the methods of labor pursued by the inspired and grandly successful Apostle to the Gentiles.

In the tenth chapter of Matthew we have the instructions which Jesus gave to the Twelve when he first sent them forth on a preaching and wonder-working tour. The substance of their preaching was to be, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." The Gospel had not then been wrought out, and of course it could not be proclaimed in its fullness, as it was afterwards proclaimed by the same company (less Judas) and Paul. Looking at the methods prescribed by the Master, we see again that the time had not come for free expenditure and unrestricted efforts for the salvation of all. They were not to go into the way of the Gentiles, nor to enter into any city of the Samaritans. The middle wall of partition had not yet been broken down by the death of the Lord. Therefore they were to go only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. They were to heal the sick, cleanse lepers, and cast out demons, as well as to announce the near approach of the kingdom of heaven. They were to provide no

¹ Instead of restricting the meaning of the word 'evangelize,' as is sometimes done, to the work of conversion merely, or even to the mere cursory proclamation of the Gospel, whether men are converted or not, the writer would prefer to enlarge its meaning so as to include the giving of Christian schools to a converted people, and all else that is needful to make them a steadfast, growing and aggressive body. No land, surely, is "evangelized" until Christian institutions are planted on a sure foundation, and native churches, pastors and teachers are forthcoming to carry on the work of God *effectually at their own charges*.

gold, silver, or brass in their girdles. They were to take not even a bag for their journey, nor a second coat, nor sandals, nor staff. (Mark would seem to allow the last two.) They were going on a brief and temporary mission to their own people, in their own land. "The laborer is worthy of his hire", *i.e.*, the Master bids them live upon those to whom they were sent. They were not to go from house to house, as Paul seems to have done (cf. Mark vi. 10, Luke x. 7, and Acts xx. 20). In case of rejection they were to shake off the dust from their feet, for a testimony against them. It need hardly be said that all these directions are at variance with the ordinary practice, necessary and right, as we believe, of modern missionaries, as well as of Paul himself.

Verses 16 to 23 contain important instructions for the more permanent exercise of the Christian ministry. The ministers of Christ are to be wise as serpents and harmless as doves; they are to expect hatred and persecution, but when brought before rulers for Christ's sake, as they will be for a testimony to them and *to the Gentiles*, they are to take no anxious thought how or what they shall speak, for the Spirit will assuredly speak through them. When persecuted in one city they were told to flee to another, because the speedy coming of the Son of man for the destruction of the Jewish capital and nation was certain.

The Seventy were afterwards sent forth with nearly the same instructions (Luke x. 1-16) on a similar mission; but, as they were to go into every city and place whither Jesus himself would come, it is probable that some of them went to the regions beyond Jordan, and others to the cities of Samaria. At all events, the prohibition in Matt. x. 5 is wanting.

Although the instructions above considered were mostly of a temporary character, designed for the two missions sent forth prior to the accomplishment of the Saviour's decease and resurrection, they must always have a solemn and sacred interest to every follower of the Lord. We may also derive from them at least four principles of a permanent character:—

(i.) The earnest missionary should not encumber himself with superfluities and luxurious appointments, neither should he be unduly anxious as to supplies on the one hand, nor be above accepting, on the other, the humble fare or the gifts offered by the poor for his support.

(ii.) He should endeavor to combine the winsome gentleness and meekness of the dove with the traditional shrewdness and wisdom of the serpent.

(iii.) Utterly fearless of man, he is to derive comfort and strength from the assurance that Christ, by his Spirit, is with his servants always, even to the end of the world.

(iv.) In the perpetual scarcity of Christian laborers, it will

be wise for him to give his life to those who desire his services and evince a grateful appreciation of his message, if such can be found among the unevangelized.

A study of the record of Paul's life and labors will show that he acted upon the above principles, while he habitually disregarded all that was local and temporary in the first instructions to the Apostles and the Seventy. The burden of Paul's message everywhere was Christ crucified and the resurrection. At the same time, judging from the contents of his epistles, as well as from the reports of his discourses in the book of Acts, his preaching even to the heathen, and unbelieving Jews, must have been characterized by a fullness and completeness of doctrinal statement unsurpassed before or since.

On his arrival in a strange city, his custom was to go to the synagogue, which was both a place of Jewish worship and a school, and offer a free salvation through the atonement of Jesus Christ to the people of his own nation. Afterwards, when by a rejection of his message they had judged themselves to be unworthy of eternal life, he was accustomed to turn at once to the Gentiles.

While he sometimes interrupted his evangelistic labors, more or less, to labor for his own and his companions' support, he always maintained the right of the preacher to live of the Gospel, and he often accepted substantial aid from his brethren, as from the church at Antioch (Acts xiii. 3, 4; xv. 3, 40) from the church at Philippi (Phil. iv. 10, 14-18), and probably from others. He made long and expensive journeys by land and by sea. He hired houses. He had assistants to maintain. He must have suffered the loss of all his personal effects repeatedly by shipwreck and robbers. There is reason also to believe that he was benevolent almost to a fault. For those times, therefore, he must have expended large sums of money, and he must have carried considerable sums with him, as well as that cloak and a small working library.

The Acts of the Apostles has well been called the missionary's *vade mecum*. The missionary turns to it again and again for precedents and modes of procedure in new and trying circumstances. But, invaluable as it is, we are often struck with its historical incompleteness, even as a record of Paul's missionary labors. It gives a brief account of three only of his missionary journeys. Besides his shipwreck on the way to Rome, we know from 2 Cor. xi. 25 that he was wrecked at least three times. From the same passage we know that, besides the beating by Roman magistrates at Philippi, he was beaten by the Jews forty stripes save one on five different occasions, not one of which is recorded in the Acts; and so of most of his sufferings as an apostle of Christ, which he recounts to the Corinthians. The book of Acts gives *specimens only* of his labors and his hardships.

Again, we observe that the experience of the apostle Paul was incomplete as a model, in that it does not include labors for the evangelization of any illiterate tribe, so far as the record goes. With the possible exception of the Galatians and the people of Melita, his labors for the Gentiles were uniformly among peoples more advanced in civilization and culture than the Jews. In all foreign missions to-day the exact reverse of this is true. The book of Acts contains no account of Andrew's mission to Scythia, nor of a mission to any strictly illiterate people. Tradition tells us that Thomas preached successfully to the natives on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. Some 200,000 Syrian Christians, so-called, in the same region, still claim him as the founder of their churches, but of the methods pursued by him we have no knowledge. If they were an absolutely illiterate people, like the modern Karens, the Nagas, or the Kakhyens, and if it is allowable to conjecture what an apostle would do in such circumstances, is it unreasonable to suppose that Thomas would have thought it worth his while to reduce their language to writing, and establish schools for the study of the sacred books?

Paul was sent forth indeed to preach the Gospel, and preach he did, with a tongue of flame; but he also healed the sick, cast out devils and raised the dead. He instructed his assistants. He sewed tents for a living. He had an eye to the navigation of the ships he sailed in, and when cast ashore in Malta he was not above gathering sticks to feed the fire for a company which he had very evidently saved from a watery grave. As we shall see, he was far from confining his attention to the heathen. He aimed not to build on other men's foundations, but having, by the grace of God, laid foundations of his own, we see him returning again and again to his spiritual children, writing letters to them, sending messengers, and endeavoring in every way to confirm and build them up in the faith of the Gospel. Supposing that he had been permitted to baptize twenty thousand Scythians, the present number of Karen church members; supposing that, with a glimmering faith in Christ, they had, like the majority of the Karens, a fixed belief in evil spirits and a great fear of them; supposing, in fact, that the fear of ghosts and witches quite surpassed their fear of sin; supposing too that he was convinced, as we are, that, besides a careful and systematic study of the Word of God, the study of God's works and laws in nature was absolutely necessary to eradicate these childish and sinful superstitions, would Paul the practical have felt that the teaching of natural science was beneath him, or that the employment of a devout and thorough teacher of those sciences was a wrong or unworthy use of Christ's money?

But, incomplete as the book of Acts was undoubtedly de-

signed to be, a careful study of it will tend, we believe, to correct the popular idea of what the ideal missionary's work should be. We observe, then—

(i.) That, with great singleness of purpose, the model missionary Paul's labors assumed a great variety of form. He often served as a physician. He pleaded his own cause again and again as a skilled lawyer. He was a master tent-maker. He could advise intelligently as to the navigation of a ship in severest stress of weather. More wonderful still, in the hour of wreck, when discipline is thrown to the howling winds, and the selfish, cowardly demon that lurks about every man leaps upon him, and impels him frenzied to seek physical safety for himself alone, at the price of manhood, at such an hour the poor foreigner, a prisoner too, successfully assumes control of a panic-stricken company of hundreds, and, by the blessing of God, brings them, every one, safe to land. At a time of the greatest distress from famine in Judea, Paul organizes a system of collections in a distant land, and personally conveys the relief across seas and lands, through perils and dangers, to the relief of his famishing brethren. He evinces on a hundred occasions the highest powers of administration and government.

(ii.) If we mistake not, there appears to be in the present age a disproportionate interest in the work of multiplying converts over that of promoting their Christian culture. This appears to be true both with regard to the work at home and the foreign work. The number of baptisms is too generally accepted as the measure of success. Is this a healthful sign? Are we likely, under this policy, to build up churches which shall abide in strength like the oak for centuries, or churches weak, unstable, and likely to perish in a night, like the prophet's gourd? Has this tendency the sanction of Paul's example?

We find that he seldom baptized himself. "Christ sent me "not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." He also thanks God that he baptized none of the Corinthians but Crispus, Gaius and the household of Stephanas. At Iconium, where Paul and Barnabas abode "a long time", they so spake (xiv. 1) "that a "great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed." At Derbe (xiv. 21) they preached the Gospel and "made many "disciples." At Thessalonica (xvii. 4) Paul preached three Sabbath-days in the synagogue. Some of the Jews believed, and of the devout Greeks (proselytes) "a great multitude, and of the "chief women not a few." In Berea (xvii. 12) many of the Jews "believed, also of honorable women which were Greeks, and "of men, not a few." At Corinth (xviii. 8), where Paul continued a year and six months on this occasion, teaching the word of God, "Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the "Lord with all his house; and many of the Corinthians hearing.

“believed and were baptized.” These are the most remarkable instances given of large numbers believing at the hands of the apostle. The record does not state usually whether they were baptized or not, but, as churches were formed in those places, it may be fairly inferred that most of those who believed were ultimately baptized.

The addition of three thousand in Jerusalem at Pentecost (Acts ii. 41) is evidently represented as miraculous and altogether exceptional. In verse 47 of the same chapter we read that the Lord added to the church *daily* such as should be saved; and some time after—just how many days is a matter of conjecture—the whole number of believers, as commentators understand the passage, is reckoned at about five thousand (iv. 4). Twenty-five years or so after this, at the time of Paul’s fifth and last visit to Jerusalem (the spring of A.D. 59?) we have an indication of the number of the Jewish disciples. Probably it is James who says to Paul (xxi. 20), “Thou seest, brother, “how many thousands (lit. *myriads*) of Jews there are which “believe.” Hackett, referring to 1 Cor. iv. 15 and xiv. 19, says, *myriads* “stands for a large but indefinite number.”

Aside from the miraculous ingathering at Pentecost, there is little or no evidence in the Acts or the Epistles of what may be called wholesale baptisms. For the most part, after Pentecost the growth of the apostolic churches seems to have been comparatively slow and healthful. Any estimate of the number of Paul’s converts during the twenty-eight (?) years of his ministry, must be almost pure conjecture. About thirty cities are mentioned in the Acts as visited by him, including Jerusalem, Damascus, Cesarea, Tyre, Rome, and others in which churches were previously existing, also Arabia and the provinces of Phrygia, Galatia, Mysia and Illyricum, besides the islands of Cyprus, Crete and Malta. Epistles to seven of the principal churches or groups of churches are preserved. Merely from intimations given in those epistles and the Acts, we know that there was the church in Rome, the church in Corinth, the church at Cenchrea, the churches of Galatia, the church at Colosse, the one at Laodicea, the one at Hierapolis, the church of the Thessalonians and some others. The churches at Ephesus and Philippi numbered each several bishops or elders, and they may have been, strictly speaking, groups of churches in and around those cities as centres. It appears to be probable, therefore, that the churches founded by Paul himself were at least two or three score, while his own immediate converts would seem to be numbered by thousands, but hardly by myriads.

It is to be especially noted that in all the instances that are given in the Acts of baptism immediately after the first hearing of the word, as the eunuch, Cornelius and his friends, Lydia and

her household, the jailer and his house at Philippi, and the great multitude of devout Greeks and of the chief women mentioned in xvii. 4, 12 (if they were immediately baptized), the candidates were intelligent persons, nearly all of whom had long worshipped the true God sincerely and were familiar with the Scriptures, and they always seem to have given abundant evidence of genuine conversion and faith in Christ. It is also not to be forgotten that the rite was usually administered either by an inspired apostle, or under his direction.

Is equal care and discrimination used in the reception of members to-day, in our missions on foreign shores and in our churches at home?

It is hardly becoming for the writer to call in question the policy of his brethren (Baptists) in other mission fields. As a Karen missionary, however, he may be allowed to call attention to well authenticated facts in his own field. It is the unanimous judgment of missionaries in Burma that the Toungoo Karen mission has suffered severely from precipitation in baptizing. In eight years ending in January, 1862, over 6,000 illiterate mountaineers were baptized and formed into self-governing churches. Of these, the well known Karen preacher Quala baptized 1,860 persons in one year and nine months. Rev. Mr. Whitaker baptized 233 in the month of January, 1857. The event has proved that far too little time and strength was given to the instruction of candidates before baptism, and that too little time and discrimination was used in the examination of candidates for baptism. We do not at all question that it is as easy for the Almighty Spirit to convert multitudes in an instant of time now as it was at Pentecost, when the cruel death of Jesus and his astounding resurrection, with all the attendant miracles, were facts still fresh in every mind. But we are at a loss to see how, day after day, any uninspired men, however wise and devoted, can ascertain whether a saving work has been wrought or not in thousands, or hundreds even, of those who were lately degraded idolaters. Nor can we forget that the Spirit ordinarily works through divine truth imparted to the mind of the subject, and that the more ignorant the subject the greater will be the slowness and difficulty of imparting the saving truth.

The character of the work in Toungoo has been tested by the lapse of twenty-five years. Many were truly converted, and many prematurely baptized have been since renewed, as we trust. With one consent all confess to the greatest ignorance at the time of their so-called conversion. Quala used to carry a curious staff wherever he went, and many supposed it to be an object of worship, or at least an instrument of some occult and supernatural power. When Mrs. M—— entered upon her work *of division*, she carried with her nearly or quite one-half of the

churches. Many unblushingly took the position that "if Mamma M—— went to heaven, they would go to heaven; if she went to hell, they would go to hell." The work of recovery has been slow and painful. Before it is completed a missionary of the S. P. G. enters into the dissension. Wise in his generation, he yields to their preference, and baptizes by immersion over six hundred in a single year,—mostly, it is believed, from these deluded flocks and their children, and the end is not yet.¹ If the Baptists in Burma have not learned that it is the part of wisdom to make haste slowly in building up the kingdom of God in a heathen land, it is not for want of a most instructive and costly lesson.

(iii.) We observe that after some success had attended Paul's labors, and churches had been formed, the apostle's first great care was the discipline of the churches and their confirmation in the faith. Besides his external trials, he speaks in 2 Cor. xi. 28 of "that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches." He met this, the heaviest of his responsibilities, by personal re-visitations, by the deputation of trustworthy assistants, as Timothy and Titus, and by the writing of elaborate and weighty epistles.

The heroic apostle to the Gentiles was not lacking in love for the heathen, but his proposition to Barnabas on the eve of his second missionary tour was simply this (xv. 36), "Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do;" and shortly after (verse 41) Paul and Silas "went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches." We next find them among the disciples at Derbe, Lystra and Iconium. On the same journey he lays the foundation of the churches in Galatia, Macedonia and Achaia. He was forbidden by the Spirit to speak the word in Asia and Bithynia. He passes by Mysia; he merely passes through Amphipolis and Apollonia. As a rule, whenever active and virulent opposition was aroused, he passed on to other fields—not from personal timidity, of course, but under the guidance of the instructions and the Spirit of Christ.

Again he starts out on his third missionary journey (xviii 23), and goes over "all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples." He spends the greater part of three years in Ephesus, where Apollos and Priscilla and Aquila had labored so earnestly. He re-visits the Christians in Mace-

¹ The late Bishop Milman was responsible for this intrusion in the first instance. It is difficult to see how he could reconcile this action either with the Pauline principle of not building on other men's foundations, or with the principles of comity and non-interference which have been generally adopted and observed by missionary societies. Can it be that the venerable and powerful Society for the Propagation of the Gospel finds it easier and also more politic to make proselytes than converts from the heathen?

donia twice, including his favorite church at Philippi, and tarries three months in Corinth. Indeed, with the exception of his preaching tour to Illyricum, almost the entire time of this journey, which lasted about four years, was spent among the Christians, either in labors for them or for their heathen neighbors.¹

Follow him on his homeward way, preaching till midnight to the disciples at Troas; addressing the Ephesian elders at Miletus in the most affecting terms; tarrying seven days with the brethren at Tyre; saluting the brethren at Ptolemais, abiding with them one day; and thence to the hospitable house of Philip the evangelist at Cesarea, where he is constrained to tarry "many days", and thence to the ancient disciple Mnason's house in Jerusalem. Yes, brethren of the home societies, if your missionaries are to follow the example of Paul, "the model missionary", they will have to visit and revisit the native Christians. They will have to give them line upon line, and precept upon precept. Their nights as well as their days will have to be given to anxious thought, to prayer, to loving rebuke and tearful warnings. And, if they have Paul's warm and loving nature, they will get a great deal of comfort and strength from them in return. If they do not get this encouragement they will soon lose heart, we fear, for work among the hardened, disgusting and easily disgusted heathen.

We will rejoice with the Christians of America that the ten thousand converts so recently received in the Ongole district sincerely desire Christian instruction, that they have put themselves and their children into our hands for instruction, and that they hope in some way to receive salvation through the mystic name of Jesus. The fact remains, however, that a tremendous responsibility has been assumed by the Baptist churches of America, through their missionary representatives. Let cautious pastors, who shake their heads doubtfully over the baptism of one or two hundreds of their own neighbors and brothers after a series of revival meetings, think for a moment of what has been done. How many intelligent American candidates can a church, or a church committee, properly examine in a day? Yet the action of these honored brethren has been universally endorsed and applauded. It has thus become the action of their home supporters. But

¹ A careful examination from Acts xi. 19, where the history of foreign missions begins, to the end of the book, shows that 147 verses relate to labors on behalf of Christian disciples, 134 to labors on behalf of Jews and proselytes, and 94 only to labors for the heathen; 20 verses more relate to labors for mixed companies of Jews and heathen, while the remaining 210 give the account of the apostle's journeys, etc. If this proportion of verses can be held to indicate a like proportion of time, Paul and his companions would appear to have given about three times as much time and labor to the worshippers of the true God—Christians, Jews and proselytes—as to the idolatrous heathen.

how much wise and patient labor and instruction must be required to reduce that great mass of baptized ignorance, superstition and poverty to Christian intelligence and manhood! God grant that the Baptist denomination in America may be filled with so solemn and just a sense of their responsibility in this matter that they will at once send forward wise pastors and teachers enough to complete the work begun, and thus to save those multitudes of immortal souls from relapsing into a state of moral ruin worse than the first!

(iv.) We find that Paul was accustomed to return often to the home-land, and to spend much time among the Christians who sent him forth. His first missionary journey had been confined to Cyprus, (the latest acquisition of Christian England) and the provinces of Asia Minor, adjacent to his own native Cilicia. He returned from this tour, which occupied about two years, in A.D. 47. Hardships he had endured, but his constitution had not been undermined by a tropical climate. Yet it is written that on his return to Antioch, after calling the church together and rehearsing all that God had done with them for the Gentiles, "they abode there long time with the disciples." Perhaps the good brethren in Antioch were not as anxious as they should have been for the salvation of the Gentiles, for we do not read that any of them felt constrained to ask Paul why he had come home, or why he remained hanging around there so long. True, he attended the important apostolic council in Jerusalem in A.D. 50, but it is not until 51, four years after his return, that he starts with Silas on his second missionary tour.

Again, in the interval between the second and third missionary tours, he lands at Cesarea, goes up and salutes the church at Jerusalem, and then returns and spends "some time" with the dear Christians at Antioch. That these intervals of rest and communion with the parent churches in Syria and Judæa were as necessary for the information of those churches, their pastors and the other apostles, and for their thorough enlistment and education in evangelistic work, as they were for Paul's own health of mind and body, there can be no doubt. And, although ocean-travel is expensive, there is as little reason to doubt that occasional visits home are equally necessary and beneficial to the foreign missionary and his supporters to-day.

Paul writes to the Corinthians that "it pleased God by "the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe"; but, as we have seen, he did not content himself with mere preaching. He did not consider his work done when he had baptized a company of believers and organized them into a Christian church. *He looked after them, corrected their faults, prayed for them, and would fain have supplied them with everything*

needful to make them steadfast, intelligent and aggressive Christians. But his means were limited. The appliances of the age were poor and cheap, and the apostle's life was short. Even before his death he was greatly distressed by the machinations of false teachers, and by the prophetic view which he had of grievous wolves entering in and devouring the flock. John, writing the book of Revelation about thirty years after Paul's death, gives a sad picture of five of the seven churches in proconsular Asia. Notwithstanding the solemn warnings and entreaties then given by the august Alpha and Omega himself, we know that those churches, and in fact all the churches for which Paul and the other apostles labored personally, became first corrupt, and finally most of them extinct. Their candlesticks were removed out of their places, because they repented not at that voice which was as the sound of many waters. Thousands—yea, myriads—of individual souls were saved beyond a doubt in those communities, but as churches they were easily divided and led astray by false spirits, and they proved not to have the power of healthful self-perpetuation. How much more speedy their dissolution if their founder had given less time to the Christians, and more to superficial work among the heathen!

Is it presumptuous to suppose that something was wanting in the apostolic methods, or in their time, which Providence and the divine Spirit in these later times have supplied? During these last eighteen centuries has God been at work with his people, according to his promise, or has he not? Have the history and experience of these sixty generations some divine lessons to teach us, as well as the Acts of the Apostles, or not? Are the modern ideas of system, organization and universal education, of God or of the Spirit of evil? If of God, are they unworthy of a place in evangelistic plans, especially when those plans look towards the conquest, not of the narrow Roman Empire, but of all continents and islands under the sun,—a conquest to endure, not for a generation or two, but for all coming time?

Looking back over eighteen centuries of Christian life and progress to-day, we see that Christianity abides in purity and strength, in perpetual and perpetuating power, only in those lands where Christian education has prevailed side by side with the stated preaching of the Gospel.

At the famous Caxton exhibition, Henry Stephens, the bibliographer, gave a catalogue of nearly one thousand editions of the Bible, or portions thereof, that were published in Europe between 1450, the date of the invention of printing, and 1492, the year of the discovery of America. The revival of learning and the *waking up* of all Europe followed almost immediately. This is *the appointed work* of the Word of God. It is the hammer, *breaking flinty rocks in pieces*; a two-edged sword, quick an

powerful, dividing asunder the joints and marrow ; a lamp giving heavenly light to all in the house.

Nations, the world over, are strong, intelligent and great just in proportion to the closeness of their approach or adherence to Bible religion *and* the general diffusion of education. The weakest and most grovelling races of the world are the fetish worshippers of Africa ; the next, perhaps, the *nat* or demon worshippers among the aboriginal mountain-tribes of Asia ; the next, the castes of idolatrous Hindustan from the lowest upwards ; the next, the Buddhists of China, Burma and Ceylon, who have, along with their idolatry, a superior moral law and a somewhat general system of rudimentary education ; the next, the fire and sun worshippers of Persia ; the next, the Muhammadan nations ; then, far in advance, the Greek and Roman Catholic countries ; last and highest, the Protestant nations, Germany, England and the United States, to which, if the signs fail not, republican France may soon be added. In these last are centred the hope of the world, and the predominant, ruling power of the world ; and that predominance over other countries and races is steadily increasing rather than diminishing.

In free America, the same fathers who built the big white meeting-house in the centre of the town built the little red school-houses in every district, and paid their modest subscriptions to the infant college on the Charles. We exult in the belief that it is the Bible and the God of the Bible that have done such great things for us. It is through the quickening influences of God's Word that we have attained our freedom, and, in common with other Christian nations, our superiority in the arts and sciences. More directly still has the Bible given us our systems of education, and made education well nigh universal among us. Our ancestors considered it a shame that any child in a Christian land should be unable to read the Word of God, and the common school system and compulsory education were the consequences of this conviction quite as much as of political exigencies. A highly educated ministry was regarded as indispensable, and therefore the older colleges in the United States, as well as the ancient colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, England, were all of them established and made perpetual by endowment, directly in the interests of the Church. All of them from early times were schools of liberal learning, and as such they have been maintained, mainly by the churches and Christian men, in the interests of the Church and vital Christianity down to the present time.

Why, sons of Issachar, should we not expect the same demand for light and *learning* to arise in every pagan land where the *Gospel finds a footing*? Without such a demand could we be *satisfied with the Christianity* of our converts? And why should

not the Pauls who have been the messengers of God for their conversion also feel a care for their further enlightenment and establishment in the faith? And why should not Americans in the West, who have enjoyed aid from the East in their educational enterprises, and the men of the East, who still enjoy the incomes of the Hollis and other funds given to their colleges in early days by noble English merchants, and by the royal bounty itself, both unite in helping to establish similar institutions in the far East, for the lasting benefit of their own spiritual children?

The writer is not insensible to the deplorable fact that a large proportion of the highly educated in Christian lands make shipwreck of their faith, if faith they ever had. In this respect the parallel between learning and the Gospel is perfect. To some it is the savor of life unto life, to others of death unto death. Shall we then desist from preaching and teaching? Nay; are we not rather to continue, with a solemn sense of the responsibility that rests upon us, to offer these two best gifts of heaven, salvation and culture, to all within our reach, beseeching them to accept and use them wisely in the fear and love of God? Thus we do in Christian America, and thus, it seems to the missionary, it would be right and wise to do in Burma, just as far and fast at least as it becomes Christianized. We believe most firmly with another that "all truth is God's truth; that "when we learn any truth of any science we are learning that "which God has established," and, we may add, that which he has pronounced "very good." We believe that there is nothing to fear, and much to hope, from the devout study of nature. We believe that the truths of science, which are simply the facts and laws of nature stated clearly and arranged in an orderly manner, are adapted by the Creator himself to the cultivation and elevation of the human mind everywhere, and that this knowledge should not be withheld from the children of God in any land.

But another objection is raised, and urged again and again, even by the most intelligent and hearty supporters of missions:—"Schools are good, but we read nothing about their establishment in the New Testament. The commission runs, "Preach the Gospel to every creature. We are bound to do "that. But let the native Christians educate their own children; "we cannot afford to do it for them."

Let us consider this position carefully, brethren. If every method and device not found in the New Testament is to be repudiated in our Christian economy, where we shall end I know not, but we must begin by dispensing with our missionary societies, both home and foreign, male and female, as well as with Sunday-schools and young men's Christian associations. Secretaries and salaried pastors, rented pews, and organs, bells

and tea-meetings must follow. The missionary to New Guinea, or U'nyanyembe, or the upper Yangtze must omit the usual "out-fit," and if he carries a purse at all it should be an empty one. The distribution of tracts also, the building of meeting-houses and of mortgages thereon, must cease for want of a Scriptural precedent.

We look in vain—do we not?—in the teachings of Christ or his Apostles for an explicit denunciation of human slavery, polygamy or war. Total abstinence from the use of intoxicants as a beverage is nowhere commanded, although Paul announces what he himself was ready to do for his weak brother's sake. Jesus wisely contented himself—did he not?—with establishing certain broad and eternal principles, which, under the help and guidance of the Holy Spirit, involved the ultimate abolition of those three or four and still other giant evils. How, then, can we justify ourselves in inferring from the absence of positive precept and apostolic example that we are exempt from the expense and labor of establishing Christian schools for the enlightenment of our converts in heathen lands?

Christian teachers at home do not hesitate to inculcate on all who marry the duty of monogamy, nor to urge the emancipation of the slave, the cultivation of peace, and the practice of total abstinence, because in the progress of the *Christian* world those things have been found both necessary and possible, and they can be fairly inferred from the general principles of Christianity. Neither do we hesitate to say that as schools were found necessary in the earliest historical missions to barbarous peoples, so now, in our missions to the Karens at least, Christian schools of learning, somewhat liberal, not exclusively sacred, are an absolute necessity.

Ulphilas, missionary bishop to the Goths in the 4th century, reduces their language to writing and translates the Scriptures for them. Fuller calls Bangor and Cae'rleon, in Wales, "the two eyes of the British church for learning and religion" in the 6th century. The latter had a college of 200 philosophers studying astronomy; the former a monastery of 2,100 monks, divided into seven classes. *Columba*, with his Bible school at Iona, and his disciples going forth to save the Picts, the Scots, the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, and the tribes in many parts of Germany and the Low Countries, is not to be forgotten; nor *Boniface* and others going forth from the monasteries of Britain and Ireland in the 7th century to convert and enlighten the German nations. Nor should we omit to mention the missionary college founded by *Abelard* on the banks of the Weser in the 9th century.

The Karen Christians, entering on their second half-century of Christianity, demand schools in which they can obtain a

thorough Christian education. They will labor hard to secure them. We, their missionaries, knowing the necessities of the case, dare not refuse to help them. Because Cotton Mather in the 17th century shared their belief in Satanic possessions and witchcraft, and because it has taken two centuries to produce the present schools and colleges of New England, we, who live with you and with them in the last quarter of the 19th century, see no reason why they should be left in their slavish superstitions and grovelling ignorance. Neither you nor we would wish to have them follow the churches of Asia Minor to perdition, within a century or two of their conversion to Christ.

But what shall be said respecting the terms of the great commission? We understand with Paul that preaching the Gospel to every creature involves something more than the mere cursory proclamation in the streets and bazars of a heathen city that the Son of God has died and risen again for sinners. "Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" includes in its meaning, as we understand it, that whatever is essential to the development of a perfect Christian manhood in individuals, or of a perfect, self-supporting, self-perpetuating organism in the Christian community, is to be supplied to the evangelized, if possible. A method which should leave them a prey to false teachers, or not half freed from the bonds of ancient superstition, or a method which should baptize the parents and leave the children to grow up in abject ignorance, superstitious atheists, or worshippers of their own bellies, would not, to our minds, satisfy the demands of the great commission. Their own resources are to be drawn upon first, of course. If insufficient, foreign help is to be sought to secure the following:—

(i.) Facilities for the thorough and comprehensive study of the Holy Scriptures and Christian theology. (Deut. vi. 6-9; xi. 18-21; 2 Tim. ii. 2; iii. 15-17.)

(ii.) In accordance with the unanimous experience and judgment of Christian men in New and Old England, to the above must be added a somewhat liberal course of secular studies, at least for their spiritual and temporal leaders. (Proverbs, *passim*; Phil. iv. 8; 2 Pet. i. 2-8.)

In conclusion, we will briefly re-state our present views on the somewhat burning question of schools in foreign missions. We fully believe, in accordance with the great body of the Baptist denomination, that God has ordained the direct preaching of the Gospel to be the chief instrument for reaching and saving men in the first instance. We cannot believe that schools are needed to prepare the way for the reception of the Gospel, *nor* have we sufficient proof that they are adapted to that work. *When by preaching* (in which we include all forms of direct

personal effort for the salvation of individuals) men have been converted and made church-members our work is only begun. To secure a stable and aggressive church the native Christians and their children must receive the enlightenment and discipline which can be imparted in no way so well as in the Christian school.

There are few if any missionaries who would not gladly give themselves more entirely to the great work of preaching and laboring directly for the conversion and sanctification of men. But how are they to do it? So few are the men sent forward that one Karen or Burman missionary only can be allowed to a territory equal in extent perhaps to New Hampshire or Massachusetts. Each man is one hundred miles or more away from his nearest brother laboring for the same people. The consequence is that the burden of all kinds of work presses upon them with crushing weight. The one man must care for the churches and the heathen. He must do a little for the education of the children of the Christians, and for the training of preachers and school-teachers. He must have a house to live in, besides a chapel and school-houses. If the Christians practise self-help, he alone can be trusted with the accounts and the money for general uses.

Your preaching missionaries, bishops *in partibus infidelium*, long to give themselves to their more legitimate work; but, to enable them to do this, the educational work and secular affairs must be committed, as at home, to a special class of men and women, who have a taste, a fitness and "a call" for that work. There are such men at home in abundance. Would it not be the truest economy to send them out? Thus could we hope to see healthful progress and aggression in all directions.

No plan suggested by Dr. M. B. Anderson is to be passed by without thoughtful consideration. As we understand the resolution which he offered at the meeting of the American Baptist Missionary Union in Cleveland, Ohio,¹ the vitally important ends which he seeks would be attained by the appointment of a few thoroughly practical Christian *teachers* (not theologues),—ingenious men, well up in the sciences and their applications,—men able to adapt themselves to new surroundings, and whose life it is to *teach*. Let them come out and undertake the training of our Christian youth in industrial or technical schools of a

¹ "Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to inquire into the expediency of sending to the East intelligent Christian laymen, practically trained in commerce, farming and the mechanic arts, who shall be charged with the duty of instructing native Christians in various branches of industry, with a view of making them better able to support their pastors and schools, and generally in becoming more efficient agents in economic production."

thoroughly religious character, and, with God's blessing, we should within twenty years have a type of Christianity in Burma that modern Asia has yet to see,—churches composed of devout and intelligent Christians, self-supporting, aggressive, attracting the heathen around by their prosperity and their moral superiority, and thus winning them to Christ by indirect influences as well as by direct efforts.

Before the college comes there must be a positive demand for it; that is, there must be pupils with an aptitude for study and prepared for a somewhat advanced course. There must also be a desire for education on the part of the native Christian body so pronounced that they will exert themselves, self-moved, to establish schools in their own villages and stations, and *sacrifice* for their support.

Some years ago the writer advocated in the *Missionary Magazine* (March, 1874) the immediate gift to the Karens out and out of a college fully equipped and endowed, at a cost to American Christians of \$200,000 to begin with. Exercising the right of advancing years, he has since changed his views very materially. He now believes that the initiative should have been taken by the people themselves. Not until they had done what they could themselves should the helping hand of foreign aid have been extended. The poorest can do much, if their hearts are fairly enlisted. They must be taught to do this, or the gift from without will be little prized and of less use. The writer could hardly regard as Christians converts who were not willing, after suitable instruction, to sacrifice heavily to secure the benefits of a Christian education for their children; nor would he advocate the giving of time or money for the education of others. But given a people already converted to Christianity, with an eager desire for the strengthening and refining influences of Christian education, and a willingness to sacrifice to the utmost to secure these influences, and he can conceive of no more hopeful field of labor, nor can he conceive of a louder call of duty than the call to aid them in attaining the grand object of their aspirations.

The native Christians having done what they can for the education of their children,—and that need not be a little,—it will become the *duty* of their spiritual parents to furnish that which is lacking. The writer is an American of the Americans, and he knows well the average degree of comfort and wealth in American homes. He also knows full well the miserable living and the deep poverty which generally prevails among the native Christians and other people in a heathen land. To say that it is the duty of the Karens or the Telugus, for example, to furnish all that their children need in the way of education now is *mockery*. For the present, and probably for the next generation, *they cannot do it*. Left to their own unaided efforts they can-

not rise to the plane which they ought to occupy. Instead of being a guide to the blind heathen, and a light to all the land, old superstitions scotched but not killed will surely revive in the old or a new form; doctrinal errors and false teaching will arise; outbreking sins and general defection and apostasy will follow, until the last estate of those communities will be worse than the first. The native Christian reprobate is invariably a more hopeless case by far than the heathen.

We cannot leave these our children to themselves with a cool commendation to God and to the Word of his grace. For we cannot deny that "bearing one another's burdens" is not our privilege merely, but "the *law* of Christ" (Gal. vi. 2). We are to labor to "support the weak" (Acts. xx. 35, and 1 Thess. v. 14) and "the parents ought to lay up for the children" (2 Cor. xii. 14). This relation and duty is recognized as subsisting between the poorer and richer members of the same family or community. It is also recognized between the older and newer communities of the East and the West. Why, then, should it not be recognized as subsisting between ourselves and our poorer kindred in Christ in the far East?

It is good policy, too, for us to help these our children on to their own feet, and to give them a start in life. Statistics prove that common schools afford the best security against crime. Both crime and pauperism recede at the approach of knowledge. Superstition too, false doctrine, and, what is even worse I sometimes think, that utter lack of spiritual discernment,—that stolid bestiality almost—of unlettered Asiatic men and women, who have done nought for generations but toil and moil with their cattle in the mud and water of the rice-swamps, are dispelled by the refining and quickening power of Christian schools. How, without at least one school for higher learning, are the Karens ever to have a literature of their own? or, having a literature, who will ever use it? How are they ever to become acquainted with God through his works in nature, and the laws of nature which he has ordained? How are they to be lifted up to intelligence, health, wealth and power? How are they to gain leaders of their own, and be freed from perpetual dependence on the American missionary and his supporters?

To borrow Abraham Lincoln's phraseology about government, we say that an educational institution, to do its legitimate work successfully for any people, must be not only *for* the people, but *of* the people, and *by* the people. A college is not a thing to be built to order and placed on the first hill-top one comes to. It must have roots and grow from the soil in which it stands. An institution for a strictly jungle people, whose graduates we hope to prepare for work in the jungles and on the mountains among the rudest of peoples, is not

necessarily to be placed in the heart of the chief city of the land. In America such schools are left to locate themselves in those regions and communities where the principles of the denomination have taken deepest and widest root, and *where the people are ready to sacrifice most heavily and give most largely for their establishment and support.*

At the Educational Convention held in Philadelphia in 1872 an exceptionally able paper was read by the lamented President Talbot. This was his thesis:—"Education, the development of the Christian life, the supplement and support of all evangelization, and therefore due in its highest practicable form to the whole body of the ministry and the laity." We cannot do better than to conclude with a few sentences from his last paragraph:—

"Christianity has been in all its history the patron of sound learning. It has gone teaching all nations. The light of knowledge has followed it around the world, as the light of day the sun. It can hold men only by going before them, and *the narrowest policy of missions ever conceived was that Christianity can employ preaching, but not the school.* When a people become Christian, they next call for education, and they will fall to those who furnish it for them. *Without education religion itself runs out.*"

C. H. CARPENTER.

ART. II.—CASTE AND CONVERTS.

TO the European official in India who hears of the native Christian Church only through statistical tables, or, it may be, has formed his estimate of the native Christian character by that of his thieving butler or lazy horse-keeper, who assumed the Christian name for their master's favor only—to this official, and to all outsiders who have not looked into the matter carefully and with unprejudiced eyes, it must seem a very discouraging feature of missionary work that the great bulk of adherents have come, and are yet coming, only from the lower castes.

The missionary, too, as he pitches his tent near the dilapidated *malapilli*, or among the bones of the odorous *madigapilli*, must be carefully on his guard lest he fall into a desponding mood, and say within himself, "Oh, that we could gather in these rich farmers and these influential Brahmans! how we should then, with their coöperation, establish schools, build prayer-houses and churches, and in a thousand ways enhance the welfare and prosperity of the native Christian Church!"

This may be a first and natural thought; but a little deeper investigation of the subject, and a comparison of the present order of things with the past history of the Church, may lead us to see God's hand in it all, and if so we need surely be neither discouraged nor ashamed.

As a preliminary thought, it is well for us to bear in mind that we cannot reasonably expect a sudden and universal change on the part of the people of India from their old idolatrous systems to the Christian religion. We cannot expect this when we consider the people themselves, and we cannot expect it when we consider the ways in which God has built up his Church in the past.

We are impatient, and God's ways seem slow in our eyes. If we had lived in the olden days, we should have pronounced it a sheer waste of time to keep the Children of Israel in Egyptian bondage for hundreds of years; and how we should have fretted over the weary waiting all the hundreds of years from Samuel to Simeon! How we should have discoursed learnedly on the failure of prophecy, and on the effecteness of the Jewish religion! No doubt it is well we were not born before our time.

Viewed in connection with the past history of the Church, our impatience with the present progress of the Gospel in India and other heathen countries is most unreasonable. We have heard something of Christian nations being born in a day, and the idea clings to us that we ought to see something of the kind.

with regard to India. Except God set aside the means which he has hitherto employed in all ages to build up his Church, and by a stupendous miracle work so wondrous a change, we need look for no such sudden and universal transformation. In the Gospel the Church is spoken of under the similitude of a house which is *gradually* being built; of a tree which grows *slowly* and *steadily* from a very small seed; of leaven which *quietly* but *effectually* spreads its influence until the whole lump be leavened.

We ought not to look, therefore, for a sudden and general turning from heathenism to Christianity on the part of the people of India, but rather for a steady gradual advance of the Gospel. Moreover, owing to the institution of caste, which so widely separates the different classes of the community, we ought to expect Christianity to advance in the line of one or more of the various castes, rather than among all classes simultaneously.

This being admitted, the question arises, Which were better, humanly speaking,—that the higher castes should come first, or that the lower castes should come first?

Accepting it as a fact that all classes will not simultaneously espouse Christianity, we present several evident reasons why it is better for the cause of the Church itself that the low-caste people should accept the Gospel first, and the higher castes afterwards.

1. Great differences exist between the various grades of society. These differences are not of a social character only, but of a supposed religious character also, being inherent in birth and blood, and therefore ineradicable by education and culture. In no other country in the world is there so little sympathy and so little intercourse between the two extremes of society. Wherever Christianity has found its way, its influence has been to elevate its adherents intellectually as well as morally. In India it has now, and is destined to have yet in a greater degree, the same effect.

If, then, the higher castes, who are already far removed in intelligence above the lower castes, had been the first to embrace the Gospel and benefit by it, the vast gulf between the two extremes of society would have been increased, instead of lessened. If, however, as is actually the case, the lower castes are being elevated socially, morally and intellectually by the Christian religion, this vast difference is by so much decreased. That such an effect is really being produced we have abundant evidence in the fact that native Christian pastors and teachers who have come from the lower castes are admitted on terms of social equality by many liberal-minded persons of the higher castes.

2. If the Gospel had made such a manifest improvement in the condition of the higher castes as it is making among the lower castes, the change would have counted for nothing in the

eyes of the lower castes. We mean it would have been no evidence to them of any superior or divine quality in the Gospel itself.

They have from time immemorial been taught to consider themselves of no value as human beings—beyond hope here and hereafter, until every aspiration beyond their daily needs has been crushed out. However great a change for the better the Gospel might have made among the high-caste people, the lower castes would have looked upon it as something natural and to be expected, while they would never have aspired to the same good for themselves. If they had given it a thought at all, which is doubtful, it would have been this:—"Oh yes, it is all very well for the Brahmans, but it is nothing to us." Thus one of the most tangible evidences of the truth of Christianity as a divine institution would have been lost upon the mass of the people. As it is, however, the ennobling influence of the Gospel first shows itself upon the lowest castes, and in doing so it cannot fail to be recognized by the highest castes in the land, as well as by all other classes.

3. Caste is in direct opposition to the spirit of the Gospel. It can never be tolerated in the Church of Christ. If it cannot be tolerated in the Church, the only safe course is not to admit it, but to make the renunciation of caste a requisite for admission into the Church.

Now, it will be seen at once that if the higher castes had become Christians first, the renunciation of caste could never have been made a practical test of admission. There would have been no lower castes for them to associate with within the Church; and as for the lower castes it would simply have flattered their vanity to be afterwards admitted into a body which at once raised them apparently to the standard of the higher castes. Within the Church the subsequent admission of the lower castes could not fail to bring endless strife and confusion. We have ourselves seen an example of this kind where the Roman Catholics had first received high-caste church members,—allowing them to bring with them all their caste distinctions,—and afterwards received low-caste converts. The strife was something fearful, and was compromised only by the priest's dispensing with the "assembling together of the saints", and letting each party or individual come to church at whatever hour of the day was most convenient. When the low castes are the first to enter the Church, all subsequent comers are of course put to the wholesome test of renouncing caste before professing themselves Christians.

4. If the higher castes had been the first to espouse Christianity, it would have given the finest opportunity to unprincipled men among the Brahmans to continue their tyrannical priesthood under the guise of the Christian religion. Christianity

in all countries is shaped in its external administration to a great extent by surrounding circumstances and customs, and we can well see how it would under a Brahmanical priesthood become little more than a colored Brahmanism.

If the first caste to become Christians had been the Brahmans, as a matter of course the teachers for them and for all other classes would have come from among them, and such a course would have been more fatal to the young Christian Church in India than was even the plague of Gnosticism in the early Church.

Let these few thoughts suffice at least for a silver lining to this cloud, which has so long been considered very dark, and only dark.

What did the apostle Paul say? "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory in his presence."

A. D. ROWE.

ART. III.—THE SINLESS PROPHET OF ISLAM.

THE Qurán professes to be the Word of God; not that it would set itself up as a rival to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, but that it claims to be an *additional* contribution to the whole volume of Divine Revelation. True it does abrogate many of the rites and ceremonies of the Christian dispensation, *e.g.* baptism and the eucharist, liberty concerning clean and unclean meats, etc.; but in doing so, it claims that it does no more than was done by the former scriptures; "God does as he pleases." In speaking of the prophets of the older dispensation, it uses terms of the highest praise and expresses for them the most profound reverence. Whilst everywhere repudiates the divinity of Jesus, it accords him the highest dignity as a prophet; Muhammad alone is considered as holding a higher place, and even in his case the point of superiority is not in the person but in the *official position* he occupies, as head of the present dispensation. General Grant may be regarded by some as a superior man to President Hayes, but of the superior office of the latter no one has a doubt; so of Muhammad. He is the last and therefore the greatest of all the prophets to *us*.

The immeasurable moral and spiritual superiority of Jesus over all other prophets of Islam, accorded him in the Qurán, presents to the thoughtful Moslem a serious difficulty. For, whilst he rejoices to recount the excellencies of the Nazarine, yet there is no reason presented in the Qurán for the peculiar dignity it bestowed upon him. It affords no explanation for his miraculous birth, his spotless life, his ascent¹ to Heaven and his final coming to the earth to destroy *Dhajjal*, the Antichrist of Muhammadanism. On the contrary, however, it seems inconsistent with reason that the prophet of the last and most important dispensation should be inferior in point of character—especially of *moral* character—to the Prophet of the dispensation immediately preceding. Indeed as an *intercessor* Jesus alone would seem to possess the requisite qualifications.

In order to determine the position which Jesus holds in the Qurán it will be necessary to exhibit the teaching of the Qurán in respect to all the prophets.

The names of the prophets mentioned in the Qurán are twenty-five in number. They are:—Adam, Noah, Enoch (*Idris*), Abraham, Ishmáil, Jacob, Job, Lot, Sálíh, Shuáib, Moses, Joseph, David, Solomon, Ezra, Elijah, Aaron, Húd, Zulqifl,

¹ According to Islam Jesus did not die, but was caught up to Heaven to save him from the Jews.

Zulqarnain, Zacharaya, John Baptist (Yahya), Jesus, and Muhammad.

Of these, six are regarded by Moslems as the heads of dispensations, and were dignified by special titles; viz. *Adam Sáfí ullah*, *Noah Nabi ullah*, *Abraham Khalilullah*, *Moses Kálímullah*, *Jesus Ruhullah* and *Muhammad Rusulullah*.¹ These are the *Nabi-ul A'zim* or Great Prophets, and are said to be *permitted* by God to intercede for their followers in the day of Judgment. Why such intercession is needed, or on what ground the permission to intercede was given to the Great Prophets above mentioned does not appear. If guilt be a disqualification, the Qurán clearly disqualifies all of the Great Prophets, *excepting Jesus*, and, on the contrary, if sinlessness be a *sine quâ non* to authoritative intercession or mediation, then Jesus alone is the intercessor of God's people, the Qurán being witness! We will endeavor to establish this statement by adducing the statements of the Qurán in regard to the Nabi-ul Azim. First, in regard to Adam, we read in the Sura Baqr, (ch. II.) vv. 35-36 (Sale's translation):—

“O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden, and eat of the fruit thereof plentifully wherever ye will; but approach not this tree, lest ye become of the number of the transgressors. But Satan caused them to forfeit Paradise, and turned them out of the state of happiness wherein they had been; whereupon we said, get ye down, the one of you an enemy unto the other; and there shall be a dwelling-place for you on the earth, as a provision for a season. And Adam learned words of Prayer from his Lord, and God turned unto him, for he is easy to be reconciled and merciful.”

The sin of Adam is still more emphatically presented in the following extract from the Şura Aráf, (ch. VII.) vv. 21-25:—

“O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in paradise; and eat of the fruit thereof wherever ye will; but approach not this tree lest ye become of the number of the unjust. And Satan suggested to them both that he would discover unto them their nakedness, which was hidden from them; and he said your Lord hath not forbidden you this tree, for any other reason but lest ye should become angels, or lest ye become immortal. And he swore unto them, saying, verily I am one of those who counsel you aright. And he caused them to fall through deceit. And when they had tasted of the tree their nakedness appeared unto them; and they began to join together the leaves of paradise, to cover themselves. And their Lord called to them saying, Did I not forbid you this tree: and did I not say unto you, verily Satan is your declared enemy? They answered, O Lord, we have dealt unjustly with our own souls; and if thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we shall surely be of those who perish. God said, Get ye down, the one of you the enemy unto the other; and ye shall have a dwelling place upon the earth, and a provision for a season. He said, Therein shall ye live and therein shall ye die, and from thence shall ye be taken forth at the resurrection.”

¹ Adam the chosen of God, Noah the Prophet of God, Abraham the friend of God, Moses the speaker with God, Jesus the Spirit of God, and Muhammad the Apostle of God.

Other passages of similar import could be adduced, but these are conclusive in their testimony to the character of Adam as a sinner. Though dignified by Islám as a Prophet and the head of the first dispensation in the earth, that prophet stands forth on the pages of the Qurán as the first sinner of the human race.

If we examine the testimony of the Qurán concerning the character of Noah, the second of the Great Prophets and the head of the Noachic dispensation, we shall find equally clear proof of his sinfulness, though expressed in briefer terms.

In the Sura Núh, (ch. LXXI.) 29th verse, we read the following prayer of Noah:—

“Lord, forgive me and my parents, and every one who shall enter my house, being a true believer, and the true believers of both sexes; and add unto the unjust doers nothing but destruction.”

Again in Sura Hud, (ch. XI.) 47th verse, it is recorded that Noah thus addressed the Lord:—

“O Lord, I have recourse unto thee *for the assistance of thy grace*, that I ask not of thee that wherein I have no knowledge (God had just rejected his intercession in behalf of *his own son*); and unless thou forgive me, and be merciful unto me, I shall be one of those who perish.”

Though the sins which called forth these confessions and supplications for pardon and mercy on the part of Noah are not specified in the Qurán, yet the *fact* of sin is clearly predicated of his character.

We are aware that Muhammadan doctors evade this conclusion by attributing all such prayer of the prophets to their humility on the one hand and to their being examples to the faithful on the other. But such explanations, devoid as they are of proof and unsupported by even one passage from the Qurán, merely have the effect of establishing the position they were expected to overthrow, and to convert a doubt as to the prophets' holiness into a certainty of their sinfulness.

The third of the Nabi-ul Azim is Abraham, the Friend of God. Very much is made of his character in the Qurán. His sturdy opposition to idolatry is held up as an example worthy of imitation by the faithful. Was he sinless? we will let the Qurán answer this question also. In the Sura Ibrahim, ch. XIV. verse 41, it is written that Abraham thus prayed:—

“O Lord, grant that I may be an observer of prayer, and a part of my posterity also, O Lord, and receive my supplication. O Lord, *forgive me, and my parents, and the faithful, on the day whereon an account shall be taken.*”

Again in Sura Shúara, (ch. XXVI.) vv. 75—82, we hear Abraham professing his hope of salvation in the following language:—

“What think ye? The gods which ye worship and your forefathers worshipped, are my enemy: except only the Lord of all creatures, who hath

created me and directeth me; and who giveth me to eat, and to drink and when I am sick healeth me; and who will cause me to die, and will afterwards restore me to life; and who, I hope, will forgive my sins on the day of judgment."

Here again the confession of grievous sin and the expression of a hope of pardon in judgment, on the part of Abraham is conclusive of the point under discussion. Abraham was a sinner. He confesses himself to be such, and supplicates the throne of grace for pardon, and indulges a hope that his prayer has been answered.

Let us now turn to the case of Moses, the fourth Prophet dignified as the head of a dispensation.

In the Sura *Qass'as*, (ch. XXVIII.) vv. 14-16, we read the following statement in which the Qurán charges upon Moses the sin of murder:—

"And he (Moses) went into the city at a time when the inhabitant thereof observed not *what passed in the street*: and he found therein two men fighting; the one *being* of his own party, and the other of his enemies. And he who was of his party begged his assistance against him who *was* of the contrary party; and Moses struck him with his fist, and slew him *but being sorry for what had happened*, he said, This is of the work of the devil; for he is a seducing *and* an open enemy. *And* he said, O Lord verily I have injured my own soul: wherefore forgive me. So God forgave him; for he is ready to forgive, and merciful. He said, O Lord, by the *favours* with which thou hast favored me, I will not be an assistant to the wicked *for the future*."

Here let it be observed the act of Moses in slaying the Egyptian is not only represented as a sin in the eyes of Moses (who might have been mistaken), but as a sin in God's sight, for God forgave him.

Again in Sura *Aráaf*, (ch. VII.) vv. 150, 151, Moses is represented as confessing himself a sinner when he brake forth in angry violence against his brother Aaron. The following are the words of the Qurán:—

"And when Moses returned unto his people, full of wrath and indignation, he said, An evil thing is it that ye have committed after my *departure*; have ye hastened the command of your Lord? And he threw down the tables, and took his brother by the *hair of the* head, and dragged him unto him. *And* Aaron said unto him, Son of my mother, verily the people prevailed against me, and it wanted little but they had slain me, make not *my* enemies therefore to rejoice over me, neither place me with the wicked people. *Moses* said, O Lord, forgive me and my brother, and receive us into thy mercy; for thou art the most merciful of those who exercise mercy."

These two passages are sufficient to establish our claim that, *according to the testimony of the Qurán*, Moses was a sinner, needing and obtaining the pardoning grace of God.

We will now adduce the testimony of the Qurán in regard to the character of Muhammad, who is called the Apostle of God "*the last and greatest of all the Prophets*".

It is proper here to state the fact that there are two general opinions prevalent among Moslems in regard to the moral status of their Prophet. The first is, that the Prophet, whilst possessed of a sinful nature like other men, was never guilty of sinful acts. Others hold the opinion that he was only sinless when under the power of inspiration (*wahi*). According to this view Muhammad was a sinner before he became a prophet, *i.e.* until he was about forty years of age, and also after the Qurán had been delivered to his followers. Those who hold this view quote the following verses from the Sura *Fatah* (ch. XLVIII.) vv. 1-3:—

“Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory: that God may forgive thee *thy preceding* and *thy subsequent* sin, and may complete his favor on thee, and direct thee in the right way; and that God may assist thee with a glorious assistance.”

That Muhammad had not only a sinful nature, but was guilty of sin before he was dignified as the prophet of Arabia, is evident also from the Sura *Zúhá* (ch. XCIII.) vv. 6 and 7, where God is represented as thus addressing Muhammad:—

“Did he not find thee an orphan, and hath he not taken care of thee? And did he not find thee wandering in error, and hath he not guided thee into the truth?”

These passages might be considered sufficient to establish the fact that the Qurán does admit that Muhammad was a sinner. But we wish to emphasize this point by adducing two additional classes of passages, the first asserting that Muhammad was a sinner during the period of his alleged inspiration as well as before and after,—the second implicating him in the awful crime of justifying his sin, by the express sanction of God!

The first class of passages is as follows:—

“We have sent down unto thee the book of the Qurán with truth, that thou mayest judge between men through that *wisdom* which God sheweth thee *therein*; and be not an advocate for the fraudulent; but ask pardon of God for thy *wrong intention*, since God is indulgent and merciful.”—Sura *Nisa* (ch. IV.) vv. 104, 105.

“Wherefore do thou, O prophet, bear the insults of the infidels with patience; for the promise of God is true: and ask pardon for thy fault; and celebrate the praise of thy Lord, in the evening and in the morning.”—Sura *Mumin* (ch. XL.) v. 57.

“Know, therefore, that there is no God but God: and ask pardon for thy sin, and for the true believers, both men and women.”—Sura *Muhammad* (ch. XLVII.) v. 21.

“Celebrate the praise of thy Lord, and ask pardon of him; for he is inclined to forgive.”—Sura *Nasr* (ch. CX.) v. 3.

Now admitting that these passages were addressed to Muhammad himself,—and I know no Moslem commentator who denies it—it would seem certain that in the estimate of the Qurán Muhammad was a sinner, needing the pardoning grace of God.

But we hasten to present the second class of passages.

Muhammad being enamored of the young and beautiful wife of Zeid, his adopted son, secured her a divorce from Zeid and took her unto himself. This conduct naturally created a scandal. In order to remove the scandal, and exonerate all parties concerned, the following addition to the Qurán was produced from the treasury of inspiration :—

“ It is not fit for a true believer of either sex, when God and his Apostle have decreed a thing, that they should have the liberty of choosing a *different* matter of their own : and whoever is disobedient unto God and his Apostle surely erreth with a manifest error. And *remember* when thou saidst to him unto whom God had been gracious, and on whom thou *also* hadst conferred favors, keep thy wife to thyself, and fear God : and thou didst conceal that in thy mind which God had determined to discover, and didst fear men ; whereas it was more just that thou shouldest fear God. But when Zeid had determined the matter concerning her, *and had resolved to divorce her*, we joined her in marriage unto thee ; lest a crime should be *charged* on the true believers, in *marrying* the wives of their adopted sons, when they have determined the matter concerning them ; and the command of God is to be performed. No crime is *to be charged* on the prophet, as to what God hath allowed him,” etc.—*Súra Ahzáb* (ch. XXXIII.) vv. 36-40.

The veil of hypocrisy and deceit is so transparent here that one is amazed at the credulity which failed to see through it.

There was another scandal in the prophetic experience of Muhammad. It was in regard to the Egyptian slave girl Mary. I do not seek to fasten upon him here the crimes charged upon him by Dr. Prideaux, though the fact of the licentiousness of his life is everywhere manifest throughout the whole history of this affair. The point I wish to expose is simply this, that Muhammad, in order to remove a scandal from his harem life and to justify himself, has recourse to Gabriel and produces a pretended revelation of the Divine will in the matter. The passage is as follows, taken from the *Sura Tahrim* (ch. LXVI.) vv. 1-5 :—

“ O Prophet, why holdest thou that to be prohibited which God hath allowed thee, seeking to please thy wives ; since God is inclined to forgive, and be merciful ? God hath allowed you the dissolution of your oaths : and God is your master ; and he is knowing and wise. When the prophet intrusted as a secret unto one of his wives a certain accident ; and when she disclosed the same, and God made it known unto him ; he acquainted *her* with part of *what she had done* and forebore to *upbraid her with the other part* thereof. And when he had acquainted her therewith, she said, who hath discovered this unto thee ? He answered, the knowing, the sagacious God hath discovered *it* unto me. If ye both¹ be turned unto God (for your hearts have severed) *it is well* : but if ye join against him, verily God is his patron ; and Gabriel, and the good man among the faithful, and the angels also are *his* assistants. If he divorce you, his Lord can easily give him in exchange other wives better than you, *women resigned unto God*, true believers, devout, penitent, obedient, given to fasting, *both such as have been* known by other men, and virgins.”

¹ Hafsa and Ayesha, wives of Muhammad, who were principal offenders in the harem scandal.

Passages like these need little comment. The Qurán stands committed to the express statement, presented in various forms, that all of the five Great Prophets, or leaders of dispensations, above mentioned, (and notably among these Muhammad, "the last and greatest of all the prophets") are guilty of actual transgression of the Law of God.

We now turn to the testimony of the Qurán concerning "Jesus the Son of Mary." In view of what has already been recorded concerning the statements of the Qurán in regard to the moral obliquities of Adam, Noah, Moses and Muhammad, the first and most remarkable fact concerning these statements is that *from the Sura Fatiha to Sura Nas we nowhere find a single sentence or word, or even a shadow of a hint that Jesus was a sinner.* It is nowhere stated that he sinned, nowhere is he represented as praying for the pardon of his own sin. If, as Moslem doctors tell us, such supplications on the part of Muhammad, while he was really guiltless, were necessary to his being an *example* to his followers, how is it that the Qurán fails to exhibit that necessity in the case of Jesus, and of Jesus only? Finally Jesus is nowhere said to have been pardoned of sin. *His character stands out on the pages of the Qurán as absolutely sinless!* In addition to this, the Qurán represents Jesus as being conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit¹ in the womb of the Virgin Mary (Sura *Imran*, ch. III. verse 47), as having wrought many wonderful miracles (Sura *Baqr*, ch. II. vv. 86, 253,—*Maida*, ch. V. v. 109, etc.); as having been taken up to heaven alive (Sura *Nisa*, ch. IV. vv. 156, 157), and as continuing there until he shall be sent to destroy *Dhajjal* (the Moslem Antichrist) in the last times (Sura *Zukhráf*, ch. XLIII. v. 61, with com.) He is described by the following names and attributes,—The *Son of Mary* (Sura *Baqr*, ch. II. v. 86,—*Imran*, ch. III. v. 45, etc.); the *Word of God*—"Kalima min Allah" (Sura *Imran*, ch. III. vv. 39, 45); *Apostle*, *Word and Spirit of God*—"Ruhullah" (Sura *Nisa*, ch. IV. v. 169); *Servant of God* (Sura *Zukhráf*, ch. XLIII. vv. 57-59); and *The Lord of his people* (Sura *Múminún*, ch. XXIII. v. 54).

This testimony, derived from the book which rejects the doctrines of the Divinity and Sonship of Jesus, and the doctrine of the Atonement, is certainly remarkable. But when considered in contrast with the character of all other prophets mentioned in the Qurán, and especially in contrast with the character of Muhammad as described therein, it is more remarkable. We are reminded of some of those old manuscripts of the Bible, where the word once apparently erased and covered up by

¹ By the Holy Spirit however must be understood the Power of God manifested, as when God breathed into Adam the breath of life.

a later writing, has been made to stand out clearly under a chemical process. So here, it would seem, the character of the Divine Redeemer is made to shine forth from the very book intended to enshroud its lustre in the dimness of a past dispensation. The very necessity, which has led Moslem divines to claim immaculate purity as one of the attributes of Muhammad and of all other prophets, is met only in the sinless character of Jesus. And still the Moslem claims that absolute perfection is not necessary to the character of an intercessor; yet if not, why do they claim such perfection for the Nabi-ul Azim? In any case the question arises, How can one sinner intercede for another? Of course the reply is, one saved sinner may pray for an unsaved sinner, and his prayer or intercession may be, yea, often is, heard. In reply we say this meed of intercessory influence does by no means satisfy the claims set up for the Nabi-ul Azim. The intercession claimed for them is *authoritative*, else it means nothing at all. Now to be *authoritative* it is necessary that the intercessor be sinless himself, a necessity evident from the claim set up for all the prophets, by Moslems themselves. If this position is correctly taken, then Jesus only is the intercessor of sinful men, the Qurán being witness.

Now if the testimony of the Qurán sets Muhammad aside and exalts Jesus to be the Mediator between God and Man, then the Qurán itself must be set aside and the Gospel of Jesus appear as the Word of God, to guide a lost race to the haven of safety. Indeed, as it appears to us, the statements of the Qurán in regard to Jesus can only be made consistent with themselves by admitting the missing links of his divinely mediatorial and kingly offices. The moral and spiritual glory of the man Jesus, as he appears in the Qurán, is sufficient to throw the character of Muhammad completely in the shade, and we would call the attention of those brethren who are laboring for the conversion of Moslems to the Christian faith, to this important fact. For our own part, we are more and more convinced, the longer we study the subject, that the weak point in the Muhammadan controversy is the Qurán, and that the weak point in the Qurán is Muhammad. Let us go forth to the crusade with the cry, "Whom will ye serve, Muhammad or Jesus?"

E. M. WHERRY.

Philadelphia, U. S. A., Dec. 1878.

ART. IV.—THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH.¹

ON the threshold of any inquiry as to Truth, we are confronted by a great fact, namely, that there are among men very important differences of opinion. What have we to say to this fact? How shall we explain it? Some people take a very short method with it. The matter does not trouble them in the least. Their theory is brief and simple. *They* have the truth, of course; and all who differ from them are strictly divisible into two classes, fools and knaves,—these lacking ability to comprehend, those honesty to admit. For my part, I cannot adopt this theory. It is neither satisfactory in point of reasonableness, nor praiseworthy in point of charity. I find men who are, by all ordinary standards of measurement, equally able and equally good, on opposite sides of very nearly, if not quite, all religious questions. I find them holding diametrically opposite views with equal confidence that those views are the truth. These persons are manifestly sincere, tried by the severest tests we can apply, while their strength of mind and purity of life are universally recognized; yet, in many of their most firmly settled convictions they are as far asunder as the poles. This appears to me a most weighty fact, filled with deepest meaning. Let us face it fearlessly, examine it thoroughly, and accept it candidly in all the length and breadth of its bearing.

What is that bearing? After due meditation upon this fact, what shall we conclude? That there is no settled or positive truth? That truth is a myth, a chimera, a vision, something without real existence, a matter of imagination only, or of climate and race? No! Truth is real, as real as God. Truth is God, for "God is Light, and in him is no darkness at all." Truth—absolute—exists. But we must conclude, it seems to me, that God has not seen fit to give to all men equal opportunities for the knowledge of this truth. Opportunities very widely differ. Some men have little light, others much. Some nations are left to pick their way as best they can by the light of nature only; others are favored with more direct communications from on high. These communications have come to one nation by word of mouth, to another by the medium of written language. In the lapse of time the words used in this revelation have become attended with one set of associations here, and with quite another set there. Differences of natural temperament, and all the manifold varieties of circumstance and training that go to make up what we call education,—these and a dozen other

¹ An address delivered at Lucknow, Jan. 10th, 1879, before the Literary Association of the North India Conference of the M. E. Church.

things make the opportunities for knowing truth, enjoyed by those burning with the same deep desire for it, widely unlike and unequal. And it will plainly depend on these opportunities, which, it will be noted, are not in the power of the individual, but are sovereignly distributed by God, how far men who are equally able and equally honest approximate to the perfect truth.

To me it is clear from these considerations that men are responsible, not for a belief that is absolutely *correct*, (for that would imply a light absolutely complete, as well as perfect powers of mind), but for one that is *honest*. They are responsible for keeping their minds and hearts open to the truth, for giving it a candid reception, for being straightforward and sincere in their dealings with it. In a word, while the possession of absolute truth is not a duty, the search for it is. God nowhere guarantees, even to the most earnest inquirer, the attainment of this truth, but he does command us to seek it with all our hearts. I hold that a good man must be a truth-seeker, and that he will be, just so far as he comprehends the full circle of his high duties and privileges. Made in God's image, fitted for communion with him, he will aim to know God who is the truth itself, and to know all that he can find out about God's works, God's word, God's will, God's purposes and plans. And though he must inevitably fall short of complete knowledge, and of absolute correctness of belief, yet what he arrives at by the best exercise of his powers and the best use of all the light given him, will be truth *to him*; *the* truth, so far as he is personally concerned; what we may call, in distinction from absolute truth, relative truth, or truth relative to his needs and responsibilities. This, I hold, he is bound to acquire. For this, his mental powers were given him. To this he is directly summoned by the voice from on high. Both reason and religion unite in placing this imperative obligation upon him. For it is no part of Christianity to shackle the mind, or produce intellectual paralysis. What saith the Scripture? "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." "Try the spirits whether they are of God." "In malice be ye children, but in understanding be men."

Now what is this injunction to prove all things and to be mentally men, but a command to do our best in finding what is true? God says, in substance, do not take things for granted simply because they are told you,—do not accept either persons or doctrines at their own estimate,—investigate,—judge not according to appearances,—get at the root of the matter,—plunge to the bottom,—be not like infants who swallow whatever is put into their mouths, but look at things clearly, and take or refuse according to your mature conviction. That is how I regard it *And the more we look at it, the more I think we shall agree with*

Bishop Butler that, in God's appointment no small part of man's probation consists of this search after truth.

It might, conceivably, have been far otherwise. Some arrangement might have been made, we may suppose, whereby upright men, perfectly willing to submit themselves to the absolute truth, should not have been left to mistake, or differ as to what it is. The evidence for all true doctrines could, perhaps, have been such as to produce in honest minds irresistible demonstration. Or an infallible interpreter in some way, always at hand, could have been provided to answer every question and settle every doubt. But this was not God's plan. His proving and testing were designed to cover the entire man; and we are strictly accountable for the use of our powers of thought as well as of action. The mind indeed is higher than the body and directs it. Thought precedes action and controls it. To know comes first, to do comes after. And to avoid error to the utmost extent of our power, is as clear an obligation, as prominent a factor in the settlement of eternal destiny, as to avoid sin. Hence a man's thought, that is, his system of truth, the body of his convictions and beliefs, is often a far stricter, weightier test of his character than the actions of his outward life.

I say *often*, because it must be admitted that the duty of thinking rightly, varies greatly with different degrees of mental development. To men who are thinkers, intellectually adult, to those who are preachers, teachers and leaders of the people, the search for truth is a matter of the most serious concern. To such it is simply indispensable. None can take the responsibility from us. Each must decide for himself, and must follow implicitly the decision at which he arrives. To do otherwise would plainly brand him recreant to duty. For that which is true to another, or to God, may not be true to me. To me it may be blackest error, of which the avowal is sin and the denial duty. To no two minds in all this world is truth, that is the individual truth, specially belonging to those minds, precisely alike. Just so far as those minds move independently, there will of necessity differences arise. The truth of one will be at some points the error of the other. Where this is not the case we may be sure that one has simply accepted unquestioningly what has been told or taught him by the other, with no free exercise of his own mind upon it, no fair weighing of the arguments, no due balancing of the opposite probabilities. Such an one has no particle of right to take upon his lips the sacred name of truth. Only they who have mentally toiled can fittingly call themselves votaries of truth. The sweat of the brain is the badge of this grand knighthood. They who have done their best to be impartial, to hear all sides, and weigh the evidence with critical skill, who have sought with equal carefulness, for arguments to

put into both scales, as well the one they wished to see kick the beam, as the one they wished to see strike the floor, these may say, we are sons of the truth. These alone have a right to speak with the potent force of assured conviction. These alone have some genuine message from God to give to the waiting, hungering hearts of their fellow men.

How glorious this vocation, how noble this pursuit! Is it not the most attractive and stimulating, the most grand and inspiring open to mortals? Considered simply for its use as an intellectual gymnasium, a discipline for the mental powers, it has been prized most highly by the finest minds. It has been even the root and spring of philosophy, the moving cause of mighty discoveries in the realm of thought, the source of keenest pleasures and most pure delights. Says Malebranche, "If I held Truth captive in my hand, I should open my hand and let it fly, in order that I might again pursue and capture it." "Did the Almighty," says Lessing, "holding in his right hand *truth*, and in his left *search after truth*, deign to tender me the one I might prefer,—in all humility, but without hesitation, I should request *search after truth*." We may wonder at this, perhaps object to it. But we may well admit that nothing more distinctly and directly calls forth the higher powers, and shows man at his best, nothing more develops the godlike in him and rouses to activity the noblest portion of his being than the unselfish, untiring search after truth.

And when we think of the blessed attainments to which it leads, when we turn our gaze from the mere pursuit to the end in view, and consider what it brings to the world, even more deeply are we moved to its praise. For it brings heaven down to earth. It puts us into contact with the real, the absolute, stretching on into eternity and changing never. "O God," said Kepler the astronomer, when his wonderful discoveries in the heavens burst upon him, and he felt convinced that the truth about the planetary revolutions was in his grasp, "O God! I think thy thoughts after thee!" and thus do we ever, just in proportion as we approach to that absolute truth which is only another name for God himself. It is a priceless treasure. It is the natural food of the human mind and soul; without it, we starve. It is the gold, and silver, and precious stones, without which no edifice can anywhere be built, that shall abide the testing fires; for the wood, the hay, the stubble of error and false doctrine, we read, shall be burned, however good may have been the intention with which they were put into the structure. He alone is a perfect man, he alone, who has not only purity of purpose, but also completeness of knowledge. It is not enough that we seek the right end; we must seek it in the right way. *These are the two essential requirements. The absence of*

either works infinite harm. Often and often good intentions combined with ignorance have wrought, not righteousness and peace by any means, but wretchedness and ruin. Superstition and fanaticism and all the brood of blind, extravagant, misdirected assaults on the kingdom of evil, themselves working evil, have sprung from this unhappy alliance. Hence, too, comes bigotry, perverse and stubborn, prejudice, obstinate and bitter, intolerance and persecution with all their horrible train. For, as the historian Lecky has pointed out, "Persecutors are usually men of good intentions and unsullied morals, moved by a holy zeal for the preservation of right doctrine, and the good of their fellow men, filled with an absorbing conviction of the supreme importance of certain doctrines, perfectly certain of their truth, and blind to the ultimate consequences of their acts; the lukewarm and selfish do not persecute;" nor those who apprehend what it really is they do, and whither it must inevitably lead.

Let us, then, since the lack of it brings such bane and blasting to the earth, let us, to the utmost measure of our strength, lay hold of that more than princely, more than royal, more than imperial, that godlike thing, to which has been given the high name of truth. We may well swear allegiance at its altar, and devote to its service all we prize the most. "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world," said Christ, "that I should bear witness unto the truth." Surely we can ask no higher calling. Must not all Christ-bearers and Christ-lovers feel something of the same divine glow which moved him to this great utterance? Aye, they will pursue truth with love intense, and desire most eager, and so far as they find it, with lips and life, with voice and pen, with hand and heart, will publish it to the world.

I proceed now to say that if the search for truth be a duty, (and I hope we are all agreed that it is) then is it also a duty, 1st, to cultivate those internal *dispositions* and *qualities* that are essential to the best progress of the search for truth, and, 2nd, to secure, so far as possible, the removal of all *external hindrance*, out of the truth-seeker's path.

I. Not having time to mention *all* these dispositions, I have selected four of the most fundamental of them for brief remark.

1. We must cultivate, in the first place, a deep sense of our own fallibility, or liability to err. I mention this first because it is absolutely necessary to any progress in truth-seeking. It lies at the very beginning. We all know that it is useless to urge men to seek salvation if they are sure they already have it; they must first be brought to a sense of need, a conviction of sin; then will they seek. Even so, an exhortation to search for truth must be without success if men reply, as most are quick to do, **We have the truth.** And is not this just the attitude of millions?

They say, Why should *we* trouble ourselves about this difficult search you speak of? are we not good Christians, good Musalmans—have we not the Bible, the Koran—walk we not in the way our fathers walked—are we not orthodox? what more can you ask? what need for us to seek the truth? we have it. To such I should reply, be not too sure of that; you are most likely much more ignorant in this matter than you think you are, further astray from the one pure truth as God sees it, than you are accustomed to admit; the wiser you grow the more the sense of your own ignorance will grow upon you, until with Socrates, wisest of the ancient world, you shall cry out, “This only thing I know, that “I know nothing.” He must have a very exceptional experience who cannot look back to a time when he was much more certain about a great number of things than he is now. He at least who has made good use of his time and opportunities while the years have been passing on, will find that in speculative matters he leaps less quickly to positive conclusions, that he holds his judgment more frequently in suspense, and that the rash dogmatizing of his shallower youth is impossible to him in his maturer age. Thus must it continue unceasingly to be. And hence it is a most wholesome thing to repeat often, even with reference to matters that at present seem surest,—Here too it is *possible* that I include some error with my truth; here too, I may be mistaken, for I am fallible.

This is not an imaginary danger against which I enter warning. Infallibility, while openly disavowed, is quietly assumed and practically claimed by great multitudes. There is a little pope in almost all of us. We hold no Vatican Councils, we issue no syllabus or encyclical, promulgate no formal bull, but we take it for granted far too readily that he who differs from us is therefore in error, and that we alone are fully acceptable to God. Where, then, it may well be asked, did we get the monopoly of truth, and who gave us the patent right to wisdom? Is *our* theology forsooth inspired, and our interpretation of Scripture the only one possible to honest enquiry? Away with such arrogance! The divine revelation has not come to any of us in the form of a catechism or a creed; the lexicon and grammar through which we comprehend it are purely human and very imperfect; our little systems are at best but “broken lights,” creations of weak and foolish men; “they have their day and “cease to be,” but the Lord and his truth are far more than they. Truth is manifold and exceeding broad. It is a polyhedron with many, varying sides. It is a magnificent temple, one little porch or wing of which perhaps we enter, and imagine we behold the whole. What a sad mistake! fraught with what gigantic evil! Shall we not bid it begone? and in all possible *ways, frankly* confess, to *ourselves* no less than to others, that we

are very liable to err? Pride of opinion lurks within after much other pride has been cast out. Intellectual humility is one of the rarest developments of an exceedingly rare and precious grace. It would well become us all to get much more of it. It behoves us to meditate very deeply on our fallibility, till all inclination to suppose that we are lifted above the danger that besets our neighbor, and all tendency to proceed with harshness toward what we deem his errors, is completely taken away, and the earnest increasing cry goes up from our inmost hearts to God, that He will not leave us to ourselves, but will help us mightily to obtain more and more of His light divine.

2. We must cherish a high regard for the right of private judgment and the privileges of the present.

Many who do not imagine themselves to be infallible are not wholly free from the delusion that the fathers were infallible. Undue deference to tradition and to the authority of great men that are gone, is one of the most potent obstacles to the search for truth. Such bondage to the past is most belittling. Surely the men of old had no monopoly in this matter. The luxury of thinking is for us too. There are plenty of fish left in this ocean of truth, waiting to be captured by our hook and line,—as many fish, and as good as ever were caught. Pastor Robinson's noble words to the Pilgrims as they set sail from Holland, for America, are most appropriate here to day. "Brethren," said he, "I am verily persuaded the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. Though Luther and Calvin were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but were they now living would be as willing to embrace further light as that which they first received." We believe this is verily so. It is not the *results* of great men's researches, that we should adopt, so much as their *spirit*. They would be the very first to make changes in their own systems, were they here now with all the additional light of the present. And they who now build them magnificent tombs and garnish their sepulchres would be the first to cast a stone at them. Such is human nature. Great multitudes worship the past, and, timidly distrusting not only their own minds but the minds of all their contemporaries, simply because they are contemporaries, and have no enchantment of distance upon them to hide their faults, and magnify their proportions, would keep all things as they were when the fathers fell asleep. Surely they who attempt this are not wise. Theology is a progressive, live thing, revealed only by degrees, and constantly adapting itself to the changing times. It has within it a power of change and of growth just *because it is alive*; and for this same reason does it rivet the interest and win the love of men. Dead things, corpses, out of their proper place,

are horrible. And there is no proper place in this wide world for a dead creed, or a dead faith, rigid, cramping, coffin-like. Out upon such monstrosities! away with these obstructions! And let there be room! room for the soul to breathe, for the mind to think, for the whole man to claim his birth-right of kinship with God!

Yes, the fathers were fallible. It is no disrespect to them to scrutinize their conclusions with great care. We must do it. Veneration for the past must not be allowed to choke off inquiry. It is a matter of too much consequence to us all. The principle and the right of private personal judgment must be at all hazards upheld. What is that right? It is an appeal from the past to the present, from doctors learned in the law, to the humble soul on its knees before God, from synods and councils to the individual. Its authority is unassailable and supreme. It says to the patient inquirer after the truth, no priest, no Pope, no church can take this burden from your shoulders, this privilege from your heart; *it is yours*, claim it, cling to it, be not defrauded of it, give it not up but with life. This is the very touchstone of our Protestantism, a principle we should guard with the utmost care; especially in these times when Ritualism is advancing, and so-called Catholic principles are taking thousands captive. If we are not in every point true to it, how can we be deemed *consistent* Protestants, and with what face can we make reply to the Romanist? Let us be thoroughly one thing or the other, let us have one thing or the other, either an infallible church and the blessings it gives, or perfect liberty of judgment and the blessings it gives. It will not do to veer from this side to that, as convenience may suit. We shall be sure in that case to lose the blessings of both. "Thus far shalt thou go and no further," is a word we have no right to say to the adventurous traveller who may wish to push on beyond the stake where we have called halt. We can fix no such stopping place. The judgment must be informed, educated, purified, then trusted. "In understanding *be men*" is the ringing command of the great apostle. Shall we not obey? The spirit of the nineteenth century is far better than that of the eighteenth or fifteenth, for it partakes more largely of the spirit of God who would have all his children *free*. Let us be free, for this is to be both great and good, and to be most worthy of the heroes and martyrs of old!

3. In the third place we must obtain a clear view of the mission of *intellectual doubt*. Doubt is in bad odor, I know with many religious people, because it is so frequently confounded with distrust and unbelief; with a refusal, through perverseness of will, or depravity of heart, to accept the testimony of God and to confide in his goodness. It is *not* this. Doubt, *really*, is that uncertainty of mind which arises from defect of

knowledge, that suspense of judgment which springs from a perception of the difficulty of *proving* assertions. When the evidence is not conclusive there is no other rational position than doubt. In the midst of so much limitation of knowledge, to doubt is often the dictate of highest wisdom. Doubt attends closely on thorough culture because those who have most deeply studied are the best aware how few things there are in regard to the truth of which there is anything like an absolute demonstration. Sir William Hamilton says, "Doubt is the beginning and end of our efforts to know." Similarly Lord Greville remarked, "Human knowledge is the parent of doubt." Said Goethe, "We know accurately only when we know little; with knowledge, doubt increases." Galileo called doubt "the father of invention"; and another has said, "Doubt is the vestibule which all must pass before they can enter into the temple of Wisdom." The meaning of these utterances is plain. Where there is no doubt there is no inquiry, for they who are perfectly sure and satisfied that they are right are not likely to trouble themselves to examine. But without inquiry there can be no intellectual progress, or advancement in the knowledge of truth. This is the history of all the forward steps that have been made by the human mind. In every case the order has been doubt, inquiry, progress. Out of Judaism into Christianity came those souls who first were led to doubt whether or not it was true, as the orthodox teachers of their nation said, that Judaism was a finality, and that the alleged Messiah whom their high religious court had sentenced to death was only an impostor. They did not stifle that doubt, thank God, did not crush it down with iron will and declare it to be sin, as so many probably bade them do; no, they cherished and pursued it, until, lo, they emerged into a purer air and a broader light than they ever before had known. In the same way, from the Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century stepped out great multitudes afterwards called Protestants. But they began as simply doubters. They were not satisfied to think that the corrupt practices and superstitions which had become imbedded in the life and teaching of the Church were an essential part of the pure truth of God. They investigated and thus they came to act. Somewhat later many of the dogmas of Calvinism, though labeled with the high title of the "doctrines of grace," and pronounced by kings and universities and learned assemblies to be the only orthodox faith, were felt by many devoutly earnest minds to be an outrage and a defiance to the moral sense of mankind. They ventured first to doubt concerning them, then gathering strength and boldness as they looked them fairly in the face, they resolutely threw off their yoke, and strode forth to maintain a form of faith, brighter, freer, more consonant with the love of God, and the true dignity of man.

We need not multiply these illustrations further. We only stop to add that upon us missionaries in particular, is it incumbent never to forget the true place and function of intellectual doubt for it lies at the foundation of all our work. It is one main part of our life business to unsettle men's minds in regard to what they have been taught by the highest authority known to them. We approach the Hindu with the proposal that he examine the things he has believed, that he put by his prejudice, use his reason freely, and decide for himself. It becomes us to be ready to take the same attitude of mind toward the doctrine we have been taught. How, otherwise, can we escape the Hindu's keen retort, "I go in the way *my* fathers went even as you do in the way of *your* fathers; it is not well to inquire too curiously into the mysteries of one's faith"? Let us be consistent. If doubt and investigation are good for him, doubt and investigation are good for us. It is absurd to insist that every letter of what we have been taught is of necessity and beyond question true, while persuading others to the total abandonment of their ancestral faith. Such a position we are constrained to pronounce unworthy of all candid, honorable, humble minds. Say not then, "Doubt is devil-born". Sometimes, yes, very often, it is born of God. "There lives more faith in *honest* doubt, believe me, than in half the creeds." Curse it not, neither despise it. Give it all due honor, and in good time it will lead to larger, better, closer communion with the truth as it is in Christ the Lord.

4. The fourth of the qualities to be cultivated is *courage*, courage to think without fear, either for truth or for ourselves.

The lack of confidence many show in the ability of truth to stand investigation, is simply shameful. One would suppose from the tremor and trepidation, the flutter and disquietude produced in many camps of believers when any bold, inquiring spirit starts up, that they had no trust at all, or a very slight one, in the full power of truth to come forth conqueror from every conflict. Such doubts are utterly unworthy. Truth is not a delicate rose or a fragile flower unable to stand rough handling, or rude contact with the rugged facts of life. It is an ironclad that can steam in amid a rattling storm of shot and shell, and pass out again unscathed. It is a warrior in complete mail whom no weapon of the foe can touch. It throws out the most fearless challenge to all comers. It feels not the slightest alarm or apprehension at any preparations for its overthrow, any plots against its life. They can accomplish nothing.

"Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers;
But Error, wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies among his worshippers."

All genuine lovers of truth court the most searching investigations, the closest sifting of her claims, the freest exercise of reason upon them. Let them be examined, they say, and cross-examined with keenest analysis,—they will come forth triumphant from every test. They only are the sincere friends of truth who continually do their best to free her skirts from the rags and shreds of error that are perpetually clinging there. And such will give heartiest plaudits to those who expose the falsity of any thing, no matter how generally it has been accepted, or how heartily but mistakenly loved. Would there were many more of these clear-thoughted, strong-minded, pure-hearted worshippers at the shrine of truth!

Fear for truth is plainly needless. But there is another fear much more common, and much more shameful, the fear lest we ourselves may get some harm in the service of truth. This is cowardice most degrading, yet it exists. And a great multitude of motives combine to produce it. Men cling to positions, to posts of large pay and influence, which they would lose or seriously jeopardize in the keen competition of life if they should cease to ask, what is expedient and popular, and begin to ask only, what is *true*. Vested interests in peril of being too closely questioned would rise up furiously against them, and privileged classes holding their privileges in defiance of justice and truth, would strike at them fiercely. Mental slothfulness and dulness, unwilling to have its opinions disturbed, impatient of change, averse to exertion, would hate them, and stab them in the dark. So too their *own* indolence and love of ease, even their love of system and of certainty, combine to make languid their search for truth, and induce them to sit down contentedly receptive of whatever thrusts itself upon them.! A mighty host of disturbing influences beset him who conscientiously endeavors to know the right. He must “be prepared to follow the light “of evidence to the most unwelcome conclusions, to labor “earnestly to emancipate the mind from early prejudices, to “resist the current of the desires, and the refracting influence of “the passions, to proportion on all occasions conviction to evidence, and to be ready, if need be, to exchange the calm of “assurance for all the suffering of a perplexed and disturbed “mind.” To do this is very difficult and very painful. It plainly requires bravery. Without great courage there can be no genuine hold on truth, nor any deep devotion to its cause. Shall we not say, let it be most sedulously cultivated? How otherwise can we hope to be numbered with that small band of the truly free, the really noble, who make the earth illustrious by their lives?

“*They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;*

They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think ;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

God grant us all this bravery to speak the truth and seek it too, to follow our sacred convictions to the utmost, to dare anything in this holiest of causes, sure that with God by our side, and eternity before us, we shall conquer though we die.

II. Having considered some of those internal qualities essential to the best progress of the search for truth, we come now to what we laid down as the second general duty, namely, to secure, as far as possible, the removal of all external hindrances out of the truth-seeker's path.

That path ought to be made most inviting to the feet. This is evident whether we consider the inherent importance of the truth itself, or the benefits which accrue from the search for it, or the inevitable difficulties which surround and beset that search. Those difficulties should be made as few as possible. No stone of stumbling, no rock or stick of offence, should ever intentionally be put in the way. The mountains should be made low and the valleys filled, the crooked should be made straight, and the rough places plain, in preparation for the steps of the seekers of truth. For if ever men deserved the admiration and reverence of their fellows it is these ; these, who with no thought of ease or self-interest, or personal gain have devoted their lives to the overthrow of hoary error, to delivering men from the yoke of the specious and the false, and to bringing to bear upon the minds of all, in its beauty and purity and power, glorious truth. Such men rank among the noblest, and most godlike that bless the earth. Than these there are no diviner specimens of manhood. And the path they are striving with strong pure purpose to tread ought to be covered with roses and fitted with every conceivable convenience.

But what are the facts ? That path has been the thorniest and roughest ever anywhere seen. Every possible discouragement has been theirs. They have been greeted with hootings and hissings. Upon them have been poured floods of contumely and scorn. Against them have been leagued church and state, secular government and priestly hierarchy, the lords of the court and the rabble of the street. In their path has stood intolerance like some hideous fiend, grim, gaunt, ghastly, terrible in glance, bloody of hand and untiring in the march of death. Blind bigotry and black ignorance have howled and yelled upon their track. The thumb-screw, the rack, the dungeon, hot pincers and cold steel, the stake, the gibbet, the guillotine,—have been some of the instruments employed to terrify and beat them back. The forms of persecution

have been numberless. They have been reduced to poverty through confiscation of goods, driven into banishment and exile, forced to wander in deserts and hide in caves, delivered over to cruel mockings and scourgings, stoned, sawn asunder, slain with the sword. They have been falsely accused of all conceivable crimes that their reputation might be destroyed, and the minds of their friends poisoned against them. Subtle assaults have been made upon their character with cunningly contrived temptations. Pain in all its myriad forms, physical, mental, social, spiritual, anguish and agony and torture, have been piled upon the hapless heads of those who have reached in their search for truth a conclusion different from that of their rulers and neighbors. It was for this, and this alone, that Socrates drank the hemlock, that Ignatius was thrown to the lions, that Savonarola burned at the stake; for this that an innumerable multitude of holy martyrs, by axe, by faggot, and by wild beast's tooth, have sealed their testimony with their blood. How terrible have been the wrongs perpetrated upon the grand and good, of whom the world was utterly unworthy! After much study upon the subject, I am quite prepared to believe the statement of Lecky, that "religious persecution is the greatest evil men have ever inflicted on their own species." This is not too strongly put. When we think of the millions of victims known, and the far greater numbers unknown, of the sufferings of mind inflicted to which those of the body were small, of the vast detriment to character, as well as the more material harm, of the hypocrisy, deceit, insincerity, and disloyalty to truth produced,—we are ready to rise up and register a solemn vow that, so far as we can bring it about, this thing, this horrible thing, shall come to a perpetual end.

And there is abundant need for such vows. For persecution is not a thing of the past alone. In great measure it still prevails. Though changed in form the spirit abides. The axe is not swung to-day as once it was, nor the fagot fired around the planted stake. But what of that? Reputation is as dear as life, and wounded feelings hurt no less than wounded flesh. To look daggers betrays a readiness to use them, and he who carries flames within his heart would kindle them with his hands. Complete respect for the intellectual rights of others is far from being yet established. Liberty of conscience is a plant of slow growth, and though it ought by this time to tower high, it has found the soil of this world so uncongenial, that it is scarcely more than a shrub. In almost every way it is kept down. In very many lands the ban of the law in one way or another, by exclusion from some privilege or obstruction in some right, is put without mercy upon those who think not in religion with the hereditary law-makers. And where legal penalties can no longer be inflicted, social ones are still in lively use. In certain circles

whoever is found guilty of *thinking* is straightway branded *as* unsound and erratic, the cry of "mad dog", that is, "heretic" *is* started against him, bad motives are imputed, personal faults *are* paraded, his influence is at all points and without scruple undermined, and a whole system of refined intimidation is set to work upon him. It is monstrous thus to bate and worry the noblest of mankind! It is most shocking and unseemly that the strong thinker, the ardent truth-seeker, should be hunted and hounded in such fashion as this! But there is very much of it done. How few try to reason fairly, or even recognize it as a binding though a difficult duty. How few do their best to keep entirely clear of misrepresentation, sophistry, acrimony, invective, and all malignity. The whole tone of thought in many large communities, churches, nations, needs revolutionizing on this subject. The Golden Rule instead of being a dead letter should be lifted into the highest place. "Love thy neighbor as thyself", and "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,"—when these words govern our conduct, our whole bearing towards those who differ from us will be not merely tolerant, but kind and patient, full of charity and consideration, deferent and humble.

How shall this be brought about? What practically can we do to make the truth-seeker's thorny path smoother and brighter?

In the first place, we must be, as far as possible, earnest truth-seekers ourselves. Only thus can we rightly sympathize with those who are. And we must diligently cultivate those qualities that I have previously mentioned,—the sense of our own fallibility, a regard for the right of private judgment, a clear view of the mission of intellectual doubt, and courage to think without fear. He in whom these things abide will put no stumbling-block in any honest searcher's way. Sooner than do it he would cut off his right arm. He would count himself for ever disgraced if he did not help all such to the utmost of his power. Can we not every one in some measure, at least, do thus?

But it is not given to all, you say, to be truth-seekers. They have no time, no talents, no teachers, no training, no appliances of any sort wherewith to investigate widely or deeply. The great masses of mankind, you tell me, must accept without much inquiry the current opinions of their day and land, must conform to the standard of their time, and use without essential change the heritage to which they were born. Very well. Be it so. Then must they let the matter alone. No one will find fault with them for that if they can do no better. But they must not insist that because they cannot investigate, no one else shall,—*because it is not their duty it is nobody's*. They must not play "*dog in the manger*." Neither must they pretend to have *investigated* when they have not. Yet this is very common. It is

a sop to pride. It ministers in some minds to fancied greatness. But nothing is easier of detection. Invariably those least competent to pronounce are most vehement in assertion, and those with the poorest qualifications for judging insist on condemning all their neighbors. And it is from this, very largely, that spring persecution, bigotry, intolerance, and the whole horrid paraphernalia for the enslavement of the human mind.

Lastly, by far the most important thing for us to do in the way of helping truth and her votaries, the sum and substance of the whole, is to throw all our influence, by word and deed, in favor of the utmost freedom of thought.

Freedom of thought is the truth-seeker's "vital breath, his "native air." It is a prime necessity for any substantial progress in the attainment of truth. As truth alone can make men free, so freedom alone can give men truth. Force can never do it. Over and over again has it been tried, but always with the same result. It is high time the nations fully learned the shocking unfitness of force in any shape as a weapon in religious controversy or a medium of learning. It is foolish as well as sinful. It is not only a crime but a blunder. Force makes men cling with closer affection to that which others try with injustice and violence to wrest from them. It produces an inevitable reaction in favor of the thing for which the wrong is done. It is worse than useless to try to change men's conduct without changing their convictions. It is idiotic, and it is fraught with most grievous wrongs. To silence an opinion is to rob the human race, to shut it out from access to what might prove the germ of untold good. None but traitors to the majesty of truth will ever do it.

The highest certainty is reached only by unrestricted discussion. There is no other way. However eager we may be, and properly so, to impress upon others what we deem vital to their welfare, we should carefully remember that it cannot be done effectually by any other process than kind persistent persuasion. The ideas we cherish will not be true to them until they reach them themselves by free inquiry. We cannot do the work for them. True to us in the deepest sense these ideas may be,—we may feel them to our very finger tips, they may throb in every pulse, kindle a sacred light in our eye, flash along our nerves, and thrill us through and through, but not only does all that give us no authority or right to force them down the throats of others, the forcing them down will do them no good. They must get them in the regular way, or they get them really not at all. He alone possesses the truth, and is possessed by it, who has met the opposing arguments, who has looked in the face all the difficulties and fairly fought them out. As one of the English poets has said,—

*"Who never doubted, never half believed;
Where doubt, there truth is, it is her shadow."*

For even what we have of truth apart from live investigation, is held in a dead, inoperative way, rather as prejudice or superstition, not fully understood or properly respected. We must make it a part of ourselves by independent scrutiny; it must enter into our mental constitution, as the iron elements of the blood enter into our physical system. And, unless we have thus mastered it, it will not do its proper work upon us. It will lie within us as a foreign thing, to which we really have no right, not the grand inspiration, source of life, and health, and strength divine, which it becomes when once we have fairly conquered it for our own.

We missionaries, it seems to me, should take special heed to this. For, unless thought is awakened, and intellect kindled among those to whom we preach, native Christians and others, there can be little proper reception of Christianity. Except ignorance be removed and minds informed, Christian truth has but a fickle, slender hold, and is for the most part without effect upon the life; outward forms are adopted, but the spirit is not grasped. Christianity stimulates free thought, and requires it. Where it is not encouraged, but stifled or neglected even, there will be found ritualism and superstition in abundance, but very little vigorous vitality. A self-sustaining, self-governing, and self-propagating church will be a church with plenty of doctrinal discussion in it, and not a little variance from the established standards that have seemed good to other times and nations.

Again, free thought is one of the natural inherent rights of humanity. To attempt to bind thought is an atrocious crime, condemned by the deepest instincts of the race. To try to fetter conscience is a glaring outrage against which whatever is best within us indignantly protests. Who is there that has a right to do it? There is no one with the slightest authority to prescribe opinion or belief for his fellow-man. Kings and governors have attempted it, but surely it does not lie within their province. It is a barefaced assumption of theirs, that should never be passed without fearless challenge and stern denunciation. "Toleration," as the departed Motley, the great historian of freedom in the Netherlands, well said, "toleration is a phrase of insult." Toleration! What business has any potentate to talk of tolerating, allowing, enduring, that I should differ from him? With just as clear a right may I say, I endure that *he* should differ from me. For the realm of mind and soul is a republic, where king and peasant stand on a basis of perfect equality. To God alone in this thing must they both answer, and if either toward the other by so much as a hair's breadth goes beyond the line of pure persuasion and fair appeal to reason, he commits a heinous sin. Such is the majesty of conscience, such the right of independent thought! To permit it to be shackled, or chained, or fettered, is a *breach of manhood*. Only the most despicable of despotisms will

attempt it. Only the most despicable of subjects will permit it. For, implanted in the breast of all the noble is an intense, deep-seated hatred of every form of oppression. Freedom is an instinct given of God, and all unjust restrictions upon it will be resisted with the whole force of which man is capable. Physical freedom has long been rated thus. But what is enslavement of the body compared with that of the mind and soul? The latter is the deeper wrong, sure to be far more keenly felt, and more resolutely opposed by all who are worthy of this high gift of heaven. It is a bitter insult to the royalty of mind, an empty vaunting of cowardly brute force, impotent malice against the truth of God. It is the resort of tyrants, conscious of weakness of brain and strength of arm. Only those attempt to suppress free thought, who are either sure it can bring no more truth to the world, or are afraid it will. Either they do not care for the truth, or they are certain they have it all. And either way they are to be condemned; but most of all, if they are conscious resisters of the light, if they deliberately shut their eyes and refuse to see, because of their love for error and evil. These are the ones against whom should be launched the hot thunderbolts of righteous wrath, but never against those who honestly seek the truth. The worst thing in this world is to discern the truth, and be false to it. The best thing in this world is to discern the truth, and be true to it. Oh for the multiplication of such men of clear minds and pure motives, caring not for the obstacles, considering not the politic, the expedient, the safe, but only the *true* and the *right*, courageous, candid, honest, humble, depending on God, and defying, if need be, all else. Such have been the martyrs, and the heroes who have blessed the earth. And it is by the hands of men like these, that every great and noble cause is pushed forward to a triumphant goal.

I plead thus for freedom of thought, because I believe this alone can give us the truth, and also because the deepest instincts of the human mind recognize the fettering of the soul as unjust. Freedom, truth, justice; justice, freedom, truth; truth, justice, freedom;—these three are inseparably linked. They form one chain of triple strength, one temple of threefold beauty and solidity, that never shall be broken or overthrown. He who attacks one, attacks all. He who is faithful to one, is faithful to all. Blessed is he who firmly keeps to these grand fundamental moralities. Amid the surging, restless sea of doctrinal opinions, and theological differences, ever casting up mire and dirt, here is solid rock. To seek for truth, to do justice, and to fight the battles of liberty are clear duties. Good men will agree on these, and around them they can and must unite.

Let public questions that stir up strife, be tried by this simple touchstone, their bearing toward these cardinal moralities.

Whatever fails to pass this ordeal, whatever offends in the least against Freedom, Justice, or Truth, let it go down. It will and must go down. All the forces in the world could not permanently keep it up. Injustice and oppression are unmistakably evil, and to do evil, even a little, in order that what we deem great good may come, is simply one of the subtlest temptations of the father of all wickedness. To tamper with fundamental morality in the supposed interests of religion, is one of the greatest, most fatal mistakes men ever can commit. It has been often done. History is crowded with "pious frauds"; deceit, and artifice, and double-dealing have been continually used for the imagined necessities of the faith and the Church. Scheming, and trickery, and dishonest manœuvres have stained ecclesiastical annals through and through. Worse than this, religion has been made to seem to sanction the foulest crimes, and the vilest excesses of the passions. Such are the terrible fruits of departing in the smallest measure from the plain guiding lines of the true, the free, the just. Let us never do it, come what may. Real religion has nothing to gain from any infringement of the strictest morality; it has nothing to fear while it keeps firmly and closely by these clear principles. Only that which is false, of men, not of God, of priests, not of Christ, of human invention, not of the Holy Ghost,—let that tremble, since it is but for a day, while these are for eternity.

"Though the cause of Evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth alone is strong,
And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng
Troops of beautiful, tall angels, to enshield her from all wrong.

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"Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record
One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word;
Truth for ever on the scaffold, Wrong for ever on the throne,—
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

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"Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause brings fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is crucified,
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

"Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes,—they were souls that stood alone,
While the men they agonized for hurled the contumelious stone,
Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline
To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine,
By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design.

"By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track,
Toiling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back,
And these mounts of anguish number how each generation learned
One new word of that grand *Credo* which in prophet hearts hath burned
Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to heaven upturned.

"For Humanity sweeps onward : where to-day the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands ;
Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn."

JAMES MUDGE.

ART. V.—JAGJĪ'WAN DÁS, THE HINDU REFORMER.

THERE are few missionaries in Northern India but have met probably among their enquirers—men who have professed themselves as followers of Bába Jagjīwan Dás, whose praise they have not been slow to sing. This illustrious Hindu was the founder of the Sattnámi sect, the members of which are counted by the ten thousand, and are to be found in all parts of North India from Benares to Amritsar. Having recently paid a visit to the spot where this great teacher spent the latter part of his life, and where he died, we propose giving some account of his life and teachings, which may be of interest to the readers of the *Review*. For the following particulars we are indebted in part to an article in the *Oudh Gazetteer*, the statements of which we verified in our recent visit.

Jagjīwan Dás was born at Sardaha in the Barabanki district, forty miles east of Lucknow, in Sambát 1738 (A.D. 1682). The village was then probably on the bank of the Ghogra (Sarju) which, shifting its channel from year to year, now flows a mile away. The house in which he was born has long since fallen into decay, and at present nothing but the site is to be seen. The village itself is a small, quiet, out-of-the-way place, with perhaps five hundred inhabitants. The Bába was a Thákur by caste. His father Ganga Ram was a Chandel (the family came originally from Rajputana) and a landholder, living at Sardaha. When six months old his father's *guru*, Bisheshwar Puri, threw his mantle over him, and instantly a saffron-colored *tilak* appeared on the babe's forehead.

The reformer was not a peripatetic ; he spent the greater part of his life at Sardaha, doing many wonderful works, as is stated, and gaining followers. His four chief disciples were :—

1. Goshain Dás, an Upaddhia Brahman.
2. Debi Dás, Chamar Gaur Thakur.
3. Dulam Dás, Sombausi Thakur.
4. Kheni Dás, Teivari Brahman.

Besides these there were—

5. Sanwal Dās, Brahman.
6. Ude Rām, Urya Brahman.
7. Shiva Dās, Gaur Brahman.
8. Rām Dās and Baddri Dās, Kurn.
9. Mansa Dās, Mochi (shoemaker).
10. Bhowani Dās, Bahrelia Thakur.
11. Ahlad Das, Chāndel.
12. Sundar Dās, Brahman.
13. Tunur Dās, Sombausi.
14. Kara Dās, Brahman.

With but two or three exceptions these disciples located themselves in villages near Sardaha, all in the same district. One went to Amballa and another to Amritsar, where they took up their abodes and gained followers.

The Sardaha reformer resembled Nanak (A. D. 1469-1539) in several respects. "Although a thorough Hindu, he was able to establish some communion of thought between himself and the Muhammadans." Two at least of his disciples were Muhammadans. He adapted himself to all classes, and among his disciples was one of the low caste of Kori, who converted Chamars and other low-caste Hindus to the faith. He founded a kind of church universal, taking in all kinds and classes of people, high and low, rich and poor.

The Sattnāmis profess (as their name signifies),—

"To adore the true name alone, the one God, the cause and creator of all things, the *Nirgun*, or void of sensible qualities, without beginning or end. They borrow however their notions of creation from the Vedānta philosophy, or rather from the modified forms in which it is adapted to vulgar apprehension, worldly existence is illusion, or the work of *Maya*, the primitive character of Bhawani, the wife of Shiva. They recognize accordingly the whole Hindu Pantheon, and although they profess to worship but one God, pay reverence to what they consider manifestations of his nature visible in the Avatārs, particularly Rama and Krishna. * * Their moral code is much the same as that of all Hindu ascetics, and enjoins indifference to the world, its pleasures or its pains; devotion to the spiritual guide; clemency and gentleness; rigid adherence to truth; the discharge of all ordinary social or religious obligations; and the hope of final absorption into the one spirit with all things."¹

It will be seen from the foregoing that there is but little difference between the Sattnāmis and some of the Vaishnava sectaries. As has been said of the Sikhs, so we may say of the Sattnāmis:—

"The conception of God and of his creation is pantheistic; the whole universe and all things therein being identified with the supreme. Finite beings have therefore no separate existence apart from the Absolute; and it is merely owing to the *Maya* or deception which the Absolute has spread over the universe, that creatures are led to consider themselves individual

¹ *Oudh Gasetteer*, vol. i., p. 362.

ings distinct from God. 'By Himself the vessels are formed, and He himself fills them.' The world is therefore nothing but a mere farce in which the Absolute Being plays and sports, and no reason can be given for the production or destruction of created beings, which are regarded but as cosmogonic revolutions, to be accounted for only by the sporting propensity of the great Supreme. * * The human soul is represented as being that which has emanated from the Absolute, and is by itself immortal, and must be the great aim and object of this divine spark, to be re-united with the fountain of light from which it has emanated, and to be re-absorbed into it."¹

As of Nanak so of Jagjīwan Dás it may be said :—"It does not appear that he actually forbade the worship of other gods than the great Supreme, but he certainly did much to lower their position and to place them in absolute subordination to the one God."²

The Sattnāmis ought to discard idolatry, and professedly do; but the manner in which they heap sweetmeats, flowers and coins on the tombs of their departed leaders at the time of their semi-annual festivals does not speak well for their consistency. When questioned regarding this reprehensible proceeding they answer with more readiness than conscientiousness :—"It is the custom of the world, hence we do it." The offerings made at the tombs go to support the priests and attendants.

Jagjīwan Dás composed the sacred book of his sect, which is called *Agh Binsh* (Sin-remover). It is in verse and believed to be inspired; it however contains stories from the Puranas, as also lessons on morals; it prescribes certain rules of piety and contains lessons on ethics and divinity, being all extracts from Sanskrit works on the Hindu religion. It is in Hindi, but as it has never yet been printed, it is difficult for the missionary to obtain a copy. It is said that numerous commentaries have been written upon it; and being in couplets it is easily memorized by the rhyme-loving people.³

¹ *Indian Christian Intelligencer*, vol. ii., No. 6, p. 166-7. ² *Id.* p. 166.

³ We have just been shown a copy by the chief *mahant*, of Lucknow. It is a thick quarto volume, written by hand in red and black ink. It is of various metres, the language being a compound of Sanskrit and Hindi. The following quotations will be sufficient to indicate its general character :—

Chhand Aghbinash.

Ishwara ágyá páwáun, gun dás hoke gáwáun,
 Man pratitam jánke main charan te chitt láwáun,
 Kahata hun kara jora, suniye mora tumahi sunáwáun,
 Sadá rákháun chitt tuma se kabahun ná bisráwáun,
 Gyán tumahín dhiyán tumahín tumahín man aurádháun,
 Satta-rup surrup tumhará soí man men sádháun.
 Agh-bináshang karahu jab tum gyán tattang áwái,
 Ho dayalang dás par tab gyán se gun gáwái,
 Jagjīwan Dásang binai kar kahe saran apní ánahu,
 Ai gunang anek Karmang met dás ke jánahu.

The reformer also wrote several tracts, as the *Inyan Pra Maha Pralaya*, and *Pratham Grantha*: they are in H couplets. The first is dated Sambat 1817 (A.D. 1761); the la in the form of a dialogue between Shiva and Parbati.

About ten years before his death Jagjīwan Dás Sardaha and took up his abode at Kotwa, a small vil

[Translation.]

I have received the command of God, having become (his) serv
would sing (his) praise.

Having known mind (God) to be true, I to his feet have brought (my)
I am saying (with hands) joined, You listen to me (what) I have cau
be heard.

Always have I kept (my) heart for thee, never have I forgotten (thee).
Knowledge (is) thine, reflection (is) thine, thine (is) the mind (in w
have lived.

The true figure, the good form thou art, that in (my) mind. have I
pure.

Sin (is) annihilated when to you a knowledge of divine truth shall com
Be merciful on (thy) servant, then from knowledge he will sing (thy) p
(I), the servant of the Life of the world, having worshipped, into his a
am coming.

O, virtue, multiform works having been atoned for, (I thy) serva
knowing (thee).

Doha.

Aghbinásh hargun kahun, jehte upje gyán
Jagjīwan Dás dhiyán dhar, kare tumhár bakhán
Ishwara Shiv se kahata hai, hain sune jo kou chit lée,
Neg janam ke karma agh, sunata khand hoe jáe.
Shiv sun satt mán bás kar, katha karun prakásh,
Sun biswás karihe, jo kare satt mán básh.
Parmáarth karaj ká, santan kín prakásh,
Sun pratit jo mániye, tin ki pují ásh.
Ishwar ágyá kárie, minti karon kar jor,
Ho hu dayál dás par, astul gáun tor.

[Translation.]

Sin annihilated (of the) virtue of Hari (Sri Krishn) will I speak,
life may knowledge (of him) increase !

Servant of the Life of the world, meditate (on him), that (he
praise may sound.

God to Shiv says, Whoever hears (he) the heart should bring (to
Of the wickedness of works having been born (he) hearing may
as sugar.

(You) having heard (him) dwell in a true character, this stor
manifest.

Hear (and) believe; whatever you do (let it be) truth in the c
dwelling.

The works (that have) a superior aim, (like the) saints have bee
fested.

Hear and obey (with) faith; whose worship (Shiv's) is hope.
The commands of God perform, do worship having joined (han
There will be favor on (thy) servant: thy praise will I sing.

five miles distant. The reputed cause of his removal was family disputes concerning land. The village of Kotwa was given to the sect by one of the kings of Oudh a hundred years ago, and is thus held at present. Here the Bába died in Sambat 1817 (A.D. 1761); and here his successors have lived and died. A large shrine was erected in honor of the departed worthy by Rai Nihal Chand in the reign of Asuf ud Dowlah (1775-93). Two large fairs are held at Kotwa on the last days of Kartik and Baisakh (April and November), and a smaller one on the last day of every month. Certain miraculous cures are recorded of Jagjīwan Dās, and the waters of the *Abhiram táláb* (tank) near his shrine are still believed to retain miraculous healing powers.

The grove at Kotwa contains some fine old tamarind trees. It is infested with monkeys and Brahmani bulls; the former are a source of no little annoyance to the tented sojourner; the latter cause a great deal of mischief. The tombs of the Bába and his successors in office are situated in separate enclosures a few hundred yards from each other; they are temples in outward appearance.

Jagjīwan Dās had five sons, and the office of *mahant* (leader or chief priest) has been confined to his own family. There are but two members of the family now living, and as they both are old and childless it is probable that on their death the office will pass to some distant relative.

As to the habits and customs of the Sattnámis the following brief statements may suffice:—

“Meat, *masúr* (a kind of pulse) and intoxicating liquors are prohibited, as also is the *baingan* (egg-plant), at least locally. Smoking, on the contrary, seems to be allowed. Caste distinctions are not lost on a profession of Sattnámism. On the contrary, its professors seem careful not to interfere with caste prejudices and family customs. Fasts are kept, at least to a partial extent, on Tuesday the day of Hanuman, and on Sunday, the day of the sun. A good deal of liberality is shown towards local superstitions. Incense is weekly burnt to Hanuman under the title of Mahabir, whilst Rám Chandra seems to come in for a share of adoration. The water in which the *Guru's* feet have been washed, is drunk only when the *Guru* is of equal or higher caste than the disciple. Sattnámis seem steadily to observe the festivals of their Hindu brethren. Their distinctive mark is the *ándu*, or black and white twisted thread, generally of silk, worn on the right wrist. The full-blown *mahant* wears an *ándu* on each wrist and each ankle. The *tilak* is one black perpendicular streak. The bodies of the dead are buried not burned.”¹

The use of the egg-plant is forbidden for this reason:—

“Raja Debi Baksh, late *talugdár* of Gonda, married in the family of Jagjīwan Dās, and on the occasion of his marriage he was entertained as a guest together with his whole suite. But he declined their hospitality unless served with flesh. The Sattnámis at last prepared a curry of *baingan*,

¹ *Oudh Gazetteer*, vol. i., p. 363-4.

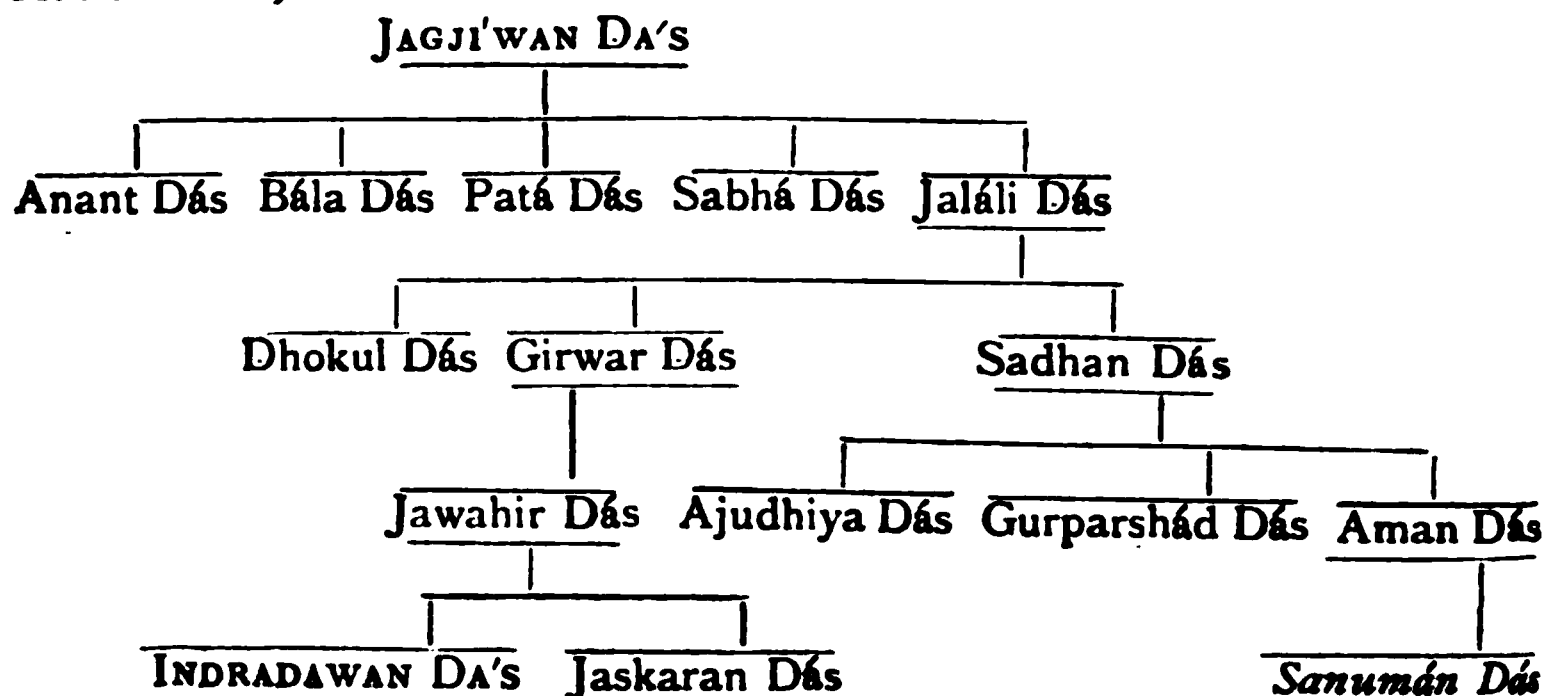
pronounced a prayer upon it, and when served out it was found to be flesh ; from thenceforth the Sattnámis renounced the eating of *baingan* as a thing convertible into meat."¹

During our recent visit we had two pleasant interviews with the *Mahant*, and preached, prayed and sang before him and his attendants. It is our purpose to cultivate the friendship of these people, and to pay them another visit (as they requested) at the time of their November fair. A hundred thousand *true* Sattnámis would be a great help to us in our missionary efforts in North India.

B. H. BADLEY.

¹ *Oudh Gazetteer*, vol. i., p. 362.

We append a genealogical chart of the family. Bába Indradawan Dás being the older of the two surviving members occupies the *gadi*, or seat of honor, at Kotwa :—



ART. VI.—PREACHING TO THE HINDUS.

THE verbs commonly translated 'to preach' in the Bible are κηρύσσειν and εὐαγγέλειν. The former means *to cry, to proclaim* as a herald (κήρυξ), and the latter to *bring a joyful message, to announce glad tidings*. The herald is the preacher, and the *glad tidings* which he brings and announces are God's purposes of mercy towards the human race revealed through Jesus Christ.

I use the phrase 'preaching to the Hindus' to denote what is generally understood by the phrases 'street-preaching,' 'bazar-preaching,' 'open-air preaching,' 'zayat preaching,' and all forms of preaching the Gospel to the heathen in the vernacular, other than in schools, churches, or chapels.

That the preacher should go forth and stand in public places proclaiming the facts of salvation to those who are ignorant and unwilling to come to hear them proclaimed elsewhere, none, I presume, will deny, except such as have either no faith in the divine power of the Gospel, or no ability to make themselves understood by the people. The command of Jesus is very explicit—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature"; and however Christians may differ about the *best* mode, among many, of fulfilling that command, I should think that none, with the example of Christ and his Apostles before them, can doubt that preaching in the "highways and hedges" is *one* mode at least.

Granting then that preaching the Gospel to the people, *wherever* they are found willing to listen to it, is one mode of fulfilling our Lord's command, I propose to consider—(1) the qualifications necessary for the preacher in order to perform this important work, so as to commend the Gospel to the Hindus; (2) the manner in which preaching the Gospel to the Hindus should be conducted; and (3) the results which follow this work.

I. It is of the greatest importance to inquire at the outset,—What are the qualifications necessary for the preacher in order to perform this work so as to commend the Gospel to the Hindus? for the success of the work will depend, to a very great extent, on the ability and aptitude with which it is performed.

1. The first and foremost qualification is love to God. We have a beautiful illustration of this in the case of Peter, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these?" Our Lord did not consider Peter qualified to do the work of an Apostle before he had declared publicly and sincerely that he loved him more than any other object or being. It was not enough that he had *repented of his sin*; that he had been intellectually qualified for

the work of an evangelist by the tuition of the Great Teacher; and that he had shown such burning zeal for his Master as to endanger his own life, and such physical power to endure fatigue and privations as the following of Jesus entailed;—all these qualifications could not make him an efficient preacher of the Gospel, a true minister of Jesus Christ. One thing more was necessary. “Lovest thou me?” And so it is now. Show me a man who is void of love to God, and I will show you a man, whatever his qualifications otherwise may be, who will never succeed as a preacher to the Hindus. I fear there is reason to believe that this fact is too much lost sight of both by the directors of missionary societies at home, and by missionary committees abroad when selecting men for evangelistic work. I fear that there is a tendency to put greater stress upon *mental* than upon *spiritual* qualifications. I do not think for a moment that this is intentional. It arises principally in the case of missionary societies from charity, and in the case of missionary committees from necessity. The directors of missionary societies believe, without much enquiry, that the candidate recommended to them is truly converted, that his heart is right, and that the love of God constrains him to offer his services in God’s vineyard abroad. But a little more careful enquiry on their part, and especially on the part of the professors of the college in which he studied, might convince them that he is actuated by some other motives, and hence is utterly unfit to go out as a missionary to the heathen. The lack of right motives, of love to God and love to man, is doubtless the cause of so many failures among those who are sent out from England and elsewhere. Then missionaries on the field are apt to make the same mistake, but perhaps with more excuse, for their peculiar circumstances in India make it absolutely necessary that they should have native assistants, and that they should prepare them for the work. If a lad, therefore, is sharp, and likely to get on with his studies, and is apparently a good youth, he is sent to a training institution, and educated at the expense of the mission for the work of an evangelist. And when he has passed through the prescribed course of studies, he is sent forth to preach the Gospel to his countrymen. What is the result? Too often it is dissatisfaction with his pay, or with his station, or with his work, or with all, and then—he leaves the mission. What is the cause of this? I hesitate not to answer, *want of love to God and His work*. The man is mentally qualified, and the missionary may be proud of his abilities, but he is spiritually disqualified, and hence no good will result from his labors. And even the majority of our native preachers who continue at their work, are often a source of great grief to us because they show *so little sympathy* with their countrymen, *so little real anxiety to save them*, and *so little zeal for the glory of God*. I think the

time has come when missionaries should abandon this mechanical plan of making evangelists, and only employ those, possibly inferior in education, who give unmistakable evidence of true conversion and love to God. Better have no assistants than such as are not filled with the Holy Ghost.

2. The preacher to the heathen must believe thoroughly in his vocation and in the necessity and utility of proclaiming the Gospel to the people everywhere. He must be thoroughly convinced in his own mind that he is called by God to do this work, that necessity is laid upon him, and that woe is to him if he preach not. He must firmly believe that the good seed sown will spring up; that the word of the Lord will not return to him void, but that it will accomplish that for which it is sent; and that by the foolishness of preaching, God will save some. In a word, he must be an *enthusiast* with an unwavering faith in the ultimate triumph of the Gospel. I know that there are many brethren, both European and native, engaged in the evangelization of India, whose love to God is beyond a doubt, and yet who are spiritually unfit to carry on this work because they have not the same faith in it as in some other modes, such as education, tract distribution, or house-to-house visitation. To such, street-preaching is a burden, and as every word drops from their mouth they inwardly exclaim "What is the use?" And truly in their case it is no use. They have mistaken their calling. God did not intend them to stand in the thoroughfares of India to proclaim publicly the message of salvation. Whatever work therefore he has for them to do, it is evidently not this. What effect would the preaching of the Apostle Paul have had unless he believed both in his calling and in the power of the truth?

3. Then the mental qualification of the street-preacher cannot be over-estimated. The more cultured he is, the better qualified he will be. This applies to both European and native. Taking it for granted, however, that the former has passed through the usual college course at home to qualify himself for the Christian ministry, there are certain *special* qualifications absolutely necessary to make him an efficient preacher to the Hindus.

(a) He must master the language of the people among whom he labors. This is a very difficult task, and will require the chief portion of one's time for two or three years. But any one of ordinary capacity, unless there be some physical inability to pronounce certain letters, ought, with close application, to acquire one of the Indian languages so as to speak it fluently and intelligibly in three years. He ought, however, to devote the *whole* of his time and energies to its acquisition; and on no account *should he have the care and worry of a mission station thrown upon him until he has resided two years at least in the country.* If

a missionary does not acquire the language in the first three years, he will probably never acquire it so as to speak it with any degree of comfort. And when one has made such progress in the language as to be able to converse freely with native Christians and preach so as to be understood by them, he should be careful not to suppose that he knows the language thoroughly. I have known missionaries who could preach in Tamil intelligibly in a church to a Christian congregation, and converse, so as to be understood, with servants and *cutcherry* officials, but whose Tamil would be almost a foreign tongue to a promiscuous gathering of heathen in the street. The reason is that native Christians, *cutcherry* officials, and servants, are used to Europeans, and hence know what they mean when they speak unidiomatically. Unless a man knows the language well, and can wield it with power, he had better not attempt open-air preaching.

(b) He should study the literature of the people. This is no less necessary to a thorough knowledge of the language, than it is to a thorough knowledge of the spiritual wants of the people, their difficulties, their longings, and the best way to present the Gospel to them. The literature of the Hindus ranges over a wide field of mythology, philosophy, proverbs, and stories; and every missionary ought to be familiar with it in all its ramifications. Their stories and proverbs are both amusing and instructive, and can always be made use of either to silence an objection, or to urge the necessity and reasonableness of certain truths. A great many beautiful verses abound in their poetry, ridiculing the worship of idols, and representing God as the great universal spirit, without beginning and without ending, who created all things, and whom all should adore. I have often noticed the magical effect which the repetition of such verses has upon a crowd in inducing them to listen most intently to the sermon, and in convincing them that what is said cannot be far wrong, since it is confirmed by their own sages. The street-preacher should call to his aid all that is noble and good in Hinduism; all that is calculated to bring the people back from their gorgeously abominable mythology to first principles. I have no fear that the Gospel will lose any of its effulgent glory by recognizing all the small rays of heavenly light scattered among the Hindus, and I have no sympathy with those who can see no truth apart from the Bible. Let any one either from ignorance or prejudice deny or ignore certain truths scattered among the various systems of India, and he will find himself in a very humiliating position when a clever Hindu repeats a piece of poetry to the effect that the sages of India have long ago *taught the truths* in question.

(c) He should learn a little Sanscrit. It is true that a knowledge of Sanscrit is not absolutely necessary to one's efficiency as

a missionary in the South of India, where the languages are Turanian and not Indo-European. I cannot therefore agree with Professor Monier Williams, that ignorance of Sanscrit on the part of missionaries, in the South at least, is a great hindrance to the success of their work. A knowledge of Sanscrit however is very desirable, and gives a man great influence with the Brahmans, whose sacred books are locked up in that language. And often if they find that the missionary is ignorant of their sacred language, they will take advantage of his ignorance either as an excuse for not listening to him, on the plea that he knows nothing, or to refute what he says by repeating *slokas* which rightly or wrongly they interpret to suit their own purpose,—for they are not scrupulous about the *means* provided the *end* is answered. I have often found the repetition of a Sanscrit *sloka* the means of arresting the attention of a number of Brahmans while walking in the street, and of inducing them to listen respectfully to what I had to say, who otherwise would have passed by and kept aloof. I have found also the repetition of a Sanscrit *sloka* the best means of disarming Brahmans who come for the express purpose of wrangling disputation. I remember once going to Conjeveram, one of the most sacred places of the Vaishnavites, where there are always large crowds of Brahmans as bigoted as they can be, but on hearing me repeating a Sanscrit *sloka*, they came round me looking quite pleased, conversed freely on religion, took me to see the Sanscrit School, and by my request allowed me, on taking off my shoes, to enter the most holy place of the great temple.

II. The manner in which preaching to the Hindus should be conducted. This involves two questions—(1) How to attract a congregation? and (2) How to proclaim the Gospel to them?

I. There are various ways of gathering a congregation. In a town or a village a European can generally gather a crowd by standing in some prominent place by the road-side or where two roads cross each other. Care should be taken, however, that the place selected be such that the audience cannot interfere materially with traffic or encroach on the rights of individuals. Sometimes I sit in a public *choultri* or a *mandapam*,—a resting-place for travellers in connexion with temples,—or on the *pial* of the house of a respectable resident, but always with permission. Two or three of my best native preachers accompany me; and a congregation is soon gathered by one reading a portion of the Scriptures, or a portion of some Hindu book, or a Christian tract, or by *all* singing a lyric. Then two or three short, spirited, and well studied, addresses are delivered, varying in subjects and illustrations, but containing as a whole the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel, and occupying about half an hour. And after offering *tracts and Bibles for sale*, and giving an opportunity to every

one either to ask questions or to discuss, we move to another place in the same street or to another street, followed partly by the same crowd and gathering a fresh audience as we go along, and then we sing and preach as before, and thus continue both morning and evening, until the town or the village is pretty thoroughly saturated with the truths of Christianity. When touring, we pitch our tent in some central place, generally a *talug* town, and remain there about a week visiting the villages within a radius of seven miles. And those places where we have Christian congregations are similarly used as centres. We endeavor to visit the same places at least twice in the year; and to locate catechists in such centres as to be able to visit them much oftener. Better by far to take a limited sphere and visit it often, than to take a wide sphere where one's visits can only be few and far between. Constant visiting is absolutely necessary to the success of this kind of work among the Hindus. Their mental faculties are so blunted by ignorance, and their moral nature so besotted with crimes and the most licentious superstition, that it must be "precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little."

2. How to preach the Gospel to the Hindus? It should be preached from a Hindu point of view, and through Hindu modes of thought. And this is not a difficult task, for all the fundamental doctrines of divine revelation are found in Hinduism in distorted forms. These forms must be utilized, what is erroneous must be exposed, and the true doctrines made manifest. For instance, when proving that the Bible is the Word of God revealed through certain holy men, who wrote the portions which bear their names, we have only to begin by pointing out that the Hindus acknowledge several book-revelations given by the gods through holy *rishis* and ascetics, and we meet at once on a common ground as to the necessity and possibility of a book-revelation. All we have to do then is show that the Vedas and Puranas are not revelations from the *true* God, because they reveal many gods and so leave man in ignorance of the *true* God; because they are inconsistent and contradictory; because the Hindu sages give conflicting testimony respecting their origin; and because they do not reveal a pure object of worship, but many objects whose character is an embodiment of man's evil passions magnified to the utmost extent. In speaking of one God against the many, we should remind the audience that one Supreme Being is unanimously acknowledged by all Hindus, and some sublime passages from both the Sanscrit and the vernacular literature should be produced in proof of this. Care should be taken however to point out that the true God is neither Bramha, Vishnu, nor Siva, because the character of all three is unworthy of a good man, much less of the Supreme Being. When urging the people

to cast away their idols and worship the true God in spirit, we should always have the pantheism of India in view, and so direct our remarks as to show them that God and idols are distinct and separate, and not *one* and the same, as most maintain in justification of idolatry. I was once amused to see how delighted a young missionary was, in his first attempt at street-preaching, to hear the people assent to the proposition that idols cannot be God because he is everywhere whereas they are local. The people in harmony with the Vedanta philosophy believing God to be everywhere because he is all things, could not understand the force of his argument, and hence jumped at the conclusion that he was one with them in maintaining that God is everywhere because he is everything. He should have established first the general proposition that God and matter are not the same, but different; that they hold the same relation to one another as cause and effect; that God as the Creator and Preserver of all things is present everywhere with the works of his hands in a spiritual sense, without being himself those works, in the same way as the wind is everywhere without all things being wind, and the people would have seen the force of his argument. When speaking of creation, we must be careful to explain that it does not mean an emanation from the Deity, but the exercise of divine power and wisdom in calling forth what did not previously exist into being. In speaking of sin, care should be taken to explain that it is rebellion against God, and that it originated in the exercise of man's free-will, and is not the result of the union of the soul with *prakrit*, or an illusion arising from ignorance that man and God are *one*. As a rule people of all castes will readily admit that they are sinners; but occasionally I have met Brahmans who denied that *they* are sinners on the ground that all Brahmans are twice-born, and have kept themselves undefiled. I should have been placed in a serious dilemma once by the persistent assertion of a pandit before a large crowd, that all Brahmans are free from all taint of sin, had I not been able to repeat a part of a prayer used by the Brahmans every day, in which confession of sin is made,—viz., "*Papaham, papakarma-aham, papatma, papasambhava,*" etc.—"I am sin, I commit sin, my nature is sinful, I am conceived in sin," etc. On hearing this his countenance fell, and he retired in great disgrace, the people laughing, and declaring that he had given a practical proof of the sinfulness of his nature, by trying to conquer me with a lie.

After expatiating on the nature and consequences of sin, the great plan of redemption naturally comes in. Here again, Hinduism has prepared the way, and made the conception of it easy. The necessity and possibility of an incarnation of God is recognized. The Hindu gods have often become incarnate

in order to accomplish certain works for men. Let these incarnations, and the incarnation of Vishnu in the person of Krishna, be dwelt upon. Krishna, the frolicsome, good-natured demi-god, is a great favorite throughout India, and especially so with the women. We are told that he is an incarnation of the god Vishnu; that he assumed human nature in order to bear the burden of the world,—which burden is sin—and to save men from it. Now we have only to grasp this great doctrine of Hinduism; point out that the character of Vishnu was so bad according to Hindu books, that if he were in India in this nineteenth century, he would be publicly seized and locked up by the police; and hence that he cannot be a true incarnation of the true God, capable of saving the world from the sins to which he himself was preëminently addicted. Then the true incarnation, Jesus Christ, and his great work, can be easily made known so as to be understood and appreciated by the people. When preaching on repentance, care should be taken to explain the difference between the Christian doctrine, and the Hindu doctrine of penance. Justification should be represented as a blessing, the effect of the work of Christ, and not the result of accumulated personal merit; and sanctification as the purification of the soul by the Holy Spirit, and obedience to Jesus, and not transmigration of souls from one body to another. Heaven should be represented as neither absorption into Deity nor a place of sensual pleasure, but the eternal home of the holy and the just.

I do not as a rule preach directly against caste, for I consider it undesirable, and calculated to exasperate a crowd. I do however indirectly, by telling the people that in the sight of God there are only two castes, the pious and the wicked, the good and the bad, the true religionists and the false. It often happens however that I am compelled to take up the subject by people asking,—“Can we become Christians without breaking our “caste?” or saying,—“Your religion is good and true, and we “ought to embrace it, but if we do so, our caste will go.” I then prove from their own books that caste comes not by birth, but by the performance of good works, and hence that the caste by birth now prevalent among the Hindus is a fiction; and further that caste by good works is similar to the doctrine of the Gospel, which is, that all the virtuous are God’s people, and so belong to the highest caste; whereas all the wicked are his enemies, and so belong to the lowest or despised caste; I also find it very telling to show the injurious effects of caste on the welfare of the Hindus. And this I generally do by contrasting their state as a *nation*, with that of the English as a nation, pointing out the *palpable fact* that a caste-keeping nation can never be enterprising, powerful and enlightened.

When preaching, we do not allow any to interrupt us with questions or discussions. If a question be asked, or permission to speak, we reply,—“Please wait until we have done, and then “you can speak or ask any questions you like.” As a rule this is sufficient, especially if the people know us. It happens sometimes, however, that a man will insist on speaking or on having his question answered at once, and so hinder our work and disturb the audience. If he be a Brahman, I generally silence him by saying “Oh! I thought you were a Brahman!” Thereupon he will answer, “I am,” or some one in the crowd will answer that he is. Then, I express my great astonishment that a man belonging to a polite class of people, who always treat me with respect; should be so rude and impertinent; and profess to have grave doubts that he is really a true Brahman. Brahmans present feel flattered with this, and if the individual be not already ashamed of himself, they will very soon make him to be quiet. If the man be a Sudra, I sometimes look at him intently from top to toe for a moment or two, and then with a significant shake of the head exclaim,—“Oh! you are a great *guru*, I know by your “nose; I will stop; come, stand here and speak, we will all listen.” This invariably calls forth a laugh from the crowd, and that is more than he can stand. If he be a low caste man it is generally enough to say in a firm tone,—“Be quiet, you know nothing.” If a man having obtained permission to speak, persists in speaking nonsense and so wastes our time, I am compelled as a last resource to resort to a saying, which, though very uncomplimentary to ladies, scarcely ever fails to close the mouth of a babbler, viz., “That is exactly how a woman would speak.” Roars of laughter follow, and the man is glad to hide his diminished head among the crowd. At the close of our discourses, however, we encourage the people to ask questions, and to put forward their learned men to discuss. We never *discuss* with any except recognized learned men, but we are ready to answer the questions of all. Discussions when not degenerating into altercations, are very useful; indeed, they are among the best means of awakening thought and interest both in the disputants and in the hearers. I have learned more of the Hindus and their religion by discussions, than by any other means, and I doubt not that discussions are equally effectual in enabling them to understand us and our religion.

III. *Results.* 1. The dissemination of religious knowledge. “Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of “God”; but “how shall they hear without a preacher”? Wherever therefore the Gospel is preached there is laid the first step towards a saving faith. And I know of no plan so efficient to *diffuse the knowledge* of Christianity far and wide, as that of *preaching to the masses* in the public thoroughfares and other

places where they congregate. This opens their eyes to the great facts, that there is such a religion as Christianity; that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the world in whom the English people trust; that there is a Bible or Veda professing to be from God, and teaching doctrines very different from those which their own sacred books teach; and that in consequence of the teaching of that book, the English people are so much more trustworthy, kind, and just in their dealings than Hindus and Muhammadans; that they are so is a fact acknowledged by all; and I never fail to impress upon the people that the teaching of the Bible is the cause of it. This speaks volumes to them in favor of the Bible, for they are not slow to perceive and appreciate the moral excellence of the English character in comparison with that of their own nation.

2. It familiarizes the people both with the missionary and the native Christians who accompany him. The more they see of us the better; and it is of the greatest importance that they should know respectable native Christians of good position, so to have the common delusion, that all Christians are pariahs, unfit to be associated with, removed. We find the people everywhere now in the Salem district, after years of constant visiting, glad to see us, indeed look upon our coming as an indispensable institution, and upon ourselves as familiar friends whom they greet gladly, and with whom they converse freely and frankly. Such influence over the masses, and such friendly feeling to, and familiarity with, Christians and Christianity, can only be produced by constant sowing and preaching. No other method can possibly be so wide in its reach, and so prolific in its results with such limited means as are at the disposal of a missionary.

3. It awakens thought. Some of the most discouraging features in the Hindu character are apathy, indifference, and the almost total absence of moral sense. He listens apparently with much interest to our message, but seldom evinces any feeling towards it. He does not seem to realize that it is a message for *him*; it does not awaken any curiosity to inquire into it, and it does not rouse the moral sense to an apprehension of its importance. I find however that constant preaching does awaken thought. It is a great event in the even life of a village to have three or four men to preach, converse, and discuss with them for two or three days. It is the great topic of conversation for days after our departure. Our books are read, their contents are discussed, questions suggest themselves,—so that our coming again is anxiously expected in order to get those questions answered. Fresh preaching and new books suggest fresh questions, and so thought is excited, the moral sense is quickened, and the truths of the Gospel are gradually implanted in the heart.

4. Preaching the Gospel in the way here advocated, results in conversion. All our congregations in the Salem district have been gathered by this means. And we have the representatives of every class, from the Brahman downwards. There is besides a large number of secret Christians, men who are convinced of the truth of Christianity, and who feel its power, but who are not courageous enough to make the sacrifices which the public profession of Christianity involves in the present state of Hindu society. I know many such, and deeply sympathize with them. I have known some who died with the open Bible on their breast, declaring their faith in Christ and their hope in God. It is impossible therefore to estimate the real result of this work in direct conversions ; for now, as of old, the Gospel "is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth ; to "the Jew first, and also to the Greek." I lay much more stress however on the *indirect* results of diffusing the knowledge of God far and wide, and so of gradually undermining Hinduism, and of preparing the people to come over *en masse* to Christianity, than on the *direct* results of the conversion of a few here and there, who are bold enough to declare themselves on the Lord's side.

5. Doubtless many more conversions would result from this work, if the native preachers were to follow it up by visiting the people in their own houses, and urging them privately to give their hearts to God. This in my estimation ought to be the strong *forte* of our native evangelists. In the present attitude of Hindus towards Christianity, they are almost powerless in attracting congregations in the streets when unaccompanied by the missionary. Making friends, however, with their own countrymen, visiting them in their houses, conversing with them on religious subjects, and imploring them to seek the salvation of their souls, is a work which they ought to be able to do ; but which the missionary can scarcely do on account of the climate, had he time at his disposal. This is a work, however, which I find it very difficult to induce the native evangelists to attempt. As a rule they seem to have no idea of "compelling the people to come in," of becoming "all things to all men" in order to win souls for Christ. If we could only get men of power and influence, fired, like the Apostle Paul, with the desire to save souls, to follow up our public preaching with their earnest exhortations and fervid prayers, what glorious results would follow ! Until such men rise from among the natives we must be content with such results as we see and be thankful for them ; unless indeed the churches at home could send out a very much larger number of missionaries of the right stamp ; and this perhaps is only desirable within a certain limit, for doubtless the conversion of India after all must be *ab intra* and not *ab extra*. The work which is being

now accomplished is preparing the people gradually, but surely, to renounce the religion of their forefathers, and to embrace the religion of Jesus, and when they begin to move in large numbers towards Christianity, God will raise up men from among them to continue and to perfect the work commenced by us. Meanwhile let us be diligent in preaching the Gospel everywhere, to all classes, firmly believing that God is with us, and that He will bless our efforts to the ultimate conversion and regeneration of this great land.

MAURICE PHILLIPS.

ART. VII.—A HINDU GENTLEMAN'S REFLECTIONS *respecting the works of Swedenborg and the doctrines of the new Jerusalem Church.* London. 1878.

THE little book named above has attracted less public notice than we would have expected. Written by a gentleman of good social position and amiable character, circulated throughout India gratuitously by the Swedenborgians, discussing the religious question with special regard to Hindu religious ideas, and even offering a contribution towards the solution of that pressing problem of the day, viz. how ancient Aryan and modern beliefs are to be reconciled, the pamphlet should have evoked a livelier interest. One eminent native gentleman made it the subject of a lecture which he delivered before the Theistic Association of Bombay in January last, in which he urged Hindus who had become, or might become, Christians, to adapt their Christianity to the great root-ideas of Hindu faith, and, forsaking the modern creeds, to build up an Indian Christianity free of extraneous and offensive elements; but we have not heard of any great response either from the Hindu or the Christian community. Is religious apathy deepening?

Certainly Mr. Dadoba's book is written in an interesting way, and he conducts the discussion calmly and modestly. The self-depreciatory remarks occurring here and there with respect to his attainments are quite unnecessary; his account of his religious views is lucid both as to arrangement and expression. If there be an objection, it would lie against the common fault of redundancy. We regard the *Reflections* as open to criticism on many sides, and propose taking advantage of the openings; but we shall do so in the friendliest spirit towards the esteemed author.

As a whole, the book may be read as Mr. Dadoba's apology for not having become a Christian, at least, in the usual sense

of the term. Christianity had been, he tells us, the favorite study of his life. For forty or fifty years he had listened to Christian preachers and missionaries, and spent much time in their society; and not satisfied with mastering the outlines and prominent features of that faith, he had searched into its rationale and philosophy. As for the Bible, he had taken it as "an infallible guide" and "as a sure clue in his hand wherewith to walk in the mazes of a labyrinth in order to get to the opening upwards." What could man have done more? Still, Mr. Dadoba had not reached "the opening upwards." He had not seen his way to acknowledge Christianity as he read it in the Bible and heard it expounded in the churches. Surely a discouraging result for inquirers, and a result, as the lecturer referred to points out, "that might fairly stagger the native Christian adherent of the different creeds." But though Mr. Dadoba could not swallow *this* Christianity, he had not given up in despair. He had waited for some account of the matter more intellectually manageable, less unpalatable as to doctrine and dogma; and he had not waited in vain. Fortune favored him by putting into his hands the *Heaven and Hell* of Swedenborg, and he found at last, in the writings of that illustrious theologian the true account and inner sense of Christianity. And so Mr. Dadoba rests a Swedenborgian,—not perhaps absolutely so, for with characteristic caution, he submits a few doubtful points to the elders of the new Church,—but on the whole we understand him to accept in his pamphlet the Gospel according to Swedenborg.

Emanuel Swedenborg, who has thus prevailed with Mr. Dadoba over all other Christian expositors, was born at Stockholm in 1688, and died in London in 1772. First of all a man of business, and of science and philosophy, to which he devoted forty years of his life, attaining eminence in all these departments, among his contemporaries,—he turned from these studies, and gave his last thirty years to theology and religion, in which alone his name is now conspicuous and influential. It would appear that his later scientific studies, particularly anatomy, had a close connexion with his theological views. As an anatomist he had traced the human frame in all its parts and relations, but one item remained out of count, eluding all search,—the soul. What was this and where? Scientific method made no reply. But Swedenborg was not the man to give up with a contemptuous relegation of the difficulty to "functional arrangement." The fault was not in the soul but in the methods; and therefore to other methods Swedenborg had recourse. The new methods were not original, far from it, but few have applied them with greater success. He became a seer. The doors of heaven and hell were opened to him *not* metaphorically. He stepped into the

spiritual world. He entered into conversation with ghosts. Spirits from the planets visited him. He became acquainted with the men in the moon. Nay, he journeyed from world to world. He beheld men in the planet Jupiter whose mode of locomotion was going upon all fours. Thus emancipated from the thralldom of corporiety, and able to secure spiritual instruction at first hand, was it wonderful that the knowledge of the soul, "the crown of his studies" rapidly augmented, and discoveries were made in all the spiritual region, equally important and startling?

Chief of these was the communication made to him in the heavenlies of *the inner sense of Scripture*, which had not been revealed even to the Apostles. Scripture is not matter-of-fact history, but emblem. The Garden of Eden is not a garden, but intelligence; a tree is not a tree, but a man; Adam is not Adam, not even *red earth*, but a church; Noah is also a church, which the flood dissolved. Adam was the most ancient Church, Noah the ancient Church, then came the Jewish Church, and then came the Christian Church. The Christian Church was founded by Christ, who is the Divine Humanity, God having in him assumed human nature, and glorified it, and made it Divine. The Church established by Christ came to an end in the year 1757 with the Last Judgment, which was witnessed by Swedenborg in the world of spirits. Thereafter a new dispensation arose, and is now proceeding, viz. that which is described in the book of Revelation as the New Jerusalem, whereof Swedenborg is the accredited prophet, and his writings the doctrinal standard.

What are the doctrines of Swedenborg? We shall answer in a mere outline, and only as far as they bear on Mr. Dadoba's *Reflections*.

The inner sense of Scripture is brought to light by the help of the Science of Correspondences, which Mr. Dadoba describes rapturously as "a new discovery, or revelation," "an all-answering key which the Lord through Swedenborg has put into the hands of every reader of the Bible to enable him to unlock for himself the hidden treasure." In accordance with this law whereby all things in the natural world have their corresponding realities in the spiritual and mental worlds, the literal sense of Scripture becomes the basis of a celestial and a spiritual sense. The word is as a skeleton-map on which are dots, crosses, stars, arrow-heads and the like, (to wit, persons, facts, history, etc.) for the true correspondents of which you must turn to the Swedenborgian key. Then you will find analogies, expositions, relations so striking, that you will undoubtedly agree with Mr. Dadoba that they must have been *communicated*. For instance, a horse is the correspondent of intellectual truth, and an ass of *scientific truth*. All the numbers have a spiritual signification.

six denotes conflict, seven the celestial state—an echo perhaps of the idea of perfection. *Day* means state, *earth* means the Church, *father* means Divine Love, *mother*, Divine wisdom. But this doctrine is still more comprehensive. Visible forms of evil and good have their corresponding hidden spiritual realities. Hurtful and ugly things represent unseen evils in the mind; useful and beautiful things unseen good. “All things in nature, in fire, air, earth and water; every beast, bird, fish, insect and reptile; every tree, herb, fruit and flower, represent and express unseen things in the mind of man.” Thus man’s state in the outer and inner worlds, entirely corresponds, and tends constantly to assimilation, the bad to the bad, the good to the good. Hence also, according to this universal law, a man will find himself ultimately among devils or angels, in the Heavens or in the Hells.

This, however, is a mere hint of the science of correspondence, as applied to the explanation of Scripture. Correspondence is like an infinite series of concentric circles. A typical form being found, it is repeated to the uttermost bounds of the universe. The highest form is Man, which exists first in its ideal spiritual form, then in its natural form, and then in its universal form. For “the innumerable worlds of space are arranged after the human form. The universe is a kind of constellation *Homo*.” The planets with their inhabitants, ghosts, spirits, souls, angels, are all found located, according to their qualities in the several parts of the body of this ‘Grand Man’. When any of these spirits visited Swedenborg he could tell at once whence the spirit came, by peculiar sensations in that part of his body corresponding to their locality in the ‘Grand Man.’ “A spirit dwelling in those parts of the universe which answer to the heart or liver, makes his influx felt in the cardiac or hepatic regions of Swedenborg’s frame before he becomes visible to the eye. Evil spirits, again, produced their correspondent maladies on his system, during the time of his intercourse with them. Hypocrites gave him a pain in the teeth, because hypocrisy is spiritual toothache. The inhabitants of Mercury correspond to a province of memory in the ‘Grand Man’, the Lunarians to the ensiform cartilage at the bottom of the breast-bone”; and so on. This science explains also death, the resurrection, and the future state. At death the natural form is dropped, not again to be resumed, for there is no resurrection of the body; and the spirit takes its final place in that one of the three Heavens, or of the three Hells, to which it is assimilated. Some, however, make a short sojourn in an intermediate state for the more perfect development of the good or bad that is in them. The three Heavens and the three Hells have their corresponding orders of angels of three degrees of good-

ness and badness. The lowest hell is filled with the Antediluvians. Angels and devils are the spirit forms of men and women, *our* angels not existing in Swedenborg's system. They eat and drink, marry and are given in marriage just as they used to do on earth. There you will find "towns and cities, gymnasia and "theological discussions, sermons and book-writing, courts of law, "games," etc., etc., following Milton in a cruelly prosaic fashion.

In regard to the *proof* of all these things Swedenborg had of course ocular demonstration, and he attests them as a "plain "statement of journeys and conversations in the spiritual world, "which had made the greater part of his daily history for many "years." His *Memorable Relations* are of things which he saw and heard. Distance from sphere to sphere, planet to planet, heaven to heaven or hell to hell, and the time occupied in traversing them are no objection, and need create no doubt. Correspondence annihilates distance and time. "Likeness is proximity; "space and time are states of love and thought." You reach a planet in ten hours or in two, according as your state of mind is approximated to that of its inhabitants.

There remains a phenomenon in the experience of Swedenborg to which allusion must be made—his Respiration. He tells us he had the power of suspending his breathing of the air for nearly an hour, life being meantime sustained by an internal breathing. He had observed also that Respiration varied, and inclined towards the external or the internal according as his state was less or more spiritual. Whence the law,—“that expiration and inspiration are the unceasing action and reaction “of the spiritual and the natural. Holding back the breath is “equivalent to intercourse with the soul, and drawing it in “amounts to intercourse with the body.” A discovery surely whose importance cannot be exaggerated, a strikingly practical solution of the difficulty of spanning the gulf between the natural and spiritual simply by the bridge of the nose! Nor must the pure spiritual state thus attained, be confounded with on the one hand actual suspension of life, or, on the other that condition in which, ordinarily, he held intercourse with spirits. This was a state by itself resembling the condition of man in the pristine golden age when internal breathing was perfect, and the external atmosphere was not even necessary for speech. In those happy days, Swedenborg informs us, “Speech was “not sonorous, but was carried on by innumerable series of “muscular fibres in the face and lips, which are not unfolded “at the present day. The respiration from within proceeded “outwards from the navel through the lips and face, and the “speech therefrom entered the ear of the listener by an internal “way,—in fact, by the eustachian tube, which is a tube opening “*from the inside* of the mouth and entering the interior of the

"ear just behind the tympanum or drum." Only partially however was this blessed condition of breathless respiration and tacit speech enjoyed even by Swedenborg; on ordinary occasions of spirit-intercourse, he addressed the spirits in loud tones, startling to common mortals who were near, all the spirits, lunary and otherwise, giving their replies in the tacit speech above described. Some Swedenborgians hold that in the future golden age, which is "the time of the restitution of all things," internal respiration and tacit speech will be added to the present external breathing and sonorous speech, so that men will be fully conscious of living in both worlds at the same time.

Turning to the less exciting religious views of Swedenborg they may be summed up as follows:—No Trinity; "the Father, "Son, and Spirit are the three essentials of one God, which "make one, like soul, body, and operation in man." No mediation; Christ is God, the sole object of worship, and he does not hold humanity as a distinct nature, but as assumed into the divine, making a Divine Humanity. No Atonement; human redemption was effected by a series of struggles with the Hells, or perverted spirits, in which they were overcome and driven back, and order was thus restored both in the Heavens and Hells. No personal devil. No resurrection of the body. Reformation theology generally, and the doctrines of justification by faith, imputed righteousness, the vicarious death of Christ, the natural condition of the will, and efficacious grace in particular, were the objects of Swedenborg's cordial hatred and denunciation. So that viewed theologically he might be most comprehensively described as a Unitarian Pelagian Spiritualist.

Our sketch, hasty and imperfect as it is, will show at once that Mr. Dadoba is justified in remarking on the striking coincidences between the doctrines of the Hindu Sadhus and Psychologists, the Vedanta and the Yoga Shashtra, and the system of Swedenborg. So frequently indeed do the "root-ideas" of the Aryan faith recur in the Swedish seer that one can hardly avoid the suspicion of collusion, that is to say, that Swedenborg and the Yogis must have been in communication. Compare, for instance (with Mr. Dadoba) the Hindu *Trimúrti*, or the three qualities in the *Prakriti* (goodness, passion, darkness) with the Swedenborgian doctrine of the Trinity; or the Hindu Transmigration with the New Jerusalem doctrine of the intermediate state and the various stages of the soul in its future peregrinations; or the *Turya*, or fourth state of the Hindu Psychologists, with Swedenborg's state when in spiritual intercourse: or the Vedic *Vyáhriti* or *Triloki*, or three divisions of the Universe with the Swedenborgian three Heavens and three Hells; or the kingdoms and societies innumerable into which the Swedish seer arranges the heavenlies with the Aryan *Swargas* and

Pátálas and *Nurkas* and *Lokas*: and in all these you will be struck, not perhaps with the absolute identity of the things compared, but with the coincidence of the points of belief, on so many matters. And these examples by no means exhaust the coincidences. Take the Swedenborgian idea of the resurrection-body, (the material body not being raised again,) and compare it with the *Súkshma* or *Lingadsha*, the subtle or typical body of the Hindu Psychologists; or, take the *Pranayama* (subjection of the breath) of the Yogis with the Respiration-theory of Swedenborg; or take the coincidence in both systems of the horror of "an interval of torpor" between death and destiny, and how both agree in granting the realization of this new state ere the old be quite gone, "as a worm crawling on the leaf of a tree "does not abandon that leaf until it has got its forelegs on "another:" take even the doctrine of Correspondence itself, which, doubtless by inadvertence, Mr. Dadoba describes in one place as a special revelation made to Swedenborg, and in another, as known also to the Aryans, and you will find that the latter "represented the heart as the seat of the life (soul), or "image of God, of the size of the thumb, brilliant as the Sun, "and endowed with will and individuality: also with the "qualities of the intellect (*Buddhi*) and soul (*atma*) in which "also is discerned something else of the size of a pin;" while Swedenborg considers the heart to denote love; and "love "and wisdom being the two constituents of life, which is the "image or gift of God, the heart may thus fairly be said to "represent by metonymy the seat of that life." "Is not this," exclaims Mr. Dadoba, "a very marvellous coincidence between "the two thoughts, one emanating from a modern divine, a writer "in Sweden, and the other from ancient India—as if there had "been some strange and mysterious inter-communication between "the men of one planet and those of another?"

There will hardly then be any dispute that Mr. Dadoba, and others of our learned native friends, are right in judging that Christianity might easily be adapted to the "root-ideas" of Hindu belief. Before, however, yielding ourselves to the pleasant expectation of an Indian Christianity embracing the *Trimúrti* and the *Metempsychosis*, the *Turya* and the *Pranayama*, the *Triloki* and the *Lukshma*,¹ we have a small difficulty connected with the evidence which should be submitted before adaptation be finally arranged and discussion closed. In the fourth state of the ancient psychologists, Mr. Dadoba finds a remarkable resemblance to that state of Swedenborg in which he had access to the world of spirits, and which he (Swedenborg) thus describes:—

"When man is withdrawn from the body, he is brought into a state

¹ The italics are ours.

between sleeping and waking, in which he cannot know any other than that he is quite awake. All his senses are as active in this state as in the highest wakefulness of the body: the sight, the hearing, and, what is wonderful, the touch—for *the touch is even more exquisite now than ever it can be when the body is awake*. Spirits and angels are seen in all the reality of life; they are heard also, and, what is wonderful, *they are touched*, for scarcely anything of the body intervene between them and the man."

Similarly, the Hindu psychologists describe *Turya* as neither wakefulness, dreaming, nor profound sleep, but a state "between sleeping and waking, not a dreaming state, however, as it is apt to be mistaken for, but a state in which a man feels, and is fully conscious that he is not dreaming, and is yet not fully awake as regards the objects around him, of which he takes no cognizance whatever, *though all his senses are exquisitely active in the knowledge and enjoyment of their respective objects*." Obviously, these accounts demand considerable capability of belief in matter-of-fact persons, as Mr. Dadoba admits, even although Swedenborg and the ancient psychologists present so circumstantial an agreement; and accordingly, he comes to the assistance of the incredulous with a new, and, at first sight, most unexceptionable confirmation of this "fourth state," in the form of a personal experience, which he relates thus modestly and graphically:—

"It would not, I hope, be thought too much, or in any way suspected as egotistic or self-assertive on my part were I, with all due submission, to assure my readers at this place that I myself have had an experience of this state of the mind two or three times,—once just about the time one morning of my waking early. Not yet fully awake to any object in the room in which I was then sleeping, I felt, and felt most vividly, indeed in a manner I had not done ever before, *as if I had sat up in my bed eating a plantain, which I peeled off in a most satisfactory manner, and ate with all the exquisite pleasure of reality*: and yet I felt that I was fully conscious of all this having been done as in a state of my wakefulness, and not in a dream."

The italics in all the three quotations are ours; they indicate the circumstantiality and vividness of all these accounts; and in Mr. Dadoba's, evince quite an enviable power of word-painting. Not only did he see that remarkable plantain, but he lets us all see it, each slice of skin dropping neatly off towards the stalk, and then, the luscious fruit disappearing morsel after morsel, into his mouth, followed by a smack of the lips, and a pleasant, grateful smile over all his countenance. Nor have we the least difficulty in accepting the account as trustworthy, or the experience as veritable; our difficulty is not as to the reality of the vision, or of the state, but as to *the reality of the plantain*. Our notion is that the evidential value of Mr. Dadoba's very remarkable narrative turns wholly on that point. It may, and possibly does settle the question as far as the Yogis are concerned, who, if we do them justice, preferred being absorbed in the ideal; but how is it to answer the sternly realistic

views of Swedenborg, who assures us that "what he relates comes from no mere inward persuasion, or manifestation made to him in some moment of ecstatic exultation, but is a plain statement of journeys and conversations in the spiritual world." Here is the difficulty. Is the "root-idea" here, phantasmagoria or Simon Pure? Is it spectre or spirit? What *did* Mr. Dadoba handle, peel, and polish off on that remarkable occasion?

Other difficulties of a similar kind will, we fear, prevent an easy adaptation of Swedenborgianism to the "root-ideas" of Hindu belief. We might allude to the breathless respiration of the former system, which is regarded among the Swedenborgians as a natural, though peculiar, development, and the Pranayama of the Yogis, which is rather an artificial means to a spiritual end—the trance—to attain which a man must "sit on the sacred grass, fix his eyes on the point of his nose, forcibly obstruct all the avenues of respiration, and allow his soul, united with the strength of his body, to mount into his skull and escape by the basilar suture, for a time, into the supreme." But we are unable to pursue the subject farther, and unwilling besides, for, truth to tell, we cannot deny a very striking resemblance in the mysticism of Swedenborg to the ancient mystic doctrine and practice of the Hindus. Nay, much more by way of admission. We grant the homogeneity of mysticism among all peoples, in all periods and places. It is the "inward light" that rejects, in less or greater degree, external revelation, even that of the senses, and especially that of common sense. A disease, as it has been well described, of the spiritual faculty, it has made its appearance amid all forms of religion, theistic and atheistic, pantheistic and polytheistic—being "that form of error which mistakes for a divine manifestation the operations of a merely human faculty,—including, therefore, enthusiasts with their visions; pretended prophets, with their claim of inspiration; wonder-workers, trusting to the divine power of their theurgic formulas; and the philosophers who believe themselves organs of the world-soul, and their systems an evolution of Deity."¹ Mysticism has allied itself with the purest forms of religion; but its features are always discernible, "heated feeling, sickly sentiment, or lawless imagination, as opposed to that reasonable belief in which the intellect and the heart, the inward witness and the outward, are alike engaged."

But, we have some other "root-ideas"—those belonging to Christianity, as it is usually understood, which appear to be very offensive to Mr. Dadoba, and quite unmanageable as regards adaptation; such are the Scriptural account of the origin of sin, atonement by sacrifice, justification by faith, resurrection of the

¹ See Vaughan's interesting *Hours with the Mystics*.

body, and eternal rewards and punishments. To some of these, as time and space will allow, we should like to allude; but we offer, in the first place, one or two general remarks on Mr. Dadoba's *môde* of representing these Christian doctrines. We have found in his *Reflections* a rare combination of two qualities, usually considered antagonistic. His attitude, throughout the discussion, appears to be rationalistic; he proposes accepting only what bears the test of human reason, and squares with his notions of things. Hence the constantly recurring phraseologies—"a question which I could not with all my mental efforts reconcile", etc.: "I must confess that I could hardly reconcile myself to the idea", etc.: "this in my opinion militates against all our notions of the justice" etc.: "this was too hard a nut for me to crack", etc. Thus, in reference to Christian doctrine. On the other hand, certain sentiments of Christians "have been most truthfully and sternly avoided in the broad and rational view which the New Church has presented." Thus to both systems he apparently applies the same test, and he describes in tones of reproof the complacency with which religious people "gulp down articles of faith and religious dogmas, however vague, irrational and puerile they may be." A little further on we find him assuring us that "he considers Swedenborg fully competent to afford us correct insight, not only into the state of the soul after its release from its earthly habitation, but also into the various states and stages of its future peregrinations in the spiritual world." And when you inquire on what so extraordinary a faith in so extraordinary a competency is founded, you find that it rests solely on Swedenborg's account of the state in which he was while holding intercourse with ghosts and planetary souls—if you except the corroboration of the Yogi trance and Mr. Dadoba's own vision of the plantain! what a curious conjuncture of sceptic and believer! Swedenborg demands of us nothing less than our accepting a new revelation, marvellous enough in itself, on his own bare word; and Mr. Dadoba is equal to it—accepts as gospel conversations with lunary and sub-lunary ghosts, records of veritable journeys through the Hells and Heavens, revelations of human destiny that include king David and St. Paul among the lost, and Louis XIV. and George II. among the distinguished angels of Heaven!

Closely allied to this is Mr. Dadoba's intolerance of what he calls the dogmatism of Christian preachers, coupled with a power of swallowing dogmatism in Swedenborg, which from the nature of the case admits absolutely of no substantiation. Webster defines a *dogmatist*—"a positive asserter, a magisterial teacher, a bold or arrogant advancer of principles"; and, most assuredly, no writer on religious subjects answers the descrip-

tion better than Swedenborg. He is head and shoulders above all other dogmatists. For proof, the reader need not go to his works. Mr. Dadoba's little book supplies it in abundance. He is the oracle on a matter otherwise unrevealed:—

“When infants die, they are still infants in the other life. They possess the same infantile mind, the same innocence in ignorance, and the same tenderness in all things. They are only in rudimental states introductory to the angelic, for infants are not angels, but become angels. Every one on his decease is in a similar state of life to that in which he was in the world, . . . but the state of every one is afterwards changed. . . . As soon as infants are raised from the dead, which takes place immediately after their decease, they are carried up into heaven, and delivered to the care of angels of the female sex. Every female angel has as many infants under her care as she desires from spiritual maternal affection.”

Does Mr. Dadoba consider that for assertions like these, over which he hangs quite enraptured, Swedenborg has no more authority than I have when I assert that man's destiny is to stand for ever on the crown of his head? Why is it that unmitigated rubbish of this sort is “sound and reasonable” to Mr. Dadoba, and the statements of Christian preachers, like those of his old friends Robert Nesbit or John Wilson, who offer, at least, the sanction of a well-attested Revelation for all they say, are insufferably dogmatic? Do not these things indicate some warp in the mind?

We are sorry to find a still graver evil when we turn to Mr. Dadoba's account of the Scripture doctrines which have been impossible to his faith. The shape they assume to him is extraordinary and perfectly unaccountable, if we accept his own profession of knowledge of the Bible. We know there is a sort of floating account of several scriptural doctrines which, seizing certain points of difficulty, exaggerates these, and omitting all considerations of an explanatory kind, displays the doctrine with enough of truth to be recognized, and enough of error to make it a hideous caricature. But why should a man like Mr. Dadoba Pandurang be satisfied with accounts like these? Take what he says of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body. The *identity* of the person raised, which is asserted by Christians on the authority of Scripture, Mr. Dadoba represents as an assertion of the resumption, chemically, of the identical particles of matter of which the body was originally composed; and he calls on his chemical knowledge to help him to make merry over this oddity of his own brain, fathered on the Bible and on Christian preachers. Will Mr. Dadoba now (he cannot have done it before) take his New Testament, and turning to the 15th chapter of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, read verses 35—50:—

“But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it

die : and that which thou sowest, *thou sowest not that body that shall be*, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain : but *God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him*, and to every seed his own body. . . *So also* is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in . . . dishonor, it is raised in glory : it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power : *it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body*. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. . . . As we have borne *the image of the earthy*, we shall also bear *the image of the heavenly*. Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God."

Comment is needless here. Take again Mr. Dadoba's version of the Christian doctrine of the entrance and prevalence of sin, which he thus pithily summarizes:—"The whole human family made so many scape-goats for the sin of one man and one woman."

Or take his statement of what he calls "the universally received doctrine of the Atonement among Christians :"—

"The salvation of mankind is effected by Christ by the self-immolation or self-sacrifice which he is said to have offered on the cross to propitiate the Father to be merciful to the sinful nature of man. Christ's last physical sufferings have the infallible effect of appeasing the wrath of the angry Father, and of reconciling Him to His revolted children, and thus redeeming them from the eternal punishment to which they have rendered themselves liable by their sin. . . Having thus redeemed us, He then becomes our Mediator, and in this capacity He asks of the appeased Father His pardon for our transgressions, and thus our sins are now freely forgiven to us for His sake, and through His righteousness. This is the pith of the doctrine of salvation through Jesus Christ, which is preached by all Christian ministers, and believed throughout Christendom."

Having thus disposed of the statement of the doctrine, he goes on to show how pernicious the effects must be, how complacently those thus absolved must view themselves, how they will applaud the mercy of God, and speak rapturously of the easy way they have found to heaven,—no duty being required of them save that of concentrating their faith in Christ as their Saviour. And he adds naively:—"This doctrine being very comfortable may easily be expected to gain the universal assent of man when propounded to him." Well, we might ask Mr. Dadoba, has it? It would appear that atonement in any sense of the word is an unpopular "root-idea." But why if the above be the proper account of it has it not been universally received? The answer is plain. *There is no such doctrine*. We venture to say that he never heard a Christian man of average intelligence, let alone a preacher, describe the doctrine, or its effects, as he does. Every clause in his statement of it is wrong, while, as we observed above, by the chemical trick of dropping a little truth into the mixture, some shade of resemblance is produced. Christ did *not* offer himself to propitiate the Father to be merciful to man. Christ's sufferings have *not* the infallible effect of appeasing the angry Father, and reconciling him, etc. He does *not* then become our Mediator, and so on throughout.

We are aware that the opponents of Christian doctrine accuse us of getting out of our difficulty by taxing them with misrepresenting us. But what can we do? If men among them, professing a forty-years' acquaintance with the Bible and Christian preaching, come no nearer correctness of statement than Mr. Dadoba, what room is left for discussion? If cause be put for effect, if wrath be substituted for love, if the reconciling of an angry Father be put for the reconciling of rebellious children to a loving Father,¹ if in short every item in the statement be as childishly misconceived as it is absurdly stated, what room is left for discussion?

On a review of the Swedenborgian system, Mr. Dadoba is staggered by the fact that Christendom has not looked favorably upon it, and the only explanation he can think of is the training of the Christian mind, and the prejudices fostered by the various sects and Churches. Other explanations might be suggested. Mr. Dadoba knows that one of the blessings restored to Christendom at the Reformation, was the right of private judgment, and he should know that this is very much the explanation of what he professes, along with many less intelligent people, to be so sorely puzzled by—the sects of Protestantism. Having their disadvantages as we admit, these sects are very far from being a reproach, or, as interested parties pretend, a valid objection to Christianity; they are on the contrary a testimony to freedom achieved for the individual conscience, besides illustrating the variety in unity that marks all healthy life. Mr. Dadoba probably knows also that as far as “root-ideas” are concerned, the sects, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, hold all those that are so offensive to him, and that any member, of any one of them, would have reviewed his *Reflections* in the strain of this article. Nor have we any hesitation in saying that young, and especially reforming, India cannot better stultify itself than by supporting the silly outcry of sect as an objection to Protestant Christianity. Whenever there is a hard, proud, dominant system, such as the Papacy, Brahmanism, or caste, sects are of course impossible save as protests, because the voice of conscience is drowned, and the rights of private judgment, and individuality itself, are destroyed. The right of speech, we admit, remains, severed from corresponding action; the most prominent speakers, to the shame of all ingenuousness, being the most conspicuous failures in carrying out reform. Now, intelligent men, whose imagination is under control, apply their judgment to mystical systems like that of Swedenborg, and in place of his “inner

¹ Obviously it is not our part to introduce full statements of the doctrine travestied by Mr. Dadoba. But we refer him in brief to two texts that upset his whole account. John III. 16, and 2 Corinth. v. 18-21. For the scriptural view of our relation to Adam see Rom. v.

“sense,” which evokes from the plainest statements of scripture the wildest vagaries and absurdities, they prefer the use of their own common sense. They judge that a prophet who grounds his teaching on “correspondences,” and on his intercourse with spirits is either mad,¹ or an empiric in religion, or a man hounded on by an imperious imagination and therefore the unsafest of all religious guides. It is a great blessing that the power of swallowing is not developed in all as it is in Mr. Dadoba. Very assuring in this connexion is the attitude of young men towards the latest demonstration of Senism, whose tendency is now appearing. Spiritualism, clairvoyance, and all sorts of charlatanry will have followers in India as elsewhere; but we are hopeful that sober-mindedness will prevail; that our young men, whatever their attitude to genuine Christianity, will repudiate all systems which, while offering sops to troubled humanity, evade the plainest facts of our consciousness, seek to doze us with spiritual opiates, trifle with our convictions of sin, and obliterate whole elements of the character of God.

This question of accommodating Christianity to the “root-ideas” of Hindu belief is being pushed forward. Let it be gravely considered. What are root-ideas in religion? Are they not the primal elements of Divine truth, and consequently universal? How are they to be accommodated? How are you to accommodate Trinity and No Trinity, Atonement and No Atonement? Any argument that supposes it must be purely sophistical. And we fancy the cleverer of our friends laugh in their own sleeves when advocating it. For it means, give up your root-ideas and take mine. That is the meaning of the advocacy of Swedenborgianism as a hopeful ground or basis of adaptation. Swedenborgianism is Christianity *without its root-ideas*. Let us assure our friends that it won't do. Our root ideas are essential moral and spiritual elements which are the same for all times and for all men, just as truth and falsehood are the same in Pekin, in Poona, or in London. What is required for the salvation of a Hindu is the same that is required for the salvation of any other man; the elements entering into this great business are not changed by climatic influences, by birth, education, or any other cause. What the poet sang of happiness is truer still of religion:—

She has no localities,
No towns provincial, no peculiar garb.

¹ We are hardly of those who think Swedenborg was a madman; but the reader must not suppose the accusation of madness is mere railing. His own biographer, Dr. Wilkinson, is dubious on the point, and writes thus:—“Were it sure that he was stark-mad, it would not dispossess us of “our truth or vision in his writings: these would survive the grave of his “personal reputation, and bring us back to the ancient faith that madness, “too, has a divine side.”

At the same time, the "sects" need be no cause of fear. Those who are engaged in teaching the root-ideas of Christianity have been unable hitherto to prevent their denominational forms of expression; but they are not intolerant in regard to these, and they fully believe in the lawfulness of adaptation as to external forms, accessories, and all non-essentials. The hope of most, if not of all of them, is an Indian Church which shall have the mould of the native mind, and which while conserving every element of Divine truth, shall wear its own habiliments, and accomplish the mighty work God has in store for it in its own proper manner.

J. S.

ART. VIII.—NOTES AND INTELLIGENCE.

PROBABLY the question which all the friends of Indian Missions will be most eager to have answered is, How far do the large numbers of Hindus received during the year 1878 within the Christian pale promise to be permanent and genuine gains to the cause of Christianity? To this question it may be too soon to give a wholly true and satisfactory reply; but the information thus far in our possession enables us to give an answer which may indeed require revision and correction hereafter, but which, for the present at least, may be accepted with thankfulness and joy. We do not now propose to give statistics; we are as usual collecting from the reports of the various missions the number of baptisms during 1878, which we hope to give at another time. The reports of some of the missions are still in the press, and it would be useless to attempt to give now a numerical summary of results which have not yet been made public. The extracts from reports already published, and from letters which have been sent us, which we present below, will afford our readers the means of judging—not indeed of the numbers who have been brought within the fold of the Church of Christ—but of the character and probable results of that wide-spread movement towards Christianity which last year excited so many ardent hopes and not a few reluctant fears.

The fact that a large number of persons had been baptized during the latter half of 1878 by Rev. Mr. Clough, of the American Baptist Mission, north of Madras, among the Telugus, has not been forgotten by our readers. All rejoiced over the news of so great accessions; some feared that among such a large number of persons so rapidly baptized there must be more than the usual proportion of spurious converts. In an article which we print elsewhere, a missionary of Mr. Clough's own society gently intimates that he himself cherishes such fears; while he charitably hopes, rather than confidently believes, that his fears may hereafter prove groundless. We have from Mr. Clough's own pen a narrative, which press of work alone prevented him from furnishing for a previous number of this *Review*, which will, we think, go very far to allay any such fears and to increase the confidence of all in the genuineness of the work which has been done in his district, and of the results there attained.

The beginning of the year 1878 found the district in which Mr. Clough labors in much distress. The famine was indeed officially declared to be over, but its effects remained, as they long must remain. Thousands were unable to get work—thousands more were too weak to do any work could they have got it; many were sick of divers diseases, and many really starving. Such was the physical condition of the district. "The spiritual outlook," writes Mr. Clough,—

"Was very different in many respects from what it ever had been here before. The whole mass of Hindus of this section had been preached to time and again by faithful, though unlearned men, the Bible, or portions of it, and tracts had been offered for sale at a mere nominal price in every village and every bazar within the limits of the Ongole Mission field frequently for the previous eleven years. The great doctrines of Christianity were well understood by the mass of people of whatever caste. In fact, the general opinion was that Jesus Christ

was the God of the English and Americans, and as such was entitled to a niche in the Hindu Pantheon, and might be worshipped along with the 330 millions other deities if any one chose."

The people lost faith in Hinduism and in Hindu gods. They saw the difference between Christian charity and Hindu charity. They remembered, without longing, the hard lot assigned them by the Brahmanical priesthood. Tired of their Hinduism many abandoned it, and embraced Christianity. "By the beginning of 1878 about 2,000 had asked for "baptism upon profession of faith in Jesus." But Mr. Clough, "fearing "that some in their zeal might deceive themselves, and that others might "try to deceive me with the hope of getting in some way more famine "relief money, and lacking time and strength to examine personally the "candidates," postponed all applications for baptism indefinitely, hoping to be able at some future time to examine the candidates carefully, and also thinking that in the interval the false converts would be gradually winnowed out and disappear.

"In the mean time the native preachers kept a careful record of all believers, and taught them as well as they could. Each preacher seemed to have, and no doubt did have, special help from on high to meet the demands of the occasion. Weak men, just able to read the Bible, preached with earnestness and power, sometimes continuing their evening meetings until morning, while the able preachers of former years each became a host.

"The converts were not encouraged to go to Ongole. It was understood that I would not see people from a distance who wanted to become Christians. They might send letters or a delegation, but must not come in large numbers. These letters and delegations poured in upon me for months. The petitions generally read in substance thus:--'Preacher-----has preached in our 'village more or less for several years, but we did not believe what he said. The 'famine came, and many or several from our village worked on the canal. By this 'aid and the loving words of the missionary, urging us to work and not be discour- 'aged, or not to give up, we are now alive. We have learned about Jesus Christ, 'we now believe in him as the only God, and our Saviour. We are very poor— 'our huts are fallen down, and we have not much to eat but leaves, but we do not 'ask you for money. We will not ask you for a pie even though we starve to death, 'but we believe in Jesus, and as he commanded us we want to be baptized. 'We can die if it be God's will, but we want to be baptized first. Be pleased to 'grant our request, and do not put us off any longer! May the Lord help us all!'"

There had been no baptisms for the space of fifteen months—from March 1877 to June 1878. A few persons at Ongole, Mr. Clough's own station, whom he had known well for years, he regarded as true converts, and thought he could no longer refuse them the rite which they were so eager to receive. These he baptized—how many we do not know—and he adds:—"I only wanted to keep the multitude of converts off two or "three months longer, that all the friends of missions might be free from "doubts, although personally I had been convinced for above a year that "the work was of God. But to delay was impossible, for God's time had "fully come to glorify himself."

On the first Sunday in July last was to be a bi-monthly meeting of the Christians; but as small-pox was raging at Ongole and in the district around, it seemed wrong to allow the Christians to congregate there, so Velumpilly, ten miles north, was appointed as the place of meeting. *Preachers* were told to come with only one or two each of their most prominent Christians. They tried hard to obey, and charged the rank and file of their congregations to stay at home, for fear of infection. But come the

people would, and come they did in crowds from every side. Once at the place of meeting they would not go back. The multitude one and all said, through their leading men and preachers, "We don't want any money"—we will not ask you for any either directly or indirectly, either now or "hereafter." They only asked to be baptized. Who could refuse them water?

"We held a special service, and after much prayer and consideration we decided to baptize any and all who had given to the preachers evidence extending over some months that they were Christians, and who had an intelligent understanding of the main facts of the Christian religion. The evidence of the preachers, with that of the leading members of the Church in their localities who had been baptized years ago, or other reliable information concerning their change of heart, was decided to be sufficient. The result was the baptism of 3,526 in three days. Brother Williams was at Ootacamund spending his vacation. At my earnest request he hastened down from the beautiful scenes of the 'Blue Mountains' to witness more delightful things, and gave to me most valuable aid at a very critical time.

"I cannot enter further into details, but the progress and present aspect of the work will be understood sufficiently by the following record:—

" Baptized during the month of June	1,168
" " " " July	7,513
" " " " August.....	466
" " " " November	59
" " " " December.....	400

" Total number baptized up to December 31st, 1878 ...9,606

"We fondly trust that the above number although large, is but the first fruits of a mighty harvest, and an earnest that all the Telugus are ere long to be given to Christ Jesus, and the uttermost parts of the earth also.—Why not?"

Few passages in the history of modern missions can be of more interest than the account of this ingathering. All will unite with Mr. Clough in the earnest hope that these converts may run well and glorify that name by which they are called.

THE number of baptisms, it will be seen, is far greater in the Ongole district than in Tinnivelli; but in Tinnivelli the number of inquirers was nearly or quite 20,000. Of these about one-tenth were reported as baptized some months ago, and probably many more have been baptized since. An American missionary in the adjoining district (Madura) has kindly given us his judgment,—that of an independent outside observer—on the whole movement; and this we here append. It should be remembered that it is the opinion of one who knows the people, and the state of missionary work in that region perfectly:—

"The religious movement began in Tinneveli—where it should—where a vast amount of incontestable proof of the value of Christianity to those who had embraced it was to be found in almost every Christian village.

"I fully believe in the Tinneveli work. I have had good opportunities to learn of the motives and the instrumentalities. Within the few last months I have seen missionaries and native pastors of both the Church Societies there, and the result of all I can learn from the native pastors is that to a very large extent the unpaid laity, men and women both, have done most of the work in gathering in their heathen neighbors. And the movement once started this, any one who knows Tinneveli will see, is not hard to do.

"Christian missionaries have been at work in the district for near a hundred years, and for the last fifty years and more in the most solid way. They had gathered 60,000 people in the southern part of the district. There were Christian

villages which rivalled in thrift and neatness New England villages. A large per cent. of the Christian people were educated, and were manifestly thriving by reason of what had come to them along with Christianity. There are thousands of well educated Christian men all over the district, and women too; I might say that the missions have the secular teaching of the women and the children in the south part of the district in their hands, and are enterprising enough to use it well. Boarding schools in which the children were instructed for years till they had something of the conscience and Scripture knowledge of English children, have been doing their work at every station for half a century.

"With this leavening of the community and these advantages of Christianity manifest and open before the eyes of the heathen it was to be expected that the time for a great change would early come. The famine disturbed society enough, and awakened the people enough to the true state of things to make the change possible, and the energetic zealous work of the natives themselves with God's blessing started a movement which is now a matter of great rejoicing. I do not think there is any doubt that in South Tinneveli the new comers will remain firm. In the northern part of the district and in Ramnad in our district, there was far less preparation and less palpable evidence of the benefit of Christianity. The movement is I think much less valuable but by no means worthless; I do not expect that to any considerable extent those who have joined us will backslide. Their friends are already Christians, and they all knew about Christianity before they entered it."

THE American Mission in the Madura District, just north of Tinnivelli, though working among the same class of people, did not receive anything like so large an accession as its sister missions in the Southern District. The author of the letter from which we have just quoted accounts for this fact, in part, in the following manner:—

"The truth of the matter is that while we have had Mansion House Funds to distribute, and have distributed them conscientiously without ulterior aims, we have been dreadfully cramped for money to take advantage of a single opening for mission work. To say nothing of relieving distressed Christian people more than heathen, we have not had an extra cash to add a catechist to our too small number or a schoolmaster, or help to build a school-house or a prayer-house, or forward our work in any way.

"We could usefully employ 20 men in places where congregations would be likely to be gathered if we could get the money to do it, but instead of giving us the money, our moderate estimates were reduced both last year and this. This is one chief reason why work has not gone on here as it has in Tinneveli, where money has been provided for a great enlargement of their work."

Yet the success of the Madura Mission last year, were it not eclipsed by the more striking success of the missions in Tinnivelli and the Baptist Mission among the Telugus, would be considered remarkable; 1878 is the most prosperous year, so far as accessions and the growth of the native Christian community indicate success, that this Mission has ever been able to report. The missionaries say—

"Probably not less than 60,000 idolaters in Southern India have cast away their idols, and have embraced Christianity in the year 1878. Our mission cannot report any such surprising progress, and yet we rejoice over larger accessions and more general prosperity than we have realized in any previous year. A comparison of the statistics at the end of this report, with those of last year, shows that we have one more organized church, 28 more Christian congregations with 2,209 more members, and an increase of 277 communicants, 433 having been added this year by profession. Nor does this tell the whole truth. It is the almost universal testimony of the missionaries that they have witnessed more devotion and zeal among professed Christians than ever before. Whatever may have been the effect of God's judgment on the heathen mind, which has been very

marked, it is very evident that Christians have been spiritually benefited by the discipline. This has borne its fruit in the greatly enlarged amount contributed by the people for benevolent purposes, being a gain of Rs. 1,270 upon 3,000 contributed the previous year, making a total of Rs. 4,270. In two stations the increase has been 25 per cent.; in one 35; in one 75; in two others it has nearly doubled; in one it has increased three-fold, and in still another four-fold. These contributions are made often out of deep poverty; sometimes in handfuls of grain, laid aside by the house-wife from the daily family allowance; sometimes in small copper coins, from time to time dropped into a charity box provided by the missionary for the purpose; sometimes in large quantities of grain being a tenth of the reaped harvest; sometimes it is a contribution in work on a mission building, and very seldom in silver coin as large as a rupee."

It is undoubtedly a very pleasant thing to be able to chronicle as the result of the year's work over 2,000 new members of the Christian congregations, and 433 accessions to the number of communicants. Yet in our opinion the most cheering thing in the Madura report is not the record of large numerical gains, but of self-denying efforts on the part of the people, in the midst of a poverty always deep, now aggravated by famine, to support their own religious teachers, and to provide their own places of worship. The Christians of the Madura district are making solid and rapid advances in self-support. Of this the report before us presents indisputable proof, and it is the best thing which the report contains. Of the thirty-three churches in connection with the mission, fifteen have native pastors. These pastors are all supported independently of mission funds; this does not mean that all the churches are able themselves to provide the whole of the pastors' salaries. Five of them are so, or soon will be; but in the case of the others, while, as we understand, each church pays a certain portion of its own pastor's salary, the Madura Native Evangelical Society aids in making up the remainder. Thus while the individual churches themselves may be to a degree dependent on external aid, the Christian community as a body is becoming able to succor its own weak members. The same gratifying progress in self-support is seen in the erection of buildings for church purposes. Forty-three cheap, but serviceable chapels have been put up during the year under review. In some cases the Mission bore two-thirds of the expense; in other cases one-half; while not a few have been built without any expense to the Mission,—“the people themselves giving what they could, “in money or in labor, the balance being furnished by benevolent friends “in this country or at home.” The buildings thus erected are very simple and inexpensive, costing from fifteen rupees to ten times that sum each. But several more expensive and better-built churches and school-houses have also been either finished or wholly erected during the year; in some cases mission funds have not been drawn upon at all, in other cases to a partial extent. We are not told how much of the money for these more costly buildings has been furnished by the people themselves; but probably the proportion is not very large, though in the case of churches it would be something. We notice with pleasure the desire on the part of some of the larger and better established congregations to have well-built and good-looking edifices in which to meet for the worship of God. The desire itself is an indication of progress; and it is well that the missionaries encourage *that desire*, according to the ability of the people to aid in the *erection of such buildings*. On the whole, the condition of few of our *missions is more encouraging* than that of the American Madura Mission.

ANOTHER Mission which received unusually large accessions last year was the American Mission in the Arcot district, just west of Madras. This mission dates from the year 1853. It has been especially distinguished for the fidelity and zeal with which its members have given themselves to the actual work of preaching. Eight years of preparatory labor passed before there was any general movement towards Christianity among the villages. In 1861 ten Roman Catholic families came over in a body, and formed the nucleus of the first congregation. There are now congregations in 88 villages; 21 churches with 1,112 communicants, and a nominal Christian community of 6,083 souls.

"From the above statistics," says the Report, "it appears that our Christians are about trebling every ten years. According to the census of 1874, the population of the eight taluqs in the Tamil field in which we are laboring was 1,464,849. Supposing the increase to continue in the ratio before-named, the number of Christians at the end of thirty years from now will be 164,241, and at the end of twenty years more, 1,478,169. In other words, in fifty years the whole district will have become Christian."

Such prognostications of the future are very pleasant, and as harmless as they are useless. We turn with far greater interest to that page of this Mission's report on which we find a record of its actual progress during the past year. This record is cheering. In previous years there have been accessions, sometimes large and rapid, to its Christian congregations. In all such cases the question asked is, how do the new members run? The report before us says:—

"We are glad to be able to state that of the villages reported last year as having renounced heathenism, so many have remained firm. Defections there have been, but no greater than we expected. It is not surprising that in a time of famine many should have sought us chiefly for the 'loaves and fishes,' but we rejoice that such a large number show that their motives were higher. The statistics indicate an increase of 1,685 in the number of adherents. There are a great many more nominally connected with us, but whom we defer reckoning as Christians until they have been longer tested. Those whom we report have been under instruction two years, and show a real desire to be Christ's followers.

"It has been our privilege to baptize during the year 859 souls, 471 of whom are adults. The majority of these baptisms were in villages connected with the Vellore Station, Dr. Jared Scudder baptizing respectively on two different occasions 310 and 227 persons. Another event especially worthy of note was the baptism of 40 persons of high caste in a village belonging to the Arcot station. The whole community, embracing headman, accountant, barber and carpenter have renounced caste, and are now connected with our churches. Twenty-six high caste families, numbering about 120 souls, have been reclaimed from heathenism and gathered into our congregations during the last two years."

THE Evangelical Lutherans of America sustain a small, but very vigorous and flourishing Mission at Guntur, in the Krishna District of the Madras Presidency. With this mission, as with so many others, the past year was one of marked prosperity. The field of the Mission comprises the two stations of Guntur and Palnad. The number of congregations is nearly one hundred. The area embraced is about 5,000 square miles, covered with a dense population. The membership last year increased 33 per cent., and the present number of converts connected with the mission is about 4,700. We quote from a letter just received from one of the missionaries:—

"Our mission was also influenced by the famine, and in receiving new mem-

ers we tried to avoid the two extremes—of *looseness* in receiving members, and of *strictness* in discouraging worthy inquirers.

“Our famine relief was by means of employments, such as spinning, weaving, shoemaking, and earthwork. We were in this way spared some of the annoyances of gratuitous relief agencies, while it of course gave us a great deal of trouble, or other labor, to look after our relief operations. This form of famine relief brought us into contact with the worthy poor, with those who needed famine relief, and showed that they deserved it by their willingness to work for it. Very few of our people were baptized until the famine and famine relief were things of the past; they were well instructed in the simple Gospel doctrines, and their conduct carefully watched for months before baptism; at present they are happy and rejoice in the change they have made, though instead of *getting* they are now *giving*. Our new members, old and young, take a hearty interest in learning the catechism, the Christian hymns, the monthly Scripture verses, etc., which are appointed by the Mission. Among our new congregations there is as little beggary, and as great a desire for spiritual improvement as among the older congregations.

“Another encouraging feature is the fact that we have at present as great a number of applicants for baptism as we had at any time during last year, and our number of baptisms for this year will probably be as great as last year's.

“Our exact number of additions for last year is as follows:—

“Children of Christian parents baptized.....	92
Baptisms from non-Christian adults	674
Do. do. children	461
Total.....	1,227

“The total membership of the Mission previous to last year was 3,500.”

THIS record of successful labor, from widely separated portions of the Madras Presidency, is one of cheer and encouragement. Yet it is not so complete as it might have been made. For while we are writing we read in a weekly paper of a similar ingathering, less extensive indeed than those we have mentioned above, but which in a short time may become as great, in the district around Kurnul, occupied by the London Mission. Twelve hundred new adherents are reported since January of this year. The missionaries lack the means to give adequate instruction to so large a number. Smaller, yet when compared with the record of former years, very large accessions might be reported from many mission fields in all parts of India. The work of instruction to which the missionaries must now give themselves, will be harder and more trying than that of gathering in the new adherents. May they have grace and aid in the work before them!

REV. DR. FAIRBANK, of the American Marathi Mission, Western India, has collected information showing the occupations of the native Christians in his Mission. It should be remembered that the larger part of these Christians are from the caste known as *Mahars*, individuals of which rarely own property of any amount themselves; they get their living by laboring for the cultivators of their villages, or by the performance of certain village duties which from time immemorial have been the hereditary occupation of Mahars.

Dr. Fairbank writes:—

“I have tried to secure lists showing the trades, occupations, and means of living of all the Christian heads of families in our connection. The returns are not complete, but a summary of them will be interesting and will give a fair idea of the proportionate numbers in each occupation. The summary gives 39 Bible-aiders, 83 school-teachers, 54 farmers, 81 Mahars (supported by their avails as

Mahars), 137 day-laborers, 36 servants; 2 cartmen, 4 sipays, 2 writers, 6 book-colporteurs, 1 weaver, 1 tailor, 2 carpenters, 3 wood-sellers, 1 stone-cutter, 1 water-carrier, 1 boatman, 2 singers, 3 traders, 1 sweeper, 16 dependent (blind, aged etc.), and 23 Bible-women; I should say that 51 of the Bible-readers and school-teachers are not paid or helped by the American Mission; the number of farmers has increased within a few years, and I do all I can to foster the growing desire of many to obtain fields and engage in farming. I have helped some to procure oxen and farming tools, but my means are too limited to allow of my doing this in many cases. The number supported as Mahars has greatly decreased, and though many who used to depend on their *maharki* for a livelihood, must now earn their bread as day-laborers, they have thus begun to improve their condition."

WE are very glad to notice the continued life and prosperity of the Gopalgunge Evangelistic Mission, founded, and carried on for the past three or four years, by Rev. M. N. Bose, formerly of Calcutta. We have spoken of this Mission in several of the previous issues of this *Review*. Twelve persons, eight of them being adults, were baptized last year. The present number of communicants is eighteen; the Christian community numbers forty-four. The following extracts from Mr. Bose's last report, the one showing some of the moral results of Hinduism, and the other exhibiting the change which is creeping gradually over the minds of the people, will be read with interest:—

"The Vysnabas are the followers of the celebrated Chytanya, but not a single virtue of that great religious Bengali reformer seems to be retained by his followers, at least not in this part of the country. The name of Hori is always on their lips; but they too faithfully follow, in their lives, the evil examples of Krishna, their favorite deity. There is not another class of Hindus more degraded than the Vysnabas of Lower Bengal. Their sect is recruited by the very sweeping of Hindu society. Men and women who make themselves hateful to the Hindus by their sensual practices, betake themselves to the Vysnabas, who allow them to indulge in sin without any restrictions. Every Vysnaba is a ganja-smoker. Their marriage tie is extremely loose; a man has to pay one rupee four annas to a *mohunt* to marry a woman, and a similar amount for divorcing her! In consequence, divorce is an every day occurrence among them, and exchange of wives is not unknown. They are extremely ignorant. Their knowledge is confined to a few *lillas* or evil practices of Krishna, and the subject-matter of their obscene songs is nothing but the sinful love of Krishna; with his sixteen hundred *Gopinis*, or milkmaids. It is a remarkable thing that these Vysnabas are received by the Chandals as holy beings, and gifts and presents are given to them, and at certain times they are entertained at great cost. A *mohunt* who lives in my neighborhood, is known to all as a licentious rogue, but it proves no bar to his being honored as the sacred head of the Vysnabas of this locality."

"Eight months ago I paid a visit to my native village in Jessore. I was there struck with the mighty change that the religious feelings of the Hindus had undergone in the course of a few years. Not only did my own relatives and friends receive me and my family into their house in the most cordial manner, but also the most respectable Kyastas and Brahmans in the neighboring villages invited me to come into their houses and eat. The most learned Brahman of that quarter, a great Hindu logician, sent to me for a Christian book, accompanied by a message that he would be glad if I were to come to his house and spend a day with him, taking my meals in his house. This Brahman dwells in a village in the neighborhood which is inhabited by Brahmans of very high respectability."

WE see with pleasure that the Church Mission is preparing to enter *Beluchistan* and *Afghanistan*. The subject has been considered carefully by the General Committee of the Society. The opinion of the Committee

is that facilities are soon likely to occur for extending their mission work beyond the present frontier of India in Afghanistan, Beluchistan, and Kafiristan, and in view of this probability they consider it advisable that steps should be taken at once for strengthening the frontier stations of the society at Peshawar, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan.

The plan is not by any means a new one. So long ago as 1861 the Society was earnestly entreated by several gentlemen in the Panjab to begin such a mission, and one of them offered a large subscription in aid of it. The committee then went so far as to designate two or three young missionaries to service in Beluchistan, one of whom was the present Bishop of Lahore. The plan was to establish stations in the Derajat, the strip of country between the Indus and the Suleiman mountains, which should become the base of operations in the regions beyond ; Dera Ghazi Khan, the chief town of the Southern Derajat is regarded as the best base for the Beluchistan Mission. The plan of the Society, however, was not then carried out ; Dera Ismail Khan has indeed long been occupied, and more recently Bannu ; but this is all. No attempt to enter Beluchistan has been made ; but now that attention has been drawn to the subject once more we may hope to see, within a short time, a new and a more vigorous movement. Rev. G. M. Gordon, the well known missionary in the Jhelam District, has been urging the subject on the Committee. Two missionaries, one a physician, have been assigned to Dera Ghazi Khan. It is hoped that ere long Quetta or Khelat may be occupied. Mr. Gordon went up to the former place with General Biddulph's force last year. He found the population to consist of Beluchis, Brahuis, and Khákars, the latter being an Afghan tribe. The Brahuis he describes as a "quiet, inoffensive race, "hardy and ignorant, with hardly any religion. The Khákars are "fanatical and unreliable, and seem to have no sympathy with us."

This, however, is not Mr. Gordon's first entry into Beluchistan. Two and a half years ago he made a short journey into this almost unknown land, an account of which he sent to his Society at the time ; it has only recently been made public. He started from Dera Ghazi Khan. He found that the Muhammadan religion had but a feeble hold upon the people. They admitted the purity of Christianity, and were very willing to engage in religious discussion. The linguistic difficulty is not very great. The chiefs are familiar with Urdu and Panjabi ; but the common people understand well only their own Beluchi. Yet that dialect is one which with the aid of Persian and Panjabi could be easily mastered ; it presents no special difficulties. Mr. Gordon was well pleased with the people. "Fine "specimens of a noble race", he says some of the chiefs appeared to be. The people are wild, but simple ; and they have qualities which would adorn the Christian faith ; "their bravery, their truthfulness, and their chivalry "have endeared them to all our frontier officers who have had to do with "them. I was told by Col. G., that, in time of war, the flock of an "enemy (which is otherwise lawful spoil) is always respected, if guarded by "a woman, and you may see a flock of sheep grazing securely under the "very pickets of the adversary, with no other title to immunity than the "sex of its keeper."

Mr. Gordon calls on his Society to pursue a "vigorous frontier 'policy"—and we hope soon to have the pleasure of recording that the hint *has been acted upon.*

SINCE our last Number was published, the eight days' "mission" in connection with the English Church at Calcutta has been held; and if it has done nothing else it has at any rate shown a large degree of elasticity in that communion. Six of the Calcutta churches were utilized on the occasion,—one of them a Hindustani Church. Four of the preachers belonged to the Society of St. John the Evangelist (the so-called "Cowley Fathers"), one to the S. P. G., and one to the C. M. S. In each church there were three or four services daily, but only one of them, viz., that for Holy Communion, appears to have been a Prayer-Book service. The rest were of a nondescript sort—excerpted, compiled, extemporized, according to the taste of the presiding minister; and even into the Communion service it is said that extempore prayer is creeping under the name of "meditation." The hymns used were mostly taken from the *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, though two not found in that collection, the one by Cowper and the other by Faber, were also employed.

Previous to the services, a well-attended meeting was held in the Town Hall under the presidency of the Bishop of Calcutta, to introduce the preachers to the public. One of the speakers at this meeting, Rev. Mr. O'Neill, of Indore, indicated the character which its conductors wish to give to the mission. He said that the preachers had agreed to sink their minor differences in order that they might combine to preach Christ as the only Saviour; he spoke of the sympathy which they had with the evangelical non-conformists, and their desire for unity with them when God should open the way,—though exactly what he meant by this last phrase we do not know.

On the following day all the clergy met at the Bishop's palace to spend the day in prayer and religious exercises. This is what goes by the name of a "retreat."

From this time the work was taken up separately in the several churches. We do not propose to give a detailed account of the work in each; that at St. John's is specially noticeable on account of the large congregations attracted by the eloquence of the Rev. Luke Rivington. A midday service at 1-30 P.M. which he determined to hold for business men, was, contrary to all expectations, exceedingly well attended.

The larger part of the congregations during these services consisted of the middle and lower classes. The aristocracy of Calcutta, for some reason or other, were for the most part indifferent to what was going on. We understand that many not connected with the Church of England, and also, we believe, some Roman Catholics, attended the services more or less regularly. An effort like this to arouse the careless and indifferent, and to "preach Christ as the only Saviour" must evoke sympathy among Christian men of whatever name.

REV. H. HAIGH, of the Wesleyan Mission of Mysore, reports as follows the use he made of a wandering Hindu ascetic. Our readers may well emulate the skill with which the missionary treated his antagonist:—

"He went up to a merchant, one of his disciples, who at once offered him a small coin; and he first attracted my attention by the disdain with which he declined it, and the vehemence with which he demanded double the amount. The merchant naturally hesitated for a moment, whereupon the irrepressible jagamma began uttering most fearful curses, which had the desired effect of frighten-

ing the poor man and making him compliant. Just as he was about to hand over the extra amount, I stepped up and asked the *jangamma* what he meant by refusing the first offer, and why he should demand anything at all from the people. I suppose he had never been asked such a question in his life before, for he stood back, and looked at me for a while in great astonishment. Recovering himself, he pointed quite dramatically, and evidently with a desire to impress the surroundings, to the poor merchant, and said, 'Ask him, not me. He knows, 'too, he must make *sashtanga* (the profoundest form of obeisance) before me, 'or my curse will be on him.' Then I asked him what harm his curse could do to the merchant, to which he replied that it was quite sufficient for the man to know. I inquired if his curse could touch me, or if he thought a curse from me could affect him. At questions like these he became amusingly angry, a fact which I pointed out to the great crowd which had gathered, and which was made up mainly of his disciples. You are aware that to lose one's temper is always a sign amongst these people of the weakness of your cause; and as they noticed his angry face and gesture, the whole company set up a loud laugh. This was by no means enough, for I wanted the people to look at the whole matter in its serious aspects. So I began to enlighten them as to the real character and pretensions of this *jangamma*, and told them of the great *Guru*, to whom *jangammas* and everybody else must go, and by whom they must be saved. This was listened to very attentively for some time, but at last my friend, getting impatient at exposure and exhortation, began to sing. I allowed him to get through two or three *slokas*, and then stopped him, and inquired what they meant? He said he did not know—nobody knew; when I pressed him as to the benefit of it, he replied quite sharply, 'Why, you have books which nobody can understand, 'why do you read them?' I said, 'Let us see'; and asking the colporteur to give me St. Luke's Gospel I read the parable of the prodigal son. The people understood that very evidently; seeing which, the *jangamma* quietly slipped out of the crowd. But he left me with a noble congregation."

REV. MR. BARING, of C. M. S. in North India, is impressing upon us the importance of publishing editions of the Bible of a small size and low price. As to price,—we imagine that the Indian Bible Societies are already offering the Scriptures at a rate as low as ought to be demanded. To offer a well printed volume of respectable size for a price which every one must see to be far below the mere cost of printing, is almost as bad as to give the book away out and out. As to the size of the volume,—that depends upon the size of the type. In speaking of this subject once before, we pointed out the difficulty of procuring type for printing the Indian languages small enough to make a very small edition of the Bible possible. The smallest size of Marathi type is that technically known as long primer, and the New Testament in this type would be a duo-decimo volume of more than 400 pages. It would certainly at present be useless if not impossible to publish an edition of the Bible in any smaller type than that. We may come to it in time.

A WRITER in the Bangalore Bible Society's Report urges that "parts "of the Epistles, chiefly that to the Romans, ought to be printed in tract "form and exposed for sale." He says that many who buy the Bible or New Testament entire, often content themselves with reading only a few of the opening chapters, and thus remain utterly ignorant of the larger part of the Holy Book. The suggestion he makes, he thinks, would remedy the evil. We doubt if the Bible Societies, as at present constituted, would be able, bound as they are by the iron rules of the parent

Society in London, to print detached extracts in the manner suggested. If we are rightly informed, no extract from the Bible, save particular books in their entirety, can be printed with the funds of the Society or its auxiliaries.

WE may also mention here, since we have just been speaking of the demand for *small* Bibles, that the Bangalore Society has recently brought out a portable edition of the Canarese Bible. The only edition hitherto available was an immense quarto. The new edition is highly valued by members of the Canarese churches, and is rapidly working its way into native Christian families.

WE are informed by Mr. Rouse, the Superintendent of the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta, that during 1878, in connection with the Baptist Missionary Society in Northern India, about 26,000 copies of Vernacular Scripture portions were sold; the amount realized by sales being about Rs. 550. This is quite independent of the sales under the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society.

THE work of a Bible colporteur, some may think, is one which any poor, broken-down, inefficient native Christian, who has not energy enough to teach a school, or brains enough to preach, may be able to do. If any one cherishes such a notion,—and judging from the unwillingness which missionary committees sometimes show to allow their best men to take up this work, and the reluctance of native Christian helpers of the better class to engage in it, such an impression must exist somewhat widely, both among Europeans and natives,—he is very much mistaken. There are few callings which require more energy, skill, good sense and tact, than that of an Indian Bible colporteur; and there are, we think, few callings in which good men can be more useful to their own countrymen. As an illustration of this we beg to give a few extracts from the diaries of the Madras Bible Society's colporteurs:—

"At the fair I read and explained several passages. A schoolmaster, after reading here and there from each portion, asked me to relate to him briefly the history of Christ. When I did so, he addressed the people to this effect:—'Do not be deceived by the idols and devils which you have been worshipping. Pray to Christ who came into the world to save us, so that he might take away from us famine, pestilence and locusts that are destroying our crops. Do not be indifferent'. Then he took the books from me and sold nine copies."

"A young man said that he had heard of Christ and his works but had not found any one that could explain to him fully that he is the true Saviour. Accordingly I spoke to him of our Lord's birth, teaching, miracles, his second coming, etc. He and five others with him heard me very attentively and remarked, 'Doubtless this is a true Saviour.' They each bought a copy."

"They said:—'What salvation have you found in this religion that could not be obtained through Brahma, Vishnu and Siva?' In reply I explained to him certain Scripture passages. They then quoted some *sruti* from their Vedas and I also did the same and explained. They observed:—'You have come here after examining everything well,' and bought several copies."

"While I was working, some Iyengar Brahmans came up to me and said:—'All Christians are low and degraded men; they are Pariahs; you should neither preach nor sell books here. We shall give you no room here. We have to do

'penance even for speaking with you.' In reply I read and explained to them some Scripture passages, giving at the same time examples from their own books. They were pleased and bought three copies."

"Some observed :—' We have been hearing of Christianity for these twenty years, and we have also read the Bible. We worship secretly.' One asked :—' To whom does Christianity belong ?' I said, ' To the whole world.' He continued :—' It is written not to give holy things to dogs and not to throw holy things before swine ; but contrary to this command you give this holy and precious Book to Pariahs and Chucklers and increase the number of your converts. For this you will receive severe punishment in the next world.' Some of them bought books and requested me to visit them again. Seeing some Brahmans and Sudras in front of a temple, I went to them and read and enlarged upon John vi. 25, 26. A Brahman came to me in a great rage and said :—' Leave the place. Are you come here to deceive us with your artful words ?' Some of the Sudras asked why he was so angry while I was speaking to them only good words. The Brahman, however, went away saying :—' If his words are such you may listen to him.' Then I explained to them Acts v. 29, 32. They bought in all fifteen portions."

"Noticing a crowd of Hindus and Muhammadans near a mosque, I went up to them. One of the Muhammadans as soon as he saw the books cried in a great rage :—' Take it and burn it.' But he was rebuked for this by another of the same creed. A Hindu said :—' Let us hear what kind of words they are,' and asked me to read. So I read and explained Luke xviii. 9-14 and xvi. 19-31. Though some Muhammadans did not like, there were others both Hindus and Muhammadans who gladly bought twelve portions."

THE Report of the Panjab Religious Book Society bears on its cover, as a motto, these words from the late Mr. H. Carre Tucker's last letter to the Society :—

"I want you to make hay while the sun shines ; as there is a tide in all these things which needs to be taken at the flood. Get all the money and material you can, from all societies, and go on as fast as you possibly can, so as to have a pure literature ready for the rising generation of boys and girls."

The Report itself contains an earnest and powerful appeal to missionaries in India, and to the friends and supporters of missions at home, wholly in accord with the spirit of Mr. Tucker's words. To this appeal, which we subjoin, we invite the careful attention of all our readers :—

"Again would we venture to urge on our home societies the vastness of the opportunities which offer themselves on every side in India at the present time, for the preparation and circulation of Christian tracts and books. The decay of the old religions of the country, the rapid progress of education, the increased opportunities of communications with every part of the country, (and we may say also the spread of infidel opinions in the minds of many educated native men,) seem to render it imperatively necessary to the Church of Christ at home to endeavor to stay the tide of evil, and promote the advancement of Christian knowledge by means of the press. It is a matter of surprise, not that so much is being done by the Christian Church in connexion with publications in Europe, as that so very little is being done in Asia. The British and Foreign Bible Society are now spending £37,000 (or 3 lacs and 70 thousand rupees) a year, in publishing and circulating God's Word in five countries of Europe, namely Russia, Austria, Spain, Portugal, and Italy. In the Panjab and Sindh, *i.e.* for all the country between Simla and Karachi, and between Peshawar and Delhi, £500 a year can hardly be deemed a sufficient sum for the above object, when we regard the present circumstances of India. For their Bengal and North India Missions alone, the Church Missionary Society of London is spending no less than £42,000 a year on direct missionary operations, exclusive of all sums which are received by local missions. In the Panjab and Sindh are spent annually about £12,000.

"Other societies are spending proportionally similar sums. There is apparently no lack of funds or of agents for almost every other kind of missionary work in India; nor is there apparently any lack of means for the publication of Christian religious books in Europe. But as regards religious books for India, the work is almost starved. After the greatest efforts, it would seem as if the Church could give only very meagre supplies for the very important work which all unanimously recommend in the strongest expressions which can be made use of. Not £1,000 a year have yet been given towards it from all quarters. We know the great interest which is taken in it by very many influential friends at home, and we would ask them to use the means that the wants of India may be supplied in this respect also. Whether new societies for India are needed now at home, or new committees for India are required in our old societies, we do not know; but the present poor state of things seems to show that considerable improvement is necessary, and that more special efforts are urgently required, if we really desire to influence the country by means of books."

THE Theosophists have come. They have come to stay. For the present they have settled down in Bombay, and have favored the inquiring public of that city with several receptions, one or two lectures, a few articles in a paper edited by some Parsis, etc., etc. Their coming excited some attention, of course. Much curiosity as to their character and ultimate aims was expressed; the bazars were for a few days filled with rumors respecting them. Of course, too, they are high in favor with a certain class; for, in order to enjoy the favor of some, it is only necessary that an individual should announce his rejection and hatred of the Christian religion; and that is a thing which the Theosophists have done with considerable emphasis. They are therefore sure of having a following. They have adopted Pandit Dayanand Saraswati Swami as their chief *guru*. He is well known in many parts of India, as a would-be reformer of the current Hinduism of the day; and his efforts to recall his nation to the primitive faith of the Vedas have sometimes drawn upon him the wrath of orthodox Brahmans, who thought that he was endangering their craft. But that was several years ago. Of late the excitement which his lectures at first aroused has grown cool. Perhaps the Theosophists may arouse it again.

THE Lahore Diocesan Church Conference, at its first meeting, held last January, gave its sanction to a scheme, proposed by the Archdeacon, of establishing a weekly paper in the interests of the Church of England in that diocese. We learn that a guarantee fund has been promised for the support of the paper. We do not know whether the publication has been actually begun; at any rate we have not been favored with any copies of the new journal, and have not seen any announcement of it. One effect, and one to be regretted, of the proposed publication has been the discontinuance of the *Indian Christian Intelligencer*. The editors and proprietor of that periodical believe that it will be impossible to secure the support necessary for the two publications. They doubtless know better than we what the amount of support may be on which they can with safety calculate; but one would think that two religious periodicals, the one a *weekly* and the other a *quarterly*, ought to be able to exist and even to *thrive on the same field*.

WE have the first annual report and catalogue of the Centennial School, Lucknow. This school is supported by the American Methodist Mission, and is designed for the children of native Christians in the North-West. A good beginning has been made. The list of scholars shows 86 names; the larger part of these are from Lucknow, but as the school becomes more widely known, and the advantages it offers better appreciated, the proportion of pupils from more distant stations will undoubtedly largely increase. The school being yet in its infancy, is still unprovided with many of the facilities which such a school ought to have for the realization of its aim; funds are wanted both for buildings and endowments; it is the desire of the managers to secure at least twenty scholarships, of Rs. 1,000 each, for the support of needy pupils; and a small collection of books already in the possession of the school forms the nucleus of a library in aid of which donations, whether of money or of books, are solicited. It will not, we hope, be long ere this school shall take its place among the well-equipped and vigorous institutions of the North-West. Its managers have our best wishes for their complete success.

A CHRISTIAN paper of the Madras Presidency calls attention to the fact that only one Master of Arts degree was conferred this year by the Madras University; but there were no less than 23 who received the degree of B. L., and 140 who passed successfully the B. A. examination. Of these 27 were educated at the Madras Christian College. "Such a showing "as this," proceeds the paper we quote from, "is worth the thoughtful "consideration of those who are aiming at promoting the moral improvement "of India. The leaders of the next generation are becoming educated "Hindu men, educated in the western sense of that word. If Christianity "is to lead the leaders it must look well that it does not neglect educating "the Christian teachers who are to do it, while it keeps in constant remem- "brance the non-Christian public in the midst of which it is. We should "think that Christian missions could hardly afford to be non-educating "bodies even in the higher grades."

We are happy to aid in the dissemination of such exceedingly sensible remarks.

THE following extract from the last report of the London Mission in Travancore, contains gratifying evidence of the social improvement effected by Christianity, while at the same time it reveals a rigor of caste law to which, in other parts of India, we are rapidly becoming strangers:—

"Cases are continually recurring which show the hatred of the high caste heathen to the progress of Christianity amongst the lower classes. The latter are rising into civilization, knowledge, and self-respect, and taking the liberty to wear decent clothing and carry umbrellas, to walk along the public roads and to attend the markets or fairs like other people. We regret that the higher classes, who have so long retained the lower castes in degradation and in slavery, are annoyed at all this, and for the present it is no doubt, also, a loss to them, for the working classes can now to a large extent select the employers whom they will serve, or work for their own benefit, and can claim fair wages and rational liberty."

THE *Indian Mirror*, which sometimes speaks in a manner well calculated to arouse our righteous indignation, on the other hand frequently utters truths of the highest importance in a bold and manly fashion. For instance, not long since, it took up the question of Biblical education in Government schools in its relation to religious neutrality, and published an article which would have done credit to the *Bombay Guardian* itself. Having alluded, among other things, to the absurdity involved in the claim of neutrality made by the Government, when it maintains a church-establishment supported by Hindu and Musalman taxes, encourages Christian missions by grants-in-aid, allows such authors as Milton and Abercrombie to be retained in its own list of text-books, connives at the study of the Ramayan and Mahabharat, and tolerates the reading of any amount of "free thought" and sceptical literature, the *Mirror* goes on to speak as follows :—

"It is the Bible which has moulded the European character, and can any study of the European literature be complete without a perusal of the very book which has influenced it for the best? The Upanishads and the two great epics contain the entire soul and spirit of the Indian nationality. And can we forego the temptation of reading them? Government has inaugurated, and partly carried out, a plan of bringing out books written in direct accordance with its policy of religious neutrality, and nothing, we can assure it, has been duller reading than they. The reason is not far to seek; for the best thoughts of our best men cluster round their dearest interests. It is religion, far more than anything else, which has given philosophy, science, and art, the charm and the interest which attach to them. More than half the periodical literature of the day is saturated with the spirit of religion. English books are nothing, if not religious. How, then, we ask, can education be properly imparted which does not draw upon the very fountain-head from which the best literature of the day derives its freshness and life? English education is nothing without the Bible, in the same way as the study of Sanskrit is nothing without the Vedas. We have come across young men who are unable to use the periodical literature of the day, simply because they are ignorant of the vast religious controversies which are carried on in the midst of it. As a matter of education, therefore, if not for any other purpose, the study of the scriptures should form the most important part of the curriculum of every school."

NOTHING certainly could be better than that. But, on the other hand, somebody wrote, not long ago, to the *Mirror* asking for a list of books by the aid of which he might read and understand the four Gospels. With a degree of judicial impartiality which must strike us all with admiration, the *Mirror* recommended the following as works which might be "safely consulted":—Theodore Parker's works, Renan's *Life of Jesus*, *Ecce Homo*, and "Our Minister's" *Lectures on Jesus Christ—Europe and Asia; Great Men; Christ and Christianity*, and the lecture just delivered by him in Calcutta on *India asks—Who is Christ?* "These, we think," adds the *Mirror* with charming simplicity, "will suffice to give any reader the key to the right interpretation of the Gospels." Our good friends of the *Mirror* should meditate on the maxim *audi alteram partem*. We imagine that it would be enforced by them with an emphatic string of adjectives for the benefit of any one who might have the temerity to recommend to an inquiring soul Dr. Dyson's tracts on *Brahmist Dogmas* as "safe works" to assist him in getting hold of "the key to" Brahminism!

WE have not this quarter so large a selection as usual of notes and extracts illustrating missionary work on other fields than our own. But we have read with great interest the following testimony to the character of the converts in China, in which doubtless all our readers will take as deep interest as we ourselves have done. It is taken from a missionary periodical entitled *The Regions Beyond*, and was written by one who has lately made a visit to China :—

“I have never met anywhere in Christian lands Christian men and Christian women of a higher type than some I have met in China. I have never met in any land Christian men or Christian women of finer spiritual experience or of a higher spiritual tone of life. I do not want you to think that they are all like that, but that is my own testimony as to what I have found there. I found in Amoy the elder of a native church, active and diligent in the Lord's work, earning his living by carving those beautiful and exquisite stones for the bracelets which your ladies wear. He had been years ago the best carver of idols in the city. Now he goes about preaching Christ.

“I found in one place a theological tutor in one of those colleges for native teachers. He was a man of the highest education and culture. He had been led to Christ by going into a barber's shop kept by a Christian, and this Christian barber makes it a practice, that whoever comes in, he will speak to him of Christ. He spoke to that man of Christ, and he spoke to him of the Judgment Day. What the barber said remained in his spirit, and he could not shake it off, and now, as I say, he is theological tutor in that college.

“As to the native preachers; well, I have listened to many native sermons, and, of course, I have the great disadvantage of listening through an interpreter. Usually a missionary was kind enough to sit by me and whisper into my ear word by word what was said. I have never heard sermons which impressed me more. There is one of the native preachers I may mention, who is called the Guthrie of North China, and his son also is really a Guthrie too. They are men full of the greatest power, using admirable imagery, and grafting this on to the soundest doctrine; men of as remarkable eloquence as some of your best pulpit orators who can sway men here. These are the fruit gathered in during the last few years of missionary enterprise by a handful of missionaries.”

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following Reports :—

The Report of the Gopalgunge Evangelistic Mission for 1878.

The First Report of the Theological Training Class, Monghyr, for 1877 and 1878.

Eleventh Report of the Panjab Auxiliary Bible Society, 1878.

Eleventh Report of the Panjab Religious Book Society, 1878.

The Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Lodiana Mission, being the Report for the year 1878.

St. John's Divinity School Report, July 1878—January 1879.

The Seventeenth Report of the United Presbyterian Mission in Rajpootana, 1878.

Report of the Bombay Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1878.

The American Mission among the Marathis of Western India, Report for 1878.

Report of the London Mission, Belgaum, for the year 1878.

Report of the Canadian Baptist Telugu Mission from its commencement to the close of 1877.

Twenty-second Annual Report of the Colportage operations carried on in connection with the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society for the year 1878.

Report of the Madras Medical Mission for the years 1877-1878.

Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Arcot Mission of the Reformed Church in America, 1878.

Report of the Bangalore Bible Society, 1878.

Report of the Bangalore Tract and Book Society, for the year ending September 30th, 1878.

The Forty-fourth Annual Report of the American Madura Mission, 1878.

Annual Report of the Trevandrum Mission District, Travancore, in connection with the London Missionary Society, 1878.

The Nineteenth Annual Report of the Rangoon Missionary Society, for the year 1878.

The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Burmah Bible and Tract Society, for the year 1878.

Report of the Madagascar Mission for 1878. (L. M. S.)

THE Editor of this REVIEW must ask the forbearance of his readers for omitting from the present issue the usual Book Notices; and of authors and publishers for delaying to notice the publications with which they have so kindly favored him. Considerations of health alone make it necessary for him, much against his will, to crave this indulgence.

THE INDIAN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

N^o. XXIV.

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ART. I.—THE SECRET OF POWER OVER OTHERS.

“BEHOLD, I send the promise of my Father upon you : but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with POWER from on high.”—Luke xxiv. 49.

“Ye shall receive POWER, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you.”—Acts i. 8.

“The Kingdom of God is not in word, but in POWER.”—I Cor. iv. 20.

“Either make the tree good, and his fruit good ; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt : for the tree is known by his fruit.”—Matt. xii. 33.

THE age of shams is fast passing away. It has had a long life. But there is nothing as to which modern civilization is more completely resolved than this,—to believe nothing, to respect nothing, which does not rest upon the solid, scientific basis of demonstrable facts. Those who profess to be the leaders of European thought have openly declared war against all “authority.” They will respect no mere *ipse dixit*. It is only actual power that commands their regard. And though they are far enough from using the words, I think their philosophy, in all but spiritual things, is really more and more influenced by that profound formula, “Every tree is known by its own fruit.”

Wide as is the gulf between the stirring energy of Europe and America, and the death-like stagnation which has until lately characterized non-Christian lands,—it is no less true here in the *heart of heathendom* than it is at home, that it is only *real power that commands respect*. The great mass of the

people are bound fast in the chains of superstition. How shall we enter the strong man's house unless one who is stronger than he first bind the strong man? The people of this country have to a wide extent been already awakened from their mental torpor by the spectacle of vast physical and intellectual power wielded by Europeans. They are awake and attentive. They too are learning to despise shams. In regard to spiritual things their attitude of mind is fast becoming similar to that of skeptics in Europe. They have bowed long enough to mere human authority. Those whose minds are stirring at all, are fast learning to hate every form of religion. Like the French at the outbreak of the great Revolution, they have so long seen religion identified with priestcraft, while the latter is associated with grasping covetousness, love of authority, and all manner of evil living, that they are beginning to hate the very name of religion.

Thus whether we have to deal with skepticism in so-called Christian lands, or with the infidelity of the educated classes in India—or, lastly, with the unchanged, orthodox systems of Hindu or Muhammadan superstition, it is above all things power from on high that is needed. It must be power, too, which is capable of producing *visible* effects. Power is needed such as God promised to Jeremiah, "to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down," as well as power "to build and to plant." Such was the power which our Lord Jesus promised, when he said, "Whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea," or "unto this sycamine tree, Be thou plucked up by the root and be thou planted in the sea"—it shall obey him.

The object of this paper is to dwell on the great truth that an exhaustless fountain of just such power is provided for the Church and for each Christian:—that when Jesus was baptized in the river Jordan, and the heavens were opened, and the Holy Spirit descended upon him, as a dove, he as a man was anointed with Divine power to qualify him for his great work of Mediator between God and men;—that he in turn, having accomplished the redemption of his people, ascended upon high and received the right to bestow the same Spirit on his disciples; and that in bestowing upon them the Holy Spirit of promise, he endued them with mediatorial power, differing only in degree, not in kind, from his own.

That the gift of the Spirit was pre-eminently *the* "promise of the Father,"—the burden of the most precious promises for ages, so that the Spirit is called "the Holy Spirit of promise,"—that the Spirit is the last greatest, and best gift of God to men,—all Christians believe. But is there not in some cases *confusion* of thought as to the *chief* end for which the Spirit was given? Have not our systems of theology taught us to

think only of those effects of the anointing which terminate on the recipient, forgetting that regeneration and personal sanctification, vital as they are, are yet a means to a still higher end? A study of the many Scriptures which bear on this subject will show very plainly, I think, that the regeneration and sanctification wrought by the Holy Spirit are meant to qualify the recipient for the exercise of *mediatorial power*. He is endued, like the Lord Jesus, with power over others; either to bring aliens into the Kingdom of Heaven; or, to teach and nourish those who are already children of the Kingdom.

As has already been hinted, there are abundant materials for studying this subject in the Scriptures.

I.—*In the Old Testament.*

1. Let us study those passages which speak of the *creative energy* of the Spirit of God: *e.g.* Genesis i. 2, The Spirit moved upon the waters, and Ps. xxxiii. 6.

2. Let us more especially collate all those passages which tell us of the Spirit coming upon men and which describe the effects. It would take far more space than we can afford to cite all such passages here. Every reader can do it for himself with the aid of a concordance. It will be sufficient, for our purpose, if we quote a selection of them here. It will be seen that the examples well illustrate the words of the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. xii. 4 *ff.*) "There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit." Various as are the effects on the different recipients, they appear all to have this in common, that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal," *i.e.* to profit not himself, but others. All the manifestations tend to the profit of God's people.

Thus we read in Exod. xxxi. 3 and xxxv. 31, that the Lord filled Bezaleel "with the Spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, and to devise curious works, to work in gold and in silver," etc. The same gift was bestowed on Aholiab. They were fitted by the Spirit to decorate the Tabernacle, and also to teach others to assist them.

In Numbers xxiv. 2, we read that "the Spirit of God" came upon Balaam. We know that the man's moral character was bad; but he was used for special reasons to utter God's message, making known God's purposes concerning his people, to the heathen nations.

In Numbers xi. 17, the Lord says to Moses, "I will take of the Spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them." From which we learn that it was the Spirit that qualified Moses for his high office of leader of the Israelites, and that those who were appointed to aid him as elders were qualified for their work by the same Spirit. Further, the striking parallel between

Moses and the Lord Jesus Christ is made more perfect by the fact that the Spirit was *first* given to Moses, and afterwards God took "*of* the Spirit that was on him and put it on them." The whole passage is instructive. As in most cases recorded in the Old Testament, the *immediate* effect on the recipients seems to have been, to cause them to "prophesy," that is, to act as spokesmen for God, uttering the words which the Spirit had put into their mouths.

In Numbers xxvii. 18 we read that the Spirit was in Joshua; so that both Moses and his successor were fitted by the Spirit to govern and lead the people of the Lord.

In like manner, the many judges whom God raised up, in a later age, to be saviours and deliverers of his people were gifted by the Spirit with the requisite qualities of wisdom, courage and endurance, for their difficult task. Thus, Judges iii. 10, "The Spirit of the Lord came upon him [Othniel] and he judged Israel, and went out to war," and ch. vi. 34, "The Spirit of the Lord came upon Gideon," and xi. 29, "The Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah," and xiii. 25, and other passages, which tell how the Spirit of the Lord came upon Samson, enduing him with preternatural bodily strength in order to fit him to cope with the enemies of the oppressed Israelites.

When God gave the people a king instead of the judges who had hitherto ruled them, we are told (1 Samuel x. 10, xi. 6 and xix. 23) that the Spirit of God came upon Saul. It is well known that there was no sanctifying effect on his character. So far from it, it was because after subsequent disobedience that the Spirit was taken away from Saul. The Spirit was then given to David.

Other passages show how it was by the Spirit that men were made prophets. See Nehemiah ix. 20 and 30, 1 Chron. xii. 18, 2 Kings ii. 15.

3. The *anointing* with holy oil was the especial type of that anointing with the Spirit of which we have already seen so many examples in the Old Testament, and which was to find its perfect antitype in the anointing of Jesus the Messiah and of his Church. We may study, therefore, with peculiar profit the directions in the Mosaic ritual concerning all anointed persons, places or things, such as the High Priest and inferior priests,—the Tabernacle or Temple as a whole,—the Holy Place, the Holy of Holies,—each one of which has its own especial significance. Then again the Brazen Altar and Laver in the Court of the Tabernacle, the Table of Shewbread, the Golden Candlestick and the Golden Altar of Incense in the Holy Place; and lastly, the most sacred object of all, the Ark of the Covenant with the Mercy Seat. All of these were *anointed* with the holy oil; and as the High Priest foreshad-

owed the office of Christ as the Mediator between God and men, and as a like mediatorial character belonged to the inferior priests in their degree, so all the anointed objects named above, however various, have this in common, that they furnished each a meeting-place between God and man. Want of space forbids an attempt to show this in detail, but I think a little reflection will make the truth of this statement manifest to all. All anointed persons, places and things had to do with mediation between God and man: either, on the one hand, they pointed to reconciliation by the putting away of guilt and pollution; or, on the other, they were (typically) channels for conveying the grace of the Spirit to those already reconciled. The furniture of the Court had to do with the putting away of sin, both its guilt and its pollution. The furniture of the Holy Place, symbolized the gift of heavenly light and food, and the offering up of the incense symbolized the offering of prayer and praise. The furniture of the Holy of Holies shows the righteousness and mercy of God in his relation to his people.

4. All that the Scriptures teach concerning the great offices of Prophet, Priest, and King helps to confirm our theme. It was the Spirit that qualified men for these offices, all of which are mediatorial in their character.

There was indeed a difference between the office of Prophet on the one hand, and those of Priest and King on the other. For the latter the preliminary qualification under the Old Testament, was a literal anointing with material oil,—the holy oil the composition of which was prescribed in the Law of Moses. For the Prophetic office no such material anointing seems to have been requisite. It was only the actual presence of the Spirit of God putting the Word of the Lord into the mouth, that could qualify man or woman to “speak for” God, or “to prophesy.” In passing it is interesting to note that the formula, “The word of the Lord came to” such a man, is equivalent in the Scriptures to the statement that the Spirit came upon him and caused him to prophesy, that is, to speak God’s message. The phrase is used of John the Baptist as well as of other prophets, and serves to remind us of the close connection between the Word, whether written or incarnate, and the Spirit.

In regard to the three great offices of Prophet, Priest, and King,—each of which implies an anointing with the Spirit, is it not a mistake to regard them as coëval and coequal? It seems to me that the Scriptures teach rather that there are two distinct stages of development in the Kingdom of God. The office of Prophet belongs to “the days of the flesh”—the present state of humiliation. Our Lord Jesus was the great Prophet, *like unto Moses*, from the time of his baptism to his death. In *like manner* some at least of those who have received the Spirit

since Pentecost have prophesied in the days of their flesh. I Cor. xii. speaks of prophecy as one of many gifts of the Spirit, and this is confirmed by other New Testament passages. Yet in the wider sense of the word, I think it may be said that all who have the Spirit "prophesy" (see Joel's words quoted by Peter on the day of Pentecost). All are witnesses for Christ. But the offices of Priest and King would appear to belong peculiarly in their fully developed state to the glorified resurrection state. If this view is correct, those alone shall reign as priests and kings hereafter, who have faithfully discharged the humbler office of Prophet while in the flesh. But whatever may be thought of this view, the main truth is evident, namely, that each of these is a *mediatorial* office. The Spirit qualifies the prophet to speak for God among men; the priest to intercede with God on behalf of men; the king to rule on God's behalf over men.

We have dwelt on the teaching of the Old Testament at much length, because it is there that we have countless types and shadows, and direct promises, of which the New Testament is but the fulfilment. It would be interesting to examine also the many direct *promises* of the giving of the Spirit in the last days which the Old Testament contains, one of which was cited by Peter on the day of Pentecost. But time and space would fail. It will be abundantly sufficient for our purpose to point to the fulfilment of the promises and of the many types and shadows of the Old Testament, in the actual descent of the Holy Spirit first on our Lord Jesus at his baptism, and afterwards on his disciples on the day of Pentecost. How wonderful, in both these cases, was the display of new "power from on high"!

But here, perhaps, we ought to pause, to consider for a moment, what is regarded by many as a serious difficulty. On the one hand the Scripture seems to teach, plainly enough, that the Spirit was not given until Jesus was glorified. Everything tends to show that the promise of the Father, the climax of all the promises, was first fulfilled to the Church on that day of Pentecost which followed next after our Lord's ascension. On the other hand, we have just cited very many cases from the Old Testament in which the Spirit of God came upon men. And even in the New Testament, both John the Baptist and Zacharias his father, are said to have been "full of the Holy Spirit." How shall we reconcile this apparent discrepancy? If many had already received the Spirit, why was the fulfilment of the promise looked forward to with so much eagerness, as something *entirely new*? I do not for a moment presume to answer this question exhaustively. The dispensation of the Spirit which was ushered in by Jesus, the Lord's Anointed, differs in countless

ways from that which preceded it. "If the ministration of "death, written and engraven in stones, was glorious, . . . how "shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious?" I shall only speak of two obvious points of difference between the cases cited from the Old Testament and the anointing with the Spirit under the New Covenant. There is a difference in *degree*, and there is a difference in *kind*. 1st.—Whereas, under the old Covenant, the Spirit was bestowed upon only a favored few, and this sometimes, at long intervals, to qualify them for their special work of teaching or governing the Israelites, it was to be the peculiar glory of the last days that God would pour out of His Spirit upon *all* flesh; not on Israelites alone, but upon people of every race. Young and old, male and female, bond and free, all races and tongues, all classes and conditions should share the great privilege. 2nd.—The gift of the Spirit, on and after the day of Pentecost, was different in kind. Briefly, we may say that the Holy Spirit was now given to the recipient as it had been to Jesus, to be his *life*. The divine life of the Spirit of God was given to a human being, *instead of* the old fleshly, psychic human life. It was given instead of the former self-life, which by true repentance was crucified, dead and buried, with Christ.

Whereas the ideal of the upright Jew seems to have been the purification of the flesh,—*the cleansing of human nature*,—the ideal under the Gospel is *the death of the flesh*,—and the reception of a new, Divine life, instead of the old. The animating principle of this new life is Love,—love to Christ, and to the God and Father of Christ,—and to all for whom Christ died. The Spirit is hence called usually in the New Testament, the *Holy Spirit*,—a title found only two or three times in the Old Testament. For it is a spirit of holiness, sanctifying the heart of the recipient. And it is by thus changing his *heart* and affections that the Spirit fits him for mediatorial work. And, further, as the Spirit is to the recipient a new life just as literally as was the life he derived from his earthly parents, it carries with it that formative power which probably inheres in all organic life, and secures to its happy possessor—now a child of God—a new, immortal body, fashioned like unto Christ's resurrection body. And thus as the priests were clad in white linen robes before they could enter the Sanctuary, so the Spirit will provide those who are born of God, with the priestly vestment of new, holy spiritual (pneumatic) bodies to qualify them for their office in the heavenly temple. Very different from all this was the operation of the Spirit on those who were made prophets or judges or elders under the Old Covenant. In this *latter case there does not seem necessarily to have been any change of heart*.

Although the examples of Saul and of Balaam suffice to prove this, it would be a great mistake to suppose that such cases were frequent. With these and possibly one or two more exceptions the Spirit came upon *good* men only. Most of those of whom we know anything from the Old Testament, were men who walked by faith, and who faithfully taught or governed the Israelites on God's behalf. This cannot be said of those who received only the ceremonial anointing with oil. The old self life did not cease: nor was it replaced by a new life. Rather there was an operation of the Spirit on the human faculties, whether mental or (as in the case of Samson) physical. Furthermore, this influence seems to have been temporary, fitting the recipient for some special work. Yet, widely as it differed from the new, holy life of the Spirit under the new covenant, it foreshadowed the latter. It is easy to see how both are alike in this, that they fitted the recipient for mediatorial work. They endued him with power to teach, or to rule, or to defend, or to beautify, or in some other way to bless God's people. Hence a careful study of the type will help us to understand the antitype. And what is the Antitype?

II. *In the New Testament.*

Here we have to study the effect of the anointing, or, shall we rather say, the baptism with the Holy Spirit,—1, On Jesus, the Christ. 2, On his Disciples.

1. *On Jesus.*—Our Lord has many titles, but the favorite title of the sacred writers is "the Christ," "the Messiah," "the Anointed One". This occurs, I believe, nearly four hundred times in the New Testament. It is certainly far more frequent than any other. This, too, is the title by which the Jews have, since the time of Daniel at least, designated their expected Deliverer. Its frequency alone suffices to show how significant in the eyes of the inspired writers, was the fact that Jesus was Anointed with the Holy Spirit. The subject of the Messiahship of our Lord is too vast to be entered upon here. It is only to one point that I wish to direct attention, viz. to the remarkable manifestation of *power* which, according to the narratives of the Gospels, followed our Lord's baptism in Jordan. There are questions of deep interest in this connection which we must not stop to consider. One of these however bears so intimately on the main subject of this paper, that I cannot entirely pass it by. If it be true, as I maintain, that our Lord wrought all his mighty works by virtue of the Holy Spirit, and if it be true that he lived about thirty years in quiet obscurity, before the Spirit descended upon him, *do not such facts seem to militate against the Divinity of Jesus?* Again, it might be asked, if Jesus was God, he was clothed throughout his life with omnipotence: how then could he need

the anointing with the Spirit? I desire to write humbly and reverently on these solemn and awful mysteries. But I think it cannot be denied that there is a difficulty here. We should beware lest in our fear of derogating from the Divinity of Christ, we fall into the error of depreciating the Spirit. The only satisfactory answer to my own mind is furnished by those words of Philip. ii, 7,—*ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε*,—"he emptied himself" for a brief season of that Spirit which, as eternal Son of God, he had eternally derived from the Father. Impossible as it is for us to understand this, or even to conceive of it, it seems to me the teaching of Scripture. Our Lord humbled himself to become a *man*,—weak, ignorant as other men,—only without sin. And so he remained a holy man, but with only human powers until by his baptism in Jordan he dedicated himself publicly as an offering instead of sinners. Then the heavens were opened and the Spirit of God descended upon him. How great the contrast between the short three and a half years that followed, and the previous thirty years of his life upon earth! Henceforth "his word was with power." He showed Divine power in all its manifestations,—power over the material organization of the human body in healing all manner of sicknesses, and power over the elements so that the sea and the winds obeyed him. He displayed power to create, changing water into wine, and power to destroy as when he cursed the barren fig tree. And beyond the visible world his power was felt and acknowledged by the evil spirits who obeyed him. And all these manifestations of our Lord's power were not only proofs of his Divine mission,—they were so many eloquent illustrations of the great end of his mission. They served to show that he had come as the Mediator between God and sinful suffering men. He had come to save them not from bodily diseases alone, but from the root disease of sin, and to deliver them from the devil and all his evil angels. But Jesus, the Spirit-endued, is also the Spirit-Giver. He promised to bestow the Holy Spirit on his disciples also, so that they should do even greater works than he had done. As "God is the Head of Christ" so is "Christ the Head of his Church." He is the glorious mediatorial channel through which the stream of Divine Life flows to the world. But he chose to share this privilege with his body, the Church. He knew it was more blessed to give than to receive. He would not therefore keep all the blessedness to himself. He would make his disciples mediators also. They should be sharers of his life of the Spirit, sharers of his prophetic office with all its humiliation and suffering, and finally, sharers of his everlasting priesthood and throne. It only remains therefore that we *look at the effect of the anointing with the Spirit,—*

2. *On the Disciples.*—We are all familiar with the de-

scription of the day of Pentecost in the 2nd chapter of Acts. Nothing is so wonderful as the sudden change from the timid trembling little company of disciples, weak in all worldly respects, having neither learning nor riches nor social eminence,—now, in a moment become bold and wielding such power that in one day three thousand souls were won over to join them. Already the promise was fulfilled, they had done greater works than their Lord. This was the beginning of a display of *power* never before seen since the first creation was finished, which has been going on ever since, and which never was wielded more widely than to-day. The gift of tongues with which it was accompanied,—as well as the phenomenon of a tongue as of fire which was seen on each of the disciples,—would seem to show that the power thus conferred would be wielded not at random by any means, but in a certain very definite manner, viz., by the utterance of God's word. It is faithful testimony to Jesus by a tongue aglow with the fire of God's love that has power to touch the hearts of men of all nations and tongues. It brings them to repentance and to faith in Jesus Christ.

Such power is as easily known by its effects as the tree is known by its fruits. It changes the hearts and lives of men. It destroys the old, sin-tainted heart, and creates in its stead a new man, with a new heart, new affections and new actions *now*, and containing within him the germ of a new, immortal, resurrection body, which shall be revealed when Christ, who is our life, is revealed in glory.

The Christian Church, as compared with the Jewish, has been preëminently aggressive. Whenever it has been in a normal, healthy state, it has made perpetual war upon the enemies of Christ, not the war of theological controversy, but that loving warfare which seeks to rescue men from sin and its consequences, by making known to them the glad tidings of the Saviour. Thus it has continued to the present hour to extend its conquests over the world. In all this it is very different from the Israelites, whose great object was, so long as they were in their own land, to keep themselves separate from the heathen. (After the dispersion they made many proselytes; but this was not done in the earlier ages, nor was it enjoined upon them by the law of Moses.) It was Christ who first commanded his apostles to make disciples of all nations.

Just this, the crowning glory of the dispensation of the Spirit is perhaps the chief offence of the cross. There is nothing that so excites the hatred of the world as the desire shown by some *Christians* to seek the conversion of sinners. And as there can be no evangelistic work without speech, so it is *speaking* for Christ that brings upon the Christian most reproach. An upright, conscientious, godly life does not necessarily excite the

hatred of the world. If a man will but hold his tongue, and refrain from what is called "obtruding his religion upon others," he may be as religious as he pleases without incurring the censure of the worldly. So far from being reviled, he may be highly honored. It is when he opens his lips to bear witness for Jesus, and tries to bring others into the kingdom of God, that he incurs "the reproach of Christ." He is sure to be regarded, whether layman or minister (unless indeed he is a clergyman without zeal or fervor), as either a hypocrite or a fanatic. So long as a man is content to occupy the negative, Old Testament standing of merely personal righteousness, seeking only his own justification and sanctification, he may not only escape reproach, but, like the Old Testament saints, enjoy great worldly prosperity. Except in the case of *prophets* (the very position occupied by the members of Christ), who seldom lived long without persecution, the righteous Israelites had, under the law of Moses, the promise of success and wealth in this world. Very different was the prospect held out by Jesus to his disciples. "In the world ye shall have tribulation." "If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, . . . and persecute you . . . for my sake," for so had true prophets ever been treated. On the other hand he said, "Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you," for so had they ever spoken of false prophets.

Yet we all know of men who are professed Christians,—men of the strictest Christian integrity, men of *blameless lives*, who nevertheless are highly exalted in the world's esteem. As rich merchants or prominent statesmen, men of this kind are widely known in England, Scotland, and America. So far from being reviled or persecuted for the name of Christ, it is unquestionably *because* their intellectual preëminence is accompanied by uprightness and blameless living, that they are so highly honored by the world. Now whatever may be said of a few individual cases, most of these men are certainly not hypocrites. They are thoroughly sincere. We have no right to doubt their repentance towards God, or their faith in Jesus as their Saviour. But may it not be that they occupy the position of the disciples and of all devout Jews (other than prophets) before the day of Pentecost? May they not be like the disciples whom the Apostle Paul encountered at Ephesus, who had not yet received the Holy Spirit? True they have been baptized with water in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; but through ignorance similar in kind though not in degree, to that of the disciples just mentioned, may it not be *that they never received the baptism of the Spirit?* They *have been baptized with the washing of repentance for the*

remission of their sins. Their sins are forgiven ; they are cleansed also, as the pious Jew was cleansed from the filthiness of the flesh. But their sanctification would seem to be of that negative kind which consists in deliverance from the power of sin, so that they are enabled to live pure and upright lives ; they appear to be destitute of that positive sanctification, consisting in that power from on high, which makes itself felt on *others*.

I do not see how we can escape some such conclusion as this. The Scriptures plainly teach that there are two kinds of true believers : those who were righteous, and those who possessed, in addition a power from on high which gave them besides other gifts, a tongue capable of convincing and persuading men. There is nothing indeed in the Scriptures, so far as I know, which could lead us to suppose that the two kinds of believers would continue to exist side by side. Rather it appears that as the dispensation of the Spirit would supersede that of the law, so all believers would receive the Spirit. But is it certain that this promise would be completely fulfilled at once ? Would not the process be a gradual one, and may it not be that it is not yet completed ? Are there not to this day many Christians who from ignorance or from other causes have not availed themselves of the promise of God to give his Holy Spirit to all that ask him ?

I trust no reader will be shocked by such questions. I am very far indeed from wishing to dogmatize on such a subject. But I see in the Christian world certain remarkable phenomena which need to be explained. Just as there was once among the Israelites a difference between the twelve tribes and the tribe of Levi, the latter alone concerning themselves in the spiritual welfare of *others*,—just as, at a later period, there was a difference between ordinary righteous Israelites and prophets,—and just as after Pentecost there were some true believers who had, and others who had not, received the baptism of the Spirit, so now in the Church there seem to be two kinds of true Christians. The one, who are the vast majority, seem to seek only personal salvation. They are truly penitent, they desire to be justified through faith in Christ, and they seek to be sanctified. But their idea of sanctification seems to be only this, that they shall themselves be saved from their sins. Wherein, except in knowledge, do *such* Christians differ from righteous Jews ? On the other hand there are other Christians who are *not* content to be saved from sin ; they are earnestly bent on saving others also. They speak for Christ. They plead his cause with sinners. And they do it successfully. For with the desire to be a fountain of blessing to *others*, God gives the power.

It is a matter of profound thankfulness that this latter class is increasing fast. Of old the distinction between the higher

and the lower life of Christians existed in the Church. And it was only to *ministers* who were expected to preach as pastors or evangelists that the bishops said, "Receive the Holy Spirit." We still see the same thing in the ordination by modern bishops, and equally in the laying on of hands by the presbytery. But we know now that while it is quite true that men must receive the Spirit in order to be qualified for the work of the ministry, the gift is not confined to those on whom bishop or presbytery may deign to lay their hands. A vast army of men and women,—and children too,—is going forth, all taught by God, all endued with power, to proclaim the glad tidings of the kingdom of heaven.

This then is the secret of power over others. It is to be baptized with the Spirit. The Spirit comes into the recipient as a new, Divine *life*. This life is in its essence *love* to God and *love* to all whom God loves—"God is Love." It consumes selfishness, that is, the old nature, for the old nature is in all things self-seeking. Having consumed the evil *within*, it does not stop there. The new life of love influences all that are around it. It becomes a burning, a shining light; for "God is light." But it is needless to say more. Those who are baptized with the Spirit, become partakers of the Divine nature. God dwells in them. And they are children of God, Jesus Christ being the first born among many brethren. Like him they think it "more blessed to *give* than to receive." Christ shares with them his Divine mediatorial prerogative of *giving* life and health to others.

J. M. D. N.

ART. II.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIVE CHRISTIAN CONGREGATIONS.

BY “developing” we mean building up, encouraging, strengthening, as well as increasing in numbers, so that individuals may grow in grace and knowledge, and the congregation as a whole may become a positive influence for good—a light which cannot be hid. Possibly no other subject more than this deserves the careful attention of the Indian missionary. For myself I am willing to confess that I have lost, and my people have lost, valuable time for want of system and a proper appreciation of this subject on my part. We have lost not only valuable time, but we have lost much pleasure and encouragement in our work which we might otherwise have had.

Having made this personal confession, I should be only too glad to believe that there is not one other Indian missionary who need say the same of himself and his work. Presuming, however, that a little practical experience on this subject may not be unacceptable to some of my readers, especially at this time when by God’s blessing so many new congregations are being established in Southern India, I proceed to give the system of developing Christian congregations as followed in our mission. In doing so I shall have to enter somewhat fully into details. It is not claimed that our system is perfect or that it would be suitable in all points for other missions. The prudent missionary is the best judge as to what details will suit his own field of labor, but what we do most sincerely believe is that more attention to the instruction and edification (*building up*) of our Christian congregations would greatly increase uprightness of life and loyal church love among our members, would add immensely to the missionary’s joy in his labors, would increase the respect for the church among out-siders, and would in itself act as an evangelizing agency, and thus bring in many new members. This has been in fact our own experience. In attempting to give briefly, yet clearly, the plan we follow, I shall mention first our

Village Preachers.—The congregations in each missionary’s field are grouped into sub-divisions. Each sub-division contains from two to five congregations, large and small, and is *in charge of* a village preacher. These village preachers are *unordained men* tolerably well educated in the vernacular and *in Bible knowledge*. They have pastoral care of the con-

gregations, but they neither baptize nor administer the Lord's Supper.

Similar classes of agents, called perhaps by other names, are found, we suppose, in all, or most, Indian missions, and the point I wish to mention prominently in this connection is that these men *ought to be paid principally by the mission*. I do not say that the mission should furnish their whole salary, but I think upon careful experiment it will be found best for the mission to pay at least one-half. In our mission we pay five-sevenths, the congregations making up in food or grain the remainder.

My reason for insisting on this point is that it gives the missionary greater power over both the preacher and the congregations—a power which seems to be very necessary at the present stage of our work. This power we must have, not that we may “lord it over God's heritage,” but that we may direct and influence for their own good both teacher and people.

This does not stand in the way of encouraging self-support, rather it gives us a means of prosecuting this feature of the work with the more system and hope of success; for these village preachers are our constant representatives with the people impressing upon the congregations our instructions. In the establishing of schools, in the building of prayer-houses and of churches, and in various other ways there will be found abundant room for the cultivation of self-help. It may sound very well to say, If a congregation wants a preacher it ought to support him; but in practice the question will be found to have two sides. The preachers supported entirely by the congregations, in our part of India, are generally very poorly supported, and being thus hampered for food for themselves and their families, and feeling but little responsibility to the mission, their work is done indifferently. Just at this time while the young church needs so much care, and while an estimate is being formed, without and within, of what preachers and pastors ought to be and do, we cannot afford to have this style of work and workmen. The only way to escape the difficulty, it seems to us, is to pay the village preachers to a great extent from mission funds and then have a strict and constant supervision over them.

I have mentioned this point first and have insisted on it strongly because without this it would be well nigh impossible to carry out satisfactorily what follows.

The Village Preacher's Congregational Register.—So much as possible we make each individual Christian feel his responsibility. The name of every baptized man, woman, and child is entered in the congregational register of which I here present a specimen page:—

No.	Names of Members.	Age.	Attendance at Church.								Total Attendance.	Scripture verses learned.	Contribution.	Remarks.
			1st Sun-day.		2nd Sun-day.		3rd Sun-day.		4th Sun-day.					
			Forenoon.	Afternoon.	Forenoon.	Afternoon.	Forenoon.	Afternoon.	Forenoon.	Afternoon.				
1	Gera Rutnam	65	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8	1	2	As.
2	„ Anamma	60	x	x			SICK.				2	1	1	
3	„ Daniel	35	x	x	x	x		x	x		6	2	3	
4	„ Miriam	30		x	x		x	x		x	3	2	3	
5	„ Satyavati	10	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	6	2	1	
6	„ John	7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	6	1	1	
7	„ Rutnāvati	2		x	x		x	x		x	5			
(Other names may be added here.)														
Total contribution.....													11	

(Signed) Y. DAVID,
Village Preacher.

Anuvaram, May, 1879.

This register indicates the attendance at church, the number of Scripture verses committed to memory, and the contributions of each member for one month.

From these monthly reports we make out a

Yearly Report Book,—in which occurs each member's name together with numbers showing his total attendance at church, total number of Scripture verses committed to memory, and total contributions for the year. This book shows also by a very simple arrangement on what occasions and for what reasons any of the members have been excluded from the Holy Communion. A number of reasons for excluding from Communion are written on one of the first pages of the book, thus:—

1. Openly bad conduct.
2. Non-attendance at church.
3. Quarreling.
4. Habitually using obscene language.
5. Utter indifference to learning the lessons assigned for improvement in Christian knowledge.

Any of these numbers as (1), (3) or (5) after the member's name show the reason why he was excluded from Communion upon any particular occasion.

This year-book is in charge of a catechist—an assistant—whose work is higher than that of the village preachers. He visits

all the sub-divisions as often as possible helping both the preachers and the missionary. Let no one suppose that keeping these records is attended with any great amount of labor. If the Catechist's book is skillfully ruled the names need not be rewritten for five or even eight years. Deaths, removals, expulsions, etc., are also recorded in this book, and the missionary can in a moment, refer to the standing of any one of a thousand members by looking at his catechist's yearly report book.

Besides giving great convenience and satisfaction to the missionary and invaluable aid to his successors, these records have a wholesome influence upon the members themselves, for who among them wants to have it recorded for future generations that he came to church seldom, learned no Scripture verses, gave no contributions for the Lord's work, and was being continually excluded from Communion with his brethren for quarreling, for using obscene language, or for general indifference? School teachers, preachers, and catechists are also required to meet the missionary in charge once a month, when all except the school teachers present a diary of their labors for the past month, giving an account of each day's doings, morning and afternoon.

At this meeting we also frequently examine the assistants on the lessons which they are to teach to the people the coming month. This brings us to a second and more interesting feature of our subject, namely,—

The Instruction of our Congregations in Christian knowledge.—We fear it is in this respect that missionaries—especially new missionaries—are most likely to make mistakes. The mistake arises from our crediting the people with more Christian knowledge than they have or could be expected to have. Forgetting that Christian ideas and Bible knowledge are altogether new to them, we go about building them up as if they had been, like ourselves, born and bred in a Christian land. We preach elaborate sermons to them of which they catch scarcely a single idea, or of which they do not even understand the terms used. Our native preachers and catechists following our example carry on their work in the same way—some of them even supposing that it becomes their dignity to use the most difficult language they can command.

Hindus, whether Brahmans or Pariahs, have a wonderful faculty of appearing to know more than they really do. On points about which they are ignorant they rarely inquire of you with that candor which we find among the ignorant, and yet more among the educated, in other countries. Especially do they hide their ignorance when their deficiency might appear to their disadvantage in your eyes. They are also eminently respectful listeners and *will transfer the emotion manifested by the speaker's countenance to their own faces without understanding a word of what is said.*

The unsophisticated speaker therefore imagines that his audience is drinking in the truth, beauty and force of his discourse when in fact he is speaking to them in an unknown tongue. The way to test the matter so far as regards your congregation is to call aside a few members of average intelligence and question them as to what you have said. Ask them what truths they have grasped, what knowledge they have gained which they can go home and impart to their friends and neighbors.

Another test is to examine your congregations from time to time, say every six months, and note what progress they have made. Ask them to repeat comforting portions of Scripture, to state Bible doctrines, and to give an intelligent reason for their hope. If your only mode of instruction has been the sermon, we fear the result of the examination will be far from encouraging either to yourself or to your people.

I do not say that the sermons have done no good or that they have been altogether in vain; but what I do say is that I fear they have not been the best form of imparting spiritual knowledge to your congregations; neither do I say that plain sermons have no place in the instruction of our people at present, but I say they are not the *best* when made the *chief* means of instruction. We have therefore discouraged the preaching of sermons among our ordinary village preachers and have marked out for them a course of instruction which we find much more profitable in its results, and far more acceptable to the people. I mention in the first place

The Monthly Scripture Verse.—At the beginning of the year we select twelve Scripture verses, full of comfort and instruction, and announce them to all our assistants. Each one of them takes a copy of the verses and also applies himself to committing them to memory and to finding out their meaning in all its fullness. These verses are taught to the people, one each month in the order assigned, and every member—man, woman, and child—is expected to commit them to memory. In congregations where we have lay-members who can read, we give them copies also and ask them to assist the teachers and preachers to teach them to all. These verses are selected with great care, and only such are assigned as it is supposed will make a lasting impression upon the mind. For example, such verses as Ps. cxxvi. 5, Rom. viii. 14, II Cor. v. 17, I John ii. 6.

Our Christians are encouraged to speak to one another frequently about these verses and their meaning, and especially are they urged to test any of their brethren from other villages should they happen to meet them. Besides the monthly verses, we have assigned for each month portions of

A Simple Catechism.—We use at present the Telugu catechism published in two parts by the C. V. E. Society. It was

probably intended principally for children, but as our people are all children in spiritual knowledge, this book suits them admirably. The first part is very simple, beginning with such questions as these :—

Q. Who made you ?

A. God made me.

Q. What else did God make ?

A. God made all things.

Q. What book tells us about God ?

A. The Bible tells us about God.

Q. Whose word is the Bible ?

A. The Bible is God's word.

Q. Why can we not see God ?

A. God is a Spirit, therefore we cannot see Him with our eyes.

Our people, old and young, are delighted with this form of instruction. They say "We have never before heard such plain things about God."

Our village preachers and their wives are instructed to use all possible diligence in teaching the people the catechism as well as the monthly verses. They are to do this not only on Sunday but on every day of the week. They are to follow up the people, in the fields, at their looms, in their homes, as they sit in groups about their doors in the evening, or stand around the mortars pounding rice, and repeat with them the lessons of the month.

The first Sunday service is to be given to singing, prayer, and an examination and rehearsal of the verses for that and preceding months and the catechism. In connection with these lessons the preachers are allowed to employ all their talking talents, but their preaching is to be confined to the subjects suggested by the lessons. What better themes could be desired? What variety, too, and how well adapted to the comprehension of the people! For the second or afternoon Sunday service we have our Sunday school, which differs but slightly from this service. A full account of our village Sunday schools is found in this *Review* for July 1878. The missionaries in charge of the various parts of our field try to visit each congregation about once in three months. Then a thorough examination of the progress of the congregation is made. With the congregational register in hand the missionary calls the names of the members. Each one responds by rising and repeating a verse of Scripture; the missionary then asks him to repeat other verses and answers from the catechism. If any member has failed to learn properly he is called upon to give an excuse for his delinquency then and there. If any member shows utter indifference towards learning the lessons assigned it is considered a sufficient reason for excluding him from Communion until he shows a more devoted spirit. I may say in passing that the admission to Communion, if

judiciously managed, can be made almost the only means of discipline we need.

Children's Meetings.—We find it especially profitable to look well after the children. In all possible ways ought we to interest them in everything pertaining to the church. In attaching them we often attach their parents, and by diligently training them we sow seed which will bear precious fruit in the years to come. As a means of interesting them we not only give them picture cards, small books, etc., as explained at length in the article on Sunday schools already referred to, but we have a special service, a "Children's Church" for them, whenever convenient in our visits to the villages. These children's meetings may be made very interesting by bringing the children from a few near villages together on a Sunday morning or at some other suitable time.

Each mission ought to have a number of very plain children's hymns, and if thought desirable a few short, simple, prayers may be prepared for the little folks.

Others than children of Christian parents can easily be induced to attend the children's meetings, and we have found many such who are even anxious to learn the monthly verses and the catechism. Of course we encourage them all to avail themselves of every opportunity to join the exercises of the Christian children. We have still another record or form of report which it may not be out of place to mention here, inasmuch as it has an important influence upon the work.

I refer to our *Yearly Record of Village Preachers' Work*.—In making our periodical visits to the sub-divisions we notice with care the efforts which each village preacher seems to have put forth in instructing the people, and then enter into our "Blue Book" a mark of merits accordingly. If the preacher seems to have worked exceedingly hard—done his very best—we put down 100 for him. If his work shows him to have been negligent his number will be less, ranging from 0 upward. At the end of the year an average of his merit marks is made and entered on the record, together with a number of other particulars, all of which are indicated by the following sample page:—

No.	1878. Village Preachers' names.	Merit mark.	Number of persons in- structed for baptism.	Amount of contributions collected.	Number of tracts sold.
				Rs. a. p.	
1	Y. David	100	50	21 6 9	130
2	J. Samuel	80	30	12 8 0	98
3	J. Elijah	90	23	18 4 3	72
4	N. Samuel	90	64	11 10 6	120
5	N. Peter	50	34	9 3 6	40

I have thus somewhat in detail given the practical working of what perhaps might have been expressed in a few words as principles, namely:—

1. Keep a strict supervision over the work of your village preachers.

2. Consider each congregation a school, the members of which, old and young, are the *pupils*; the elements of Christian knowledge are the *subjects to be taught*; and the Sunday and every portion of time on week days which can be spared so as not to interfere with the ordinary work of the people, are the *school hours*.

To these, which we consider the main principles to be followed, I wish to add a few other suggestions upon which we place considerable importance:—

1. In church music encourage *native* rather than European tunes. Though your school children may be drilled into liking them, and a few others may affect to like European tunes, natives as a rule do not, and never will, like them. A thing greatly to be desired is that plain spiritual Christian hymns should be so well adapted to the tastes of the common people that they may find their way outside of the church and become the common property of the villagers as they go about their daily work. We may hope for this if native airs are judiciously introduced, but with European tunes, never.

2. Not only European tunes, but European dress, European habits, in fact every thing European, which in their daily life separates our Christians from their friends and neighbors, ought to be discouraged.

3. Do not *give* your Christians too much. It spoils them. For personal use never give them money unless in extreme cases of necessity. Neither give them schools, school-houses, or churches, unless they show a willingness to help according to their ability. It is good policy to help the weak by grants-in-aid, but very bad policy to do all for them. We have seen the fruits of both systems in our own and other missions. The prayer-houses which our congregations will not repair, no, not even white-wash, are the ones which were built wholly by the mission and presented to them.

Utterly destitute Christians ought to be cared for by the congregations to which they belong, and begging in the bazars ought to be strictly prohibited.

4. It frequently happens, that Christians become dissatisfied for some reason and threaten to "leave this religion." There ought to be a clear understanding that as the missionary received them into the church by baptism so he alone can expel them, and that of themselves they have no more power to dismiss than *they had to admit themselves*. This matter well understood *will serve a useful purpose*.

There are several other matters which relate in a manner to the development of congregations, such as admitting temporarily into the mission schools promising members, to teach them singing and the elementary branches of knowledge in order that they may become useful as lay workers in their villages; yearly Teachers' Institutes for the encouragement and better qualification of assistants, etc.; and but these belong more especially to the subject of training a native mission agency, and I need not enter upon their discussion here.

As my readers will have observed I have confined my remarks solely to the human part of mission work. I must not be understood to discard the divine agency of the Holy Spirit without which our planting and watering will all be in vain.

If, however, we do well our part, we may safely trust God to do His, for have we not the promise, "Lo, I am with you "alway"?"

A. D. ROWE.

Guntur, May, 1879.

ART. III.—EVANGELISTS.

I WAS very much interested by a "conference on paper," on the subject of Street-preaching, which appeared in the *Indian Evangelical Review* about this time last year, and the thoughts which it raised in my mind I should like now to lay before the readers of the *Review*, if there be room for the thoughts of a layman and outsider,—one who can lay little claim to any practical acquaintance with missionary work, or even to the wisdom which comes with years, or to anything else which could justify him in speaking, save perhaps the example of Elihu.

The questions which were proposed for that "conference" were calculated to bring very vividly to mind the difficulties which meet a street-preacher in this country, and I was not surprized to meet with remarks like the following in the replies which were published:—"All missionaries are not called to the work of street-preaching, nor have all the special talents and qualifications which are requisite for it." "The practice is judicious when the preacher is the right man in the right place."

In point of fact few realize what a tremendous thing it is to undertake to preach the Gospel to a foreign race in a foreign tongue, and what exceptional powers it requires. In the first place the gift of speaking is a rare one. Let us think for a moment how few of those who make public speaking the business of their lives succeed in it. Among members of Parliament, barristers and ministers, how few can be called really effective speakers. And it must be remembered that these for the most part address audiences which are either wholly or partially on their own side of the question already; and even when this is not the case they are at least insured a fair hearing. Mediocrity in such circumstances must be utter failure where the speaker has to draw and keep an audience no way anxious to hear him, while he brings to their ears matters entirely new and often very distasteful to them. But one who institutes such comparisons is sure to be charged with making human eloquence everything and forgetting the work of the Spirit. And then the objection is "nailed wi' Scripture." "Not with words of man's wisdom."—"I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified."—"God hath chosen the foolish things of the world," etc. So it may not be amiss to pause and inquire how far we are justified in expecting that he who is not able for the service of the world may hope to succeed in the service of God. Few, I suppose, would distinctly argue that, *though eloquence in some measure may be necessary for secular speakers, the preacher of the Gospel can afford to despise*

it. The graces of rhetoric may indeed be dispensed with by him who seeks not to please men ; but all that which constitutes true eloquence,—force of argument, clearness of thought and expression, and the power to hold the attention of the hearers while the matter is laid before them, as well as the tact not to blind them first by raising the dust of their prejudices, but rather to smooth the way for the entrance of truth,—is needed by no one so much as by him who will speak to men of that which they have not ears to hear. Paul earnestly avoided “enticing words of man’s wisdom” ; but the address on Mar’s Hill is a masterpiece of all that is solid in eloquence. If, therefore, we ought to set little value on those gifts which are so highly esteemed among men, it must be, not because they are without value, but because we expect that in the servant of God the gifts of the Spirit will abundantly supply all that is wanting in natural endowments.

Now I can see three ways in which this is really the case.

First, clearness of expression is the result of clearness of thought. He therefore who is taught of God, and he only, will speak of spiritual things with clearness. This is a matter of daily experience.

Secondly, in proportion to the fulness of his consecration and his faith will the ambassador of God be delivered from all those distractions which would spring from his natural anxiety about the impression he was producing.

Thirdly, if earnestness and fervor spring from strength of motive and confidence in one’s cause, then the minister of the glorious Gospel will not want these.

In these three ways the preacher of the Gospel is lifted, as it were, above himself ; but I can find nothing either in reason or Scripture that affords ground for the expectation that he who is by nature slow of utterance, or wanting in enterprize and energy, or destitute of tact, or generally deficient, say, in natural ability, will have his wants made up to enable him to preach the Gospel, provided only that he is faithful and earnest. I would take these as proofs that he was not called to that work. The undaunted energy that helped to make Paul such a successful pioneer of the Gospel, showed itself in Saul the persecutor, and of Apollos we are told that he was an eloquent man and also fervent in spirit, and, being so, he mightily convinced the Jews.

Certain natural qualifications, then, are necessary in an evangelist, and these are qualifications possessed in any considerable measure by very few.

But this is not all. The missionary evangelist finds he has *to address a race whose very intuitions seem to be at direct variance with his.* He can scarcely find a common ground from *which his argument may start.* He refers to truths which he

supposed were axioms and is dismayed to find that his hearers do not accept them. A man might be a very orator among his own countrymen and yet feel this a severe test. For before he can begin to do what every preacher must do, put himself in the place of his hearers, and adapt himself to the workings of their minds, he has to learn by a long and painful experience what those workings are. No ordinary quickness of observation and flexibility of mind are required for this.

Then, over and above all, the missionary has to speak in a foreign language. The task of learning a foreign language is one the difficulty and labor of which have been sadly underrated. Sadly, I say, because it has made me sad to see persons, ladies especially, whose hands were already full enough of real work, wasting a half hour whenever they could spare it, and wasting money as well, in battling with a Marathi or Hindustani grammar, under the delusion that they were going to acquire a knowledge of the language, and so be able to witness for the Lord, when occasion offered, among the heathen. It would not have been polite to tell them that there was no human probability of their living long enough to realize their pious hope; but it was none the less true. A language so radically different from our own, as the languages of India are, is not to be acquired by desultory efforts and in spare half hours. It is a task which calls for much determination and continuous, hard, steady work. The cause of missions would gain much if every missionary, on his arrival in the country, were put aside for a year, with nothing to give his time and strength to but the acquirement of the language.

Unless I have greatly over-rated the difficulties of the work and the rare qualifications required for it, it follows that the number of men in the Indian mission field, fitted to be really successful evangelists, must always be small.

I suppose there is no record in the world so illuminated with glorious names as the history of Indian missions, yet the majority of missionaries must always be average men; one here and there will be exceptionally gifted as a teacher, an administrator, or even a preacher. But then it generally happens that his work bears little relation to his gifts. Within a week, perhaps, of his landing he finds himself in harness as a schoolmaster, a college professor, a superintendent of workshops or industrial institutions, a pastor of a congregation, or several of these, according to the policy of his mission and the station to which he is sent. He may also be a secretary or two, a journalist, a banker, an apothecary, a relief officer in time of famine, a member of many committees, and a public man of some importance, called upon continually to deliver lectures, or preside at meetings, and always expected to take the lead in every work of *philanthropy*. And, parallel with all these, he must be a

student. Now in all these labors he may feel that he is helping on the kingdom of Christ, directly and indirectly; but where is he to find time for that calling to which he supposed he had consecrated himself,—the preaching of the Gospel? It is almost crowded out. Any little time and energy which he manages to spare for it is quite inadequate and only impairs the efficacy of his other work. I have put this case very strongly on purpose, perhaps exaggerated it a good deal.

As a matter of fact nearly every missionary finds time (where he finds it I cannot tell) not only to become a respectable scholar in one or two native languages, but even to preach pretty regularly. Still, am I not truly indicating the experience of many a one when I say that he pauses often, under a deep sense of unsatisfactoriness, to ask himself whether he ought not to give up every thing but one thing and do that well? But what shall that one thing be? By this time experience may have taught him that he has not the gift of speech and really labors to much better purpose in other ways. Shall he give up, as a fond dream, the hope of being a preacher of the Gospel? But the Gospel must be preached and there is no one else to do it. Shall he forsake other work and preach only?

Surely the answer to this question is simple. Let each examine himself and see what work he is called to. In every sphere of worldly labor there are different departments and one man is of more service in one, another in another. And experience teaches that the whole work never prospers so well as when each worker is in his right place and knows how to keep in it, not meddling with that which is safer in other hands. Human wisdom would dictate the same course in the higher spheres of work which we are considering, and divine wisdom sanctions it. "Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy," and so on. When he who feels the testimony in himself and also *has the testimony of his brethren* that he is called to the work of an evangelist takes the responsibility of that work upon him, others will feel more free to give their undivided attention to other branches of the same great service and all departments will gain. But, it will be said, the laborers are already too few; hundreds of promising stations are unoccupied still; no other kind of effort can ever take the place of preaching; if we propose to send only those to preach the Gospel who are called to it in this very special sense, when will all this vast country be evangelized? Never, if each evangelist assigns himself a town or district and settles there for life. When would the *Roman world* have been evangelized if Peter had been permanently located at Jerusalem, Philip at Samaria and Paul at Antioch? The number of evangelists has never been sufficient

to supply the field on this system. But it is not the right system. The educational or superintending missionary must remain at one place for years, perhaps for life; but the evangelist need not; there are good reasons why he should not. One reason which carries much force to my mind is this: our acts speak louder than our words. The way in which we go about an undertaking often has an eloquence that no declaration of our intentions can explain away. When Paul and Barnabas came to a new place, they came as the bearers of a message. They sought an audience of the people and delivered it. They put it before the people as something to be accepted or rejected *then and there*. And, we may depend upon it, they managed to lay the responsibility of acceptance or rejection very heavily on the consciences of those who heard them. When they departed from a town or village and shook off the dust from their feet as a testimony against it, they left troubled hearts behind them. But when a man, professing to be a bearer of good news, deliberately makes his arrangements for a prolonged stay at a place, he both maims his own faith at the outset and absolves the people from any obligation to come to an immediate decision on the matter which he lays before them. He is not an ambassador with a message, demanding an answer and making his hearers feel that, whether they will or not, they are giving him their answer for eternity as they stand before him. The power to do this is the power to preach the Gospel with effect, and he deprives himself of that power who takes up an attitude inconsistent with the expectation of immediate results. The educational missionary, who works for the next generation, must remain at his post and sow his seed, patiently waiting for the early rain and the latter rain; but the evangelist is a reaper and comes for a harvest. If he finds it he will stay and gather it in; if not, he must pass on and leave the chaff to be burnt up with unquenchable fire. If he begins with teaching himself and his hearers to think that harvest time has not come, he is lost. This may seem fanciful to some, but I am persuaded, and I think every one who gives the matter thought will agree with me, that this same spirit of *expectation* is just the essence of all religious revivals, and has much more to do with the power manifested in such movements, than the eloquence of the "revivalist" in connection with whose preaching the expectation was first awakened.

There are other obvious reasons why an evangelist should not be stationary; but it is needless to dwell on them. Within the last few years all the churches at home and in this country too have been taught what a special work God can do through the *man whom he has anointed and commissioned to go from place to place preaching the Gospel*.

But it may be said that a revival is altogether an exceptional phenomenon, that we have to do with the normal, the commonplace, the state of things, in short, which we find around us in the mission field to-day, and that in this connection my ideas are utterly Utopian, the mere theories of one who has never been in the battle. Well, perhaps they are. I will propose an amendment which shall be more practical.

Mr. Moody was altogether an exceptional man, and we have no right to expect that a Moody will arise from among the missionaries in India to take up the evangelistic work, or even a William Taylor.

But when these men passed on to other fields the work they had started did not cease. It was taken up by men who were not exceptional. Among those who labored with Mr. Moody many, who seemed to develop some fitness for such work, are now regularly engaged in preaching the Gospel from place to place. Two of these were sent to India and held special services in all the principal towns. They were not very exceptional men. Yet there is no question that a great blessing attended their visits. Christians were stirred up and the unconverted were saved. The same results in a measure attend the special evangelistic services which are held now at short intervals in all parts of India, under the management of chosen speakers. In fact it seems to me that the most valuable benefit we have reaped from recent revivals is the lesson they have taught us.

We have learned from them how to make a better use of our own resources. We have found that special efforts produce special results, and give the best opportunity to men on whom God has bestowed certain peculiar gifts. What a precious lesson for the mission field, where the most important branch of all the work, the public preaching of the Gospel, is beset with such difficulties that only a man here and there can be expected to have even the natural qualifications for success in it! But as yet the lesson has not been applied. Each one still labors on in his own beat, preaching and teaching and striving slowly to leaven with Christian truth the thought of the masses around him. Well, the plougher must plough and the sower must sow, but is the day never to come when the services of the reaper will be required? It may be that if we would now lift up our eyes we should see that the fields are white already to harvest. And let me say here that when our Lord used these words he meant a great deal more than that there was plenty of work to be done. The whole context shows it. He goes on to say,—“And herein *is that saying true, One soweth, and another reapeth. I sent you to reap that whereon ye bestowed no labor: other men labored, and ye are entered into their labors.*” So then it

seems that other men had been laboring; a long and silent preparation had been going on, and at length, when God saw that men's hearts were in a state of readiness, then, in the fulness of the times he sent His Son into the world. Such is his working always. There are times of wearisome preparation, followed by glorious seasons of ingathering. And so it will be in India. For half a century men of God have toiled in faith, and now it seems to some that there are signs that the harvest is ripening. Is it not time that we made some efforts to gather in? I think it is. Let a beginning be made with the native churches. They require to be stirred up from time to time. They really need such occasional impulses far more than better educated and disciplined Christians. And a work beginning with them would not end with them. A revival among the native churches would mean a revival throughout heathendom. Is there anything Utopian in the proposal to have, every cold season, what our Anglican brethren call a "mission" among the native churches and the heathen communities immediately surrounding them? Such occasions would open a door to those among the missionaries and native pastors whose gifts and experience fit them for a work, which, let me say again, is not every man's work, and, if there are any among us with a fitness higher than any which human gifts can bestow, they would be made manifest. The native churches would learn to become missionary churches, which means healthy churches. Still greater might be the resulting blessings if the different missionary bodies united in this work with such limitations only as language imposes.

But I confess that to me the brightest aspect of such a step would be the hope that it might prove but the thin end of the wedge.

MATTHEW.

ART. IV.—YALE LECTURES ON PREACHING. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. (*First, Second, and Third Series*). New York and London : 1872, 1874.

(2) THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD. By WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D. London : 1876.

(3) NINE LECTURES ON PREACHING. *Delivered at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut.* By R. W. DALE, Birmingham. London : 1878.

(4) LECTURES ON PREACHING. *Delivered before the Theological Students of Yale College.* By REV. MATTHEW SIMPSON, D.D., LL. D. New York : 1879.

THEOLOGY and the art of preaching will never lack students. Their importance cannot be over-estimated even by those who have studied them longest and most devotedly. Christ crucified is the central theme of all this thought; and "this string may be struck with the plectrum "year after year, century after century, and its vibration is "ever resonant and thrilling, yet sweet and æolian." Gregory Nazianzen (A.D. 330) very truly said:—"The art of arts, the "science of sciences, appears to me to be the art and science of "directing men, the most varied of beings and the most change- "able." And in keeping with this is the remark of St. Cyran:—"One single soul is sufficient to occupy a priest, because each "soul and each man is as a great world in the ways and works "of salvation, however little he may be in the structure of his "own nature." There are, to be sure, periodicals and writers who never weary of casting scorn and indignity upon the pulpit. Ministers have been called "marrying and Christening machines," and the phrase "as dull as a sermon" has passed into a proverb. The *Saturday Review*, notorious for quarreling with the pulpit, has oracularly declared that "there is a gulf between "the clerical mind and the ordinary male mind, which is deep "and daily deepening: on the one side it is a pity akin to contempt, too apathetic to form itself into words: on the other, "there are pious hands uplifted in meek spitefulness. . . . "The mass of the male sex look upon religion as a womanish "kind of thing."¹

But in spite of reviewers and godless critics and chronic grumblers, the power of the pulpit continues, and preaching is not ineffectual, as the religious record of Great Britain and America during the past five years very plainly shows. "The

¹ *Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets*, p. 426.

“last two centuries and a half have produced more valuable materials for homiletical students than the fifteen centuries preceding. This remark is applicable to every branch of study appropriate to the Christian minister. It embraces biblical criticism, systematic theology, the propagation of the Gospel by various agencies, clerical biography, and published sermons, as well as direct authorship relating to the theory and practice of preaching.”¹

In America, especially, the present century has witnessed much progress in theological science, and in providing means and apparatus whereby the preacher of the Gospel may be “thoroughly furnished.” To mention nothing else, the long list of Theological Seminaries which have been founded by the leading denominations illustrates this statement. In these institutions, scattered over the United States from Bangor to San Francisco, there are to-day from 1,500 to 2,000 young men studying theology and preparing for the pulpit; a most significant fact.

To assist theological students in their preparation for work, in 1871 Mr. Henry W. Sage, of Brooklyn, New York (a member of Plymouth Church), contributed the funds necessary to found a lectureship on “Preaching” in the Divinity school at Yale College, New Haven, Connecticut. In honor of the celebrated father of Mr. Sage’s popular pastor it was styled, “The Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching.” As implied in the title,—“it was the design of the donor and of the Theological Faculty to secure a more perfect preparation of young men for preaching, as the highest act of the Christian ministry, by providing for them, in addition to their general and professional studies, a course of practical instruction in the art of preaching, to be given by those actively engaged in the practice of it.”

This lectureship, the only one of its kind in America, marks an era of religious feeling and catholicity which, half a hundred years ago, would hardly have been predicted. Its platform, so broad that “a minister of the Gospel of any evangelical denomination” may stand upon it, as has been truly said, “will command the approbation of the Christian world.” It was different in the olden time. Dr. Lyman Beecher used to think that it was his interest to keep out all churches except his own from Litchfield. The moment he found a Methodist was getting up a fire he would go and put his foot on it. “And I heard him say,” remarks his son, “in the exuberance of his zeal about it, ‘Why, when I heard the Methodists were getting in, in such a district, I would go over there and I would preach so much better than they could that they couldn’t carry their meetings along!’” Verily the world moves! And some of

¹ *Kidder’s Homiletics*, p. 82.

the good old deacons must have thought so, a few months since, when Bishop Simpson, a man of western birth and education, and a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, appeared by invitation to address a company of young men, chiefly sons of New England, and Congregationalists in creed and church polity.

The experiment has proved a success. Unlike the celebrated Bampton Lectures, these are confined to a single subject,—preaching; but this subject is in itself so comprehensive and withal of such a practical nature that not only the Theological students at Yale but hundreds of other young ministers are under obligations to Mr. Sage for his wise thoughtfulness. Great good has resulted from the lectures thus far delivered; and the Theological Faculty have been happy in selecting the lecturers.

At the request of both the founder of the Lectureship and the Theological Faculty, Henry Ward Beecher, the well-known pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, delivered the first three courses of lectures, 1872-73-74. The other lecturers have been Dr. John Hall (Presbyterian) of New York, 1875; Dr. W. M. Taylor (Congregationalist) of New York, 1876; the Rev. Phillips Brooks (Episcopal) of Boston, 1877; the Rev. R. W. Dale (Congregationalist) of Birmingham, England, 1877-78; and Bishop M. Simpson (Methodist Episcopal) of Philadelphia, 1878-79. In the present paper we do not propose to review all these lectures, but to speak, briefly, of the six volumes lying before us.

Mr. Beecher is so well known on both sides of the Atlantic that but little need be said concerning his history. Born at Litchfield, Ct., in 1813, he graduated at Amherst College in 1834, and studied theology under his father, Dr. Lyman Beecher, at Lane Seminary. He says he never had any choice about the ministry. His father had eight sons; "only two of them ever tried to get away from preaching, and they did not succeed; the other six went right into the ministry just as naturally as they went into manhood." He first settled as a Presbyterian minister at Lawrenceburg, Indiana, in 1837, removed to Indianapolis in 1839, and in 1847 became pastor of Plymouth Church, an organized body of worshippers calling themselves "Orthodox Congregational Believers." He has continued in this pastorate to the present time, and has, probably, the largest and wealthiest uniform congregation in the United States. His literary works have been, *Lectures to Young Men* (1850); *Star Papers* (1855); *Life Thoughts* (1858), of which 25,000 copies were sold upon publication; *Norwood* (1868); *Life of Jesus* (1871); and several volumes of essays and sermons. As a lecturer and orator he is deservedly popular; and for a number of years he has been con-

nected with the *Christian Union*, a weekly religious journal, in which his sermons and lecture-room talks are regularly published.

Mr. Beecher, as the first lecturer, and having a three-years' course, had a splendid opportunity and improved it well. In his thirty-three lectures the subject of Preaching is very thoroughly discussed, and in a most interesting manner. His discourses were wholly unwritten (phonographically reported), and were familiar conversational addresses rather than elaborate speeches. This is one of the characteristics of all these lectures; they resemble Mr. Spurgeon's *Talks to my Students*, and Dr. Parker's *Ad Clerum*, and are not stiff, stately efforts. Each lecturer is expected to tell his own experience, and this plan gives a very practical tone to the addresses. Mr. Beecher's experience was eagerly listened to, as he is probably the most popular preacher in America. He made frequent reference to his ministry, and especially to that part of it spent in the West. The ten years that elapsed between his leaving the theological school and removing to Brooklyn were spent in Indiana (then legitimately known as "The West"), and were in themselves a grand preparation for his subsequent work and success. In one of his lectures he says:—

"I remember the first sermon I ever preached. I had preached a good many sermons before, too. But I remember the first real one. I had preached a good while as I had used my gun. I used to go out hunting by myself, and I had great success in firing off my gun; and the game enjoyed it as much as I did, for I never hit them or hurt them. I fired off my gun as I see hundreds of men firing off their sermons. I loaded it, and bang!—there was a smoke, a report, but nothing fell; and so it was again and again. I recollect one day in the fields my father pointed out a little red squirrel, and said to me, 'Henry, would you like to shoot him?' I trembled all over, but I said, 'Yes.' He got down on his knee, put the gun across a rail and said, 'Henry, keep perfectly cool, perfectly cool; take aim.' And I did, and I fired, and over went the squirrel, and he did not run away either. That was the first thing I ever hit; and I felt an inch taller, as a boy that had killed a squirrel, and knew how to aim a gun.

"I had preached two years and a half at Laurenceburg, in Indiana (and some sporadic sermons before that), when I went to Indianapolis. While there I was very much discontented. I had been discontented for two years. I had expected that there would be a general public interest, and especially in the week before the communion season. I sent for Dr. Stowe to come down and help me; but he would not come, for he thought it better for me to bear the yoke myself. When I had lived at Indianapolis the first year, I said:—'There was a reason why when the apostles preached they succeeded, and I will find it out if it is to be found out.' I took every single instance in the Record, where I could find one of their sermons, and analyzed it and asked myself:—'What were the circumstances? Who were the people? What did he do?' And I studied the sermons until I got this idea: that the apostles were accustomed first to feel for a ground on which the people and they stood together; a common ground where they could meet. Then they heaped up a large number of the particulars of knowledge that belonged to everybody; and when they had got that knowledge, which everybody would admit, placed in a proper form before their minds, then

they brought it to bear upon them with all their excited heart and feeling. That was the first definite idea of taking aim that I had in my mind.

“‘Now,’ said I, ‘I will make a sermon so.’ I remember it just as well as if it were yesterday. First I sketched out the things we all know. ‘You all know you are living in a world perishing under your feet. You all know that time is extremely uncertain; that you cannot tell whether you will live another month or week. You all know that your destiny, in the life that is to come, depends upon the character you are forming in this life;’ and in that way I went on with my ‘You all know’ until I had about forty of them. When I got through that, I turned round and brought it to bear upon them with all my might; and there were seventeen men awakened under that sermon. I never felt so triumphant in my life. I cried all the way home. I said to myself, ‘Now I know how to preach.’”—*First Series*, pp. 10-12.

The lecture on Sermon-making is eminently practical. Among other things he says:—

“The essential necessity is, that every preacher should be able to *speak*, whether with or without notes. Christ ‘*spoke*.’ Peter, on the day of Pentecost, did not put on his ‘specs’ and read; nor did any other apostle when called on to preach. One’s message to his hearers should be so delivered as to bring his personality to bear upon them; he should be in free communion with his audience, and receive from them as well as give to them. There are a thousand shades of thought reflected from the faces of people. There are a thousand slight modifications of statement which one will make as he proceeds, after seeing and feeling the effect of what he has already said. There are points of application which cannot be imagined until he stands before his people. . . . A written sermon is apt to reach out to people like a gloved hand. An unwritten sermon reaches out the warm and glowing palm, bared to the touch.”—*First Series*, pp. 214-15.

Mr. Beecher’s method of preparing his sermons is somewhat exceptional. It is his habit to take notes from time to time upon different passages of the Bible as they happen to impress him, and these he thrusts into his desk; when Sunday morning comes he selects some one in harmony with the needs of his people, his frame of mind, or the events of the week, and this is the text for the sermon which he prepares before the hour of service (10-30 A. M.) Such a plan is of course not to be recommended to beginners; it is possible only where the preacher has the habit of keen and constant observation as he mingles among men during the week, whose mind moves swiftly and who has the gift of eloquent speech. In the pulpit (or, rather, on the platform, for he is fiercely opposed to box or high pulpits), Mr. Beecher generally uses notes, and sometimes he reads almost the whole of his discourse.

Regarding “great” (more properly “show”) sermons, he speaks plainly and well:—

“To construct such sermons, men oftentimes labor night and day, and gather into them all the scraps, ingenuities, and glittering illustrations of a *lifetime*. They are the pride and the joy of the preacher’s heart; but they bear the same relation to a truly great sermon as a kaleidoscope, full of *glittering bits of glass*, bears to the telescope, which unveils the glory of the *stellar universe*. These are the Nebuchadnezzar sermons, over which the

vain preacher stands, saying, 'Is not this great Babylon, that I have builded 'for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honor 'of my majesty?' Would to God that these preachers, like Nebuchadnezzar, might go to grass for a time, if like him they would return sane and humble!"—*First Series*, p. 227.

One cannot but say *Amen* to the many practical hints found in these lectures. Speaking against a professional manner, he says:—

"The highest character in which a preacher can stand is that of simple Christian manhood. It is not the things in which he differs from his fellow-men by which he will gain power. It is by the things in which he will be in sympathy with them. There is great significance in that sentence, 'It behooved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful 'and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God.' The power of a preacher is the power of a brother among his brethren."—*First Series*, p. 221.

Mr. Beecher has this to say of the joy of preaching:—

"I have seen a great deal of life, and on all of its sides. I have seen the depths of poverty, and I have seen competency. I have seen the extremity of solitariness, and the crowds of a city, both at home and abroad. I have seen what art has done, and whatever is to be seen in the wilderness. I have had youth and middle age, and now I am an old man. I have seen it all, and I bear witness that while there are single moments of joy in other matters, that, perhaps, carry a man up to the summit of feeling, yet for steadfast and repetitious experience there is no pleasure in this world comparable to that which a man has who habitually stands before an audience with an errand of truth, which he feels in every corner of his soul and in every fibre of his body, and to whom the Lord has given liberty of utterance, so that he is pouring out the whole manhood in him upon his congregation. Nothing in the world is comparable to that. It goes echoing on in you after you get through."—*First Series*, pp. 192-3.

His treatment of the practical themes, Revival Meetings, Prayer-meetings, the Sunday-School, etc., is very satisfactory. He believes in making religion *joyful* to children. As a child he never loved Sunday-Schools; he says:—

"The first one I went to was in the south-west pen—or pew, as they called it—in my father's old Litchfield church. I think there were three other wretches there. I had sat out my father's sermon, and this was the nooning; and while my little stomach cried 'gingerbread' they said 'Catechism!' I remember swinging my little legs from those high seats. I could not reach half-way down to the ground. It was, of all things, grim and disconsolate; for I had to have Catechism just as much at home; it was not a substitute at all. The next time I went to Sunday School, it was in the Bennett Street School-house Boston, after we moved there. I think I went there two Sundays. The first Sunday I got along well, I suppose, for it is obliterated from my mind,—I suppose I was profited. On the second Sunday some little question came up between me and the teacher, and he cuffed me, I think, and I kicked him, under the seat. I did not go any more to that school. So my personal experience in Sunday-schools has not been particularly auspicious."—*Second Series*, p. 188.

In the three Sunday-schools connected with Plymouth Church there are near 3,000 children; but far happier than was little Beecher.

Speaking of Prayer-meetings Mr. Beecher says:—"Every-thing is mixed. Everything sweet has its bitter, every rose its thorn, and every prayer-meeting its 'bummer.' And you must make up your mind to it."

And then he recalls an experience with one of his "sons of vexation":—

"The meeting had turned on the love of Christ, and especially the sympathy of Christ with those that are feeble and striving to come to a higher life under manifold difficulties, and upon the great consolation and encouragement there is in persevering in the knowledge that the whole atmosphere above you is sympathetic in Christ Jesus. Just at the end, after I had taken my hymn-book to give out the closing hymn, thinking I had got that meeting safe out of the reach of every body, this man gets up and says, 'Why, brethren',—he had very red hair—'I sometimes feel that I could put even my red head in Jesus' bosom!' Well, what could you do? Nobody after that could take up the thread of discourse, and you could not go back and mould the meeting over again,—what could you do? By the grace of God, nothing; a very patient, a very meek *nothing*."—*Second Series*, pp. 112-113.

The cause of the prosperity of Plymouth Church has been, the pastor says, "simply the abundant, continuous, faithful, humble working of the members of the Church year after year. There is an immense amount of life among the members. They are seeking to follow Christ in a humble, working Spirit; and that has made the history of the Church."—*Second Series*, p. 210.

Mr. Beecher in passing gives a gentle thrust at Calvinism:—

"It has done both good and evil. It has raised up many sturdy and stalwart Christian men. But it has also crushed many and many a heart. It has wrung sorrows and sadnesses out of sensitive natures as none but the recording angel knows. It has turned many days to darkness; and much of the light of God which came as free as air has been intercepted by it; and when it fell upon the understandings of men, its color was some lurid red, or some hideous blue. That I know right well, both in my own experience and in the experience of those whose troubles I have been called to medicate in hundreds and hundreds of instances."—*Third Series*, p. 31.

Our lecturer believes that the preacher should have large sympathy with sinful men. He says:—

"When missionaries come home, they generally have a less opinion of theology and a greater opinion of the Bible than almost any other class. They find in missionary life how wonderful are the adaptations of Scripture to the treatment of men in lower conditions. They find that there is nothing that requires so much patience, so much charity, and so much waiting, as human nature in its primitive states. They find that nothing is slower in unfolding than undeveloped men. Men are so extremely low, so very imperfect, so thoroughly sinful, that when they are preached to, and they turn about and begin to do right, it will be at a point very far down in the scale; and it is only step by step, gradually, that the Divine Spirit can be developed in them."—*Third Series*, p. 157.

Of these thirty-three lectures the best is that entitled Love

the Central Element of the Christian Ministry. It is full of eloquence.

These talks are filled with gems of thought, beautiful expressions and terse sentences. A few of the latter may suffice :—

“The thing that a preacher aims at all the while is *reconstructed manhood*, a nobler idea in his congregation of how people ought to live and what they ought to be.” . . . “A true minister is a man whose manhood itself is a strong and influential argument with his people.” . . . “Manhood is the best sermon.” . . . “Have such a conception of manhood in Christ Jesus that you would scorn praise for things that are less than noble.” . . . “Christian ministers are to be not men that pray four times a day and wear black clothes and white cravats and walk with the consciousness that the whole universe is looking upon them.” . . . “I have known men who would be excellent ministers, if it were not, first, for their lives; secondly, for their theology; and thirdly, for their style.” . . . “The first thing you want in a neighborhood is to get *en rapport* with the people.” . . . “A man who is going to be a successful preacher should make his whole life run toward the pulpit.” . . . “If you are going to be a minister keep very close to plain folks; don’t get above the common people.” . . . “Imagination, Emotion, Enthusiasm, and Conviction are the four foundation stones of an effective and successful ministry.” . . . “I think the minister of a parish, who has been there for five years, ought to impress upon the young people of his parish the practical idea that to be a Christian is to be the happiest person in the world.” . . . “Christianity means friendship carried up into a sphere where by the natural man you could never elevate it.” . . . “There is only one pass-key that will open every door, and that is the golden key of love.” . . . “The acerb feelings are corrosive. The saccharine emotions are nourishing and enduring.” . . . “The human soul is like a harp: one has but to put his hand to a chord and it will vibrate to his touch, according as he knows how. It is the knowing how that you are to acquire.” . . . “Anything in the world but regulation dulness in a prayer-meeting. Have life!” . . . “I am always glad to see a child go to sleep in church. It is one of the beatitudes.” . . . “Woe to that man who has lived among churches and Bibles and preachers and has not got higher than the Ten Commandments!” . . . “What we lack is not theology; simply to live upon that would be like gnawing a bone; what we want is life, *life, LIFE!*”

In his closing lecture Mr. Beecher, speaking of the thousand trials sure to come to the preacher, eloquently says :—

“*Fly up!* Do not stay down here where troubles dwell. Go above the dust that rises from the ground, and above the thunder of earthly noises. Betake yourselves to the realm of eternal peace, to the refuge of God’s heart, to the love of Christ’s bosom, to the apartment of God’s house which the Saviour went before to prepare for you. Escape from your troubles to your eternal home. Do not whine. Do not complain. Do not even think complaint. For, by sorrow and trouble, God is preparing you for power and influence. And many of you with feeble tongue will have an abler administration hereafter than you have here. Many of you with feeble hands will hold a sceptre that you cannot now hold.

“Live for the other life. Endure as seeing Him who is invisible; work by faith; work by hope; work by love; work by courage; work by trust; work by the sweet side of your mind; and so be like Christ until you dwell with Him.”—*Third Series*, pp. 243-4.

While there is no room for captious criticism here, it is not

to be wondered at that we find a few objectionable, not to say heterodox, statements in Mr. Beecher's lectures. For instance, in one place he says:—"This body is divine. God took a spark of himself, and put it in me, and called it Beecher." He adds, "There may be an irreverent way to take that, yet there is another,—the affectionate and the real way." We call the expression itself downright irreverence. We would expect to hear it from a Benares pandit; hardly from "the greatest preacher that ever appeared in the world," as Dr. Parker calls Mr. Beecher.

In another lecture he says to the young ministers:—"You must be, if I may say so, *little Christs*." What he means is that they should be like Christ, denying themselves for the good of others. But how much more appropriate to use the forceful word "Christ-like!" We occasionally hear good people pray to be made "little Christs," but we do not find it in our heart to say Amen. If we are to pray thus, why not go a step further and ask to be made "little Gods?" Do we ever think of the holiest men that have lived as "little Christs?" Would any one say of Fenelon or Fletcher or Payson that they were "little Christs?"

We wonder that Mr. Beecher with all his large heartedness should speak as follows in regard to posture in prayer:—"Nor can I avoid a feeling of displeasure akin to that which Christ felt when he condemned prayers at the street corners when I see a man bow down himself on the pulpit to say his prayers, 'on first entering.'" This is a matter of choice and church custom. Methodists kneel; Presbyterians stand; thus sweepingly to pronounce as Pharisaical the wide-spread practice of tens of thousands of devoted ministers is, to say the least, not worthy the distinguished lecturer.

We cannot agree with him that in regard to revivals, prayer is not an indispensable antecedent. He says:—"It has a relation, and a very important one: it is an aid, a powerful antecedent; yet I would not say that it is the indispensable and inevitable one."

The following sentiment can hardly be considered as other than dangerous:—"Any man who has faith in Christ and love to God, and who sees there is an opportunity of doing good by it, has a right to distribute emblems, bread and wine, to any body who needs them." This is both Plymouth Churchism and Plymouthism.

As to sanctification, Mr. Beecher defines it well and satisfactorily, but does not expect to realize it here. He says:—"I never saw one of that class who are called 'perfect men' that I would not go five miles across lots to get out of his way." "Show me that perfect man. I have never seen him. I do not

“ expect to see him on earth. It is my business to lead people
“ toward that ideal, but it will remain an ideal in my day. None
“ the less should our ministry point to it.” “ I believe in perfec-
“ tionism, although I think it is adjourned until after the present
“ sphere.” That is to say, when the Master said to his disciples :—
“ Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven
“ is perfect,” he intended those early preachers (and all others)
to add, “ when ye get to heaven.”! Notwithstanding Dean
Alford’s oracular comment upon this verse and Mr. Beccher’s
plainly expressed opinion we venture to think that our blessed
Lord can make and would have us perfect *even here*¹.

Dr. Taylor is a Scotchman, and was educated at the Glasgow University. After preaching a short time in Scotland he accepted a call to Liverpool, where he labored sixteen years. In 1872 he resigned this charge to become pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, where he has since labored. He ranks to-day as one of the most popular preachers of that great metropolis. He is the author of several very interesting volumes, chiefly portraiture of eminent Scripture characters; *Moses the Lawgiver* being his latest work (1879). For more than two years he has been editor of the *Christian at Work*. He has an extensive knowledge of men and things, and his pen is that of “ a ready writer.”

There is nothing common-place in Dr. Taylor’s lectures. As we read, we often find ourselves stopping to re-read some fine passage or admire some apposite illustration. Earnestness, courage, and tenderness are presented as the special qualities of an effective sermon, in the preacher. As to the manner of delivery, the use of the manuscript, etc., he says :—

“ Given burning earnestness, unflinching courage, and sympathetic tenderness in the preacher, and those other things may be very safely left to take care of themselves. He who is characterized by these three qualities, will very soon come to the discovery of what is best for him, and will ultimately concentrate his energies on the doing of that effectively. One man here cannot lay down the law for another; neither ought one man to cavil at or condemn the practice of another. The preacher who rivets the attention of the hearer, and moves his heart, and leads him for the moment to forget everything but the truth which is set before him, has thereby vindicated his own excellence, no matter what plan he has adopted.”—Pp. 148-49.

The plan of committing the written discourse to memory and delivering it *verbatim* has Dr. Taylor’s approval. He says :—

“ This plan has been supposed by many to involve tremendous drudgery; and I suppose that they who so speak regarding it would find it to be a dreadful task. But, having myself practised it for the first ten years of my ministry, I can attest that it did not in any degree hamper me. ‘ The memory,’ as Jay has said, ‘ is like a friend, and loves to be trusted,’ so that the labor of an hour and a half came with me to be sufficient for the

¹ *Vide article on Personal Holiness: Vol. I., p. 292, of this Review.*

mastery of a discourse that was newly-written ; and I own to a feeling of regret that I ever gave up the practice. . . . If I might speak from my own experience, therefore, I would say that *memoriter* preaching is the method which has the greatest advantages, with the fewest disadvantages ; extempore preaching is the method in the employment of which success is hardest, and failure commonest ; and preaching from a manuscript is the method in which, if he choose to train himself in it, the man of average ability will make, on the whole, the best of his talents, and make the fewest failures.”—Pp. 149-50.

The following words on delivery are very appropriate :—

“Seek first distinctness of articulation. Do not mistake loudness for clearness. No doubt a certain amount of volume is needed, if, as the phrase is, your voice would fill a large house. But hearers generally will tell you that they follow a speaker better when he is addressing them in moderate tones, than when, in impassioned mood, he is exerting his voice to the uttermost. The true secret here is to take sufficient time, and to give to every consonant its own proper sound. The vowels can take care of themselves. It is a mistake, therefore, to dwell, as some do, at inordinate length upon them. Such a habit always produces indistinctness. It is the province of the consonants to embank and confine the river of sound which a vowel makes, and if you do not keep them in good repair, the vowel will overflow so as to inundate the ear of the hearer, and make him unconscious of everything besides.”—Pp. 72-3.

The lecture on *Expository Preaching* is an able defence of this method of presenting the truths of the Bible.

Dr. Taylor enforces his opinion that “the Bible should be “in the pew if it is to keep its place in the pulpit” by the following well-timed remarks :—

“In a Scottish congregation few sounds are more inspiring to the preacher than the rustle of the leaves of hundreds of Bibles, as he bids his hearers turn with him to a passage which has an important bearing on his argument, and the corner pressed down, as he finishes his remarks, indicates that the owner of the book means to study it in the leisure of his closet. When you can get your people to use the word of God in that way, both in the sanctuary and the house, as the testimony to regulate their faith and the law to rule their lives, your ministry will be a success. . . . But in America the Bible is a stranger in the pew. What the reason for that is I cannot discover ; yet the effect is bad. It disposes the preacher to take short texts which his hearers may remember even without looking for them in the book. It discourages him from presenting a Biblical argument, or making any large induction of passages for the purpose of coming to a scriptural conclusion ; and especially it puts a great obstacle in the way of expository preaching. I would favor anything which would remedy this great evil. Wherever you may be settled, make an early request that your people will bring with them their copies of the Word of God ; then, see you to it, that they make good use of them when they do bring them.”—Pp. 227-8.

Mr. Dale, who, twenty-five years ago, succeeded the celebrated John Angell James at Birmingham, is a worthy representative of English Congregationalism. He is widely known as an author ; his well written and very popular work on *The Atonement* (of which the *British Quarterly Review* says, “He “has traversed the vast theme in many directions with the “might and speed of a master”) ; his lectures on the Jewish

Temple and the Christian Church, together with other literary productions, having gained for him an enviable position among theological authors of the present day. His long and useful pastorate at Birmingham, the recognized place he holds in England as a leader in his denomination, and his eminent qualifications for speaking upon a topic like that of Preaching led the Theological Faculty at Yale to extend to him the invitation to lecture—a compliment not unappreciated. In his introductory lecture he wittily explains how it happened that an Englishman was thus nominated:—"Freshness, originality, brilliance—these the Theological Faculty and Corporation of Yale could find in abundance in this country. An Englishman was sent for, that for once you might have the opportunity of listening to lectures containing nothing fresh, nothing that should have the look of novelty, nothing but what had been familiar to men for hundreds of years, nothing but what was trite and commonplace." If such was their intention the Faculty evidently got hold of the wrong Englishman!

The charming volume before us testifies that these lectures were a grand success; and the fact that the *fourth* edition was published within six months from the time of their delivery shows that the book is having many readers in England as well as in America. As delivered, the lectures were published in the *New York Independent* and perhaps in other religious newspapers, and their influence has thus been felt far and wide. The speaker's style is lucid, often brilliant, and not unfrequently glowing with manly eloquence. The following quotation may serve as an illustration:—

"I believe in the duty of consecrating to the exposition and defence of Divine truth every faculty and resource which the preacher may happen to possess. There is no power of the intellect, no passion of the heart, no learning, no natural genius, that should not be compelled to take part in this noble service. The severest and keenest logic, the most exuberant fancy, the boldest imagination, shrewdness, wit, pathos, indignation, sternness, may all contribute to the illustration of human duty and of the authority and love of God. If the heavens declare God's glory, if fire and hail, snow and vapor, and the stormy wind fulfil His word, if all His works praise Him, then the loftiest heights of intellectual majesty, the most dazzling intellectual splendors, every brilliant constellation in the firmament of genius, the lightnings and tempests of noble and eloquent passion, may also praise the Lord and show forth His excellent greatness."—Pp. 25-26.

These lectures are full of the most practical utterances. What could be better than the following:—

"A minister is in danger of being betrayed into idle habits by a thousand temptations of which other men know nothing. He has not slept well, or he is suffering from a slight attack of indigestion; the morning is fine; there is nothing that absolutely compels him to keep at his desk, and he feels quite at liberty to stroll into the country. Or the weather is dull, and he is not in the mood for work; there is no particular reason why he should not spend an hour in the newsroom; or he persuades himself that

he will be fulfilling a pastoral duty if he calls on the pleasantest family in his congregation, and so he idles away a couple of hours in gossip. He has been trying to make out the exact meaning of a text, and the longer he tries the more perplexed he becomes; and when his perplexity is at the very worst, a lady calls to talk to him about a girl in her class in the Sunday-school, and when she goes he finds that it is only three-quarters of an hour to dinner time. He thinks it is of no use returning to the text, and so he amuses himself with the most amusing article in the magazine which happens to be on the table. When he was at college he had fixed hours for work, and wrote his letters when he could. Now that he is in the ministry, if he gets a letter from an old college chum by the morning post, and if he is not obliged to give the morning to one of his sermons for next Sunday, he thinks he may as well answer it at once, and so he consumes in letter-writing one of the prime hours of the day. Gentlemen, it is four and twenty years since I left college, and the temptations to desultoriness which I have either yielded to or mastered would enable me to go on for four and twenty hours with the story of the perils which will beset you as soon as you leave these walls. You will be ruined, your own hopes and the hopes of your friends will all be blighted, unless you resolve, with God's help, to stand firm and to work as hard when you become a minister as you have worked while at the university."—Pp. 65-6.

The two lectures on *Reading* are worthy of the highest commendation. After mentioning the usual solid works which all ministers read, or should read, Mr. Dale says:—

"At the risk of bringing down upon myself the sharp and scornful condemnation of the more learned persons in my audience, I will venture to add that I do not recommend you to refuse to read books that have a merely ephemeral popularity. If you were all destined to occupy university chairs, I might offer you different advice; supposing that, in that case, I could presume to offer you any advice at all, and yet it may be possible that even in the library of a professor of ecclesiastical history, above the shelves on which the folios of the Magdeburg centuriators and the rival Annals of Baronius stand side by side in solemn and awful dignity, there may be a shelf that gives a kindly refuge to *Helen's Babies*: and I trust that I am guilty of no irreverence if I imagine that even a professor of dogmatic theology, if he has unfortunately forgotten to put a volume of Athanasius or Aquinas into his portmanteau to while away the tedious hours of a railway journey, may go to a book stall and buy a volume of Mark Twain's, or the last book by Bret Harte. I am conscious, however, that in these wild speculations I am venturing on very thin ice. But we who are not professors have to interest and impress common people; and whatever may be said about the dissipation of intellectual energy incurred by the attempt to read all the books that other men are talking about, I am convinced that we ought to keep up a fair acquaintance with contemporary literature. If we know nothing of the books that our congregations are reading, they will soon learn to think of us as intellectual foreigners, strangers to their ways and thoughts, ignorant of a large part, and in some respects the most interesting part, of their lives."—Pp. 101-2.

Regarding the frame of mind which the preacher should have, Mr. Dale wisely says:—

"In trying to cultivate Christian perfection, we must not satisfy ourselves with censuring people for being imperfect. You will not do much towards sanctifying your people by scolding them. Perpetual fault-finding does no good: it is bad for children, bad for servants, and it is bad for churches. It is mere indolence, and it is sometimes ill-temper, which leads

a minister to indulge in perpetual condemnation. Nor will you do much if you merely tell the people over and over again that they ought to be better. Men are not to be worried into goodness. You remember Mrs. Poyser's description of the two parsons of Hayslope. 'You know she would have her word about everything; she said Mr. Irwine was like a good meal o' victual; you were the better for him without thinking on it; and Mr. Ryde was like a dose o' physic, he gripped you and worreted you, and after all he left you much the same.' Mr. Ryde has many followers, preachers who give their congregations all 'physic' and no 'victual.' The physic may be excellent of its kind, admirable if prescribed occasionally. But physic week after week, all the year round; physic every Sunday morning at eleven, and every Sunday evening at half past six; physic again at the prayer-meeting on Wednesday or Thursday night—ugh!—it is intolerable. It is pernicious as well as offensive. It is enough to ruin the health of the most vigorous church.

"Let your congregation have the 'Bread of Life.' Instead of merely complaining to them of the absence of brotherly kindness, preach sermons which are likely to make them more vividly conscious that they are brethren in Christ. Instead of satisfying yourself with finding fault with them for their want of zeal, ask how you can stimulate it. Speak sharp words occasionally in condemnation of covetousness, but return again and again to those parts of the Gospel which inspire generosity. Deplore, if you must, the inconstancy of many Christian people in right-doing, the languor of their spiritual affections, their indifference to the supreme objects of the Christian life; but remember that mere lamentations will work no deliverance for them. You must consider by what truths, by what method and spirit of teaching, you can develop among them all the energetic forces and all the noble excellences of the Christian character."—Pp. 241-3.

We have room for but one more extract, the closing sentences of the last lecture:—

"Gentlemen, yours is a noble vocation. To be the ally of Christ in His great endeavor to save the world,—with Him to assert the authority of the throne and law of God; with him to support human weakness in its vacillating endeavors to do the Divine will; to inspire the sinful with trust in the Divine mercy; to console sorrow; to awaken in the hearts of the poor, the weak and the desolate, the consciousness of their relations to the Infinite and Eternal God; to exalt and dignify the lives of old men and maidens, young men and children, by revealing to them the things unseen and eternal which surround them now, and the mysterious, awful, glorious life which lies beyond death—this is a great work. There is nothing on earth comparable to it. Whatever genius you have, whatever learning, whatever native moral force, whatever energy of spiritual inspiration, will all find their freest and loftiest service in the work to which you are consecrated. And in the ministry, even the humblest faculties, if used with devout earnestness, may, through alliance with the power of God, achieve great results.

"However obscure your ministerial position may be, to whatever discomforts you may have to submit, however bitter may be your disappointments, I trust that your work will be always invested with the dignity and glory which now invest it, when in your noblest and most sacred hours you anticipate in imagination the years which are stretching before you. Give Christ your best. Be faithful to Him—be faithful to your people—be faithful to yourselves—and you will not have to exclaim when your life is over, 'All is vanity and vexation of spirit.' You will thank God that He appointed you in this world to a service which was the most perfect preparation for the larger life, the loftier activities, the everlasting glory of the world to come."—Pp. 301-2.

Bishop Simpson ranks among the foremost of the pulpit orators of America. In some respects he eclipses Beecher, and if, five and twenty years ago he had settled in New York city as a pastor, no doubt he would have been ere this the centre and motor of as large an organization as Plymouth Church. He was born in 1810, and entered the ministry in 1833, like Beecher, laboring at first in the West. From 1839 to 1848 he served as President of the Indiana Asbury University. In 1848 he was chosen to the editorship of the *Western Christian Advocate*, at Cincinnati. In 1852 he was elected Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, an office which he has since filled most ably and acceptably. During these years he has travelled extensively throughout the United States, and in his official capacity has visited Europe several times. Among Methodists he is and has been for a quarter of a century very popular and is to-day their ablest Bishop. He is not noted as an author, as his forte is the pulpit and platform; his only published volumes are *A Hundred Years of Methodism* (1878), and a larger work entitled *A Cyclopedia of Methodism* (1878).

Bishop Simpson's early experience, as narrated in one of his lectures, is remarkable and worth transcribing, illustrating, as it does, the guiding hand of Providence and the worth and weight of a mother's prayers:—

“Trained religiously, I had come to a young man's years before making a public profession of religion. Occasionally, prior to my conversion, thoughts of the ministry sometimes flashed across my mind; but it was only a flash. After my conversion I was earnest for the welfare of others, and worked in various ways to promote the interest of the Church and humanity. The conviction grew upon me that I must preach. I tried to put the thought away, because I feared I could never succeed. I saw the greatness of the work, and the reproach and poverty, the privation and suffering, connected with the itinerant ministry. Two especial difficulties were in my way: First, I had no gift of speech. All through my studies my fellow students told me I could learn, but I could never be a speaker. In discussing professions they thought the law was out of the question for me, because I could never successfully plead a cause. My voice was poor. I had always shunned declamation whenever it was possible to avoid it. I had an unconquerable aversion to reciting other men's words; and whenever I attempted to declaim, it was pronounced a failure. My associates believed, and I firmly believed, I could never make a speaker. So when I felt the conviction that I must preach, the thought of the impossibility of preaching successfully made me question the reality of the call. At my work, and in my studies—for I spent three years in preparing for the profession of medicine—I was frequently in mental agony. I think I should have resolutely rejected the idea, only that it seemed indissolubly connected with my own salvation. I longed for some one who could tell me my duty. I fasted and prayed for divine direction, but I found no rest until reading in the Bible a passage that seemed written especially for me:—‘Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thy own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths.’ I accepted it, and resolved to do whatever God by his providence should indicate by opening the way. I never lisped to a friend the slightest intimation of my mental

agony, but began to take a more earnest part in church services. One Sabbath I felt a strong impression that I ought to speak to the people at night in prayer-meeting, as we had no preaching. But I said to myself: How shall I? my friends will think me foolish, for they know I cannot speak with interest. Especially I dreaded the opinion of an uncle, who had been to me as a father, and who had superintended my education. While I was discussing this matter with myself, my uncle came into the room, and, after 'a moment's hesitancy, said to me:—'Don't you think you could speak to the people to-night?' I was surprised and startled, and asked him if he thought I ought to? He said yes; he thought I might do good. That night, by some strange coincidence, the house was crowded, and I made my first religious address to a public congregation. It was not written; it was not very well premeditated; it was the simple and earnest outgushing of a sincere and honest heart.

I was soon pressed to preach; but evaded all conversation on the subject as far as possible. My mother was a widow; I was her only son, and the only child remaining at home. It seemed impossible to leave her. I feared it might almost break her heart to propose it. But as I saw the Church would probably call me, and as I had promised God to follow his openings, I one day, with great embarrassment, introduced the subject to my mother. After I had told her my mental struggles, and what I believed God required, I paused. I shall never forget how she turned to me with a smile on her countenance, and her eyes suffused with tears, as she said:—'My son, I have been looking for this hour ever since you were born.' She then told me how she and my dying father, who left me an infant, consecrated me to God, and prayed that if it were his will I might become a minister. And yet that mother had never dropped a word or intimation in my hearing that she ever desired me to be a preacher. She believed so fully in a divine call, that she thought it wrong to bias the youthful mind with even a suggestion, so much as uttered in vocal prayer. That conversation settled my mind. What a blessing is a sainted mother!"

No one who has ever heard the eloquent Bishop preach can help being surprised as he reads of the unpropitious way in which he entered the ministry. He says:—

"My voice seemed in every way unfit for a public speaker. It was weak, slender, and the pitch was high, tending to falsetto, and hence easily cracked or broken. By close application to study I had become stooped, my lungs were weak, I was troubled with a cough, and many of my friends feared that I was tending to consumption. I spoke because I must speak. At the end of my first year physicians advised me to desist, or I would probably not live more than a year. I was junior preacher on a six weeks' circuit, on which I preached twenty-eight times in the round. Not satisfied with this amount of work. I assisted in taking up six additional appointments, making thirty-four. One of these appointments was in a small village, and in the sitting-room of an humble widow that would not accommodate more than twenty people. On my second and last visit I was informed that a physician, who was said to be an infidel, but a man of talent, desired to see me, as he thought he could be of some service by directions as to health. I called upon him. He said he had heard I was in feeble health, and as he had suffered greatly for years, but had recovered, he thought possibly he could give me some simple suggestion. I was pleased with his general advice, and at the close of the interview asked him what he thought of my continuing to preach? He answered, that as to the religious question he had nothing to say, but, simply as a physician, his advice would be for me *to ride eight or ten miles and preach once every day. The suggestion harmonized so perfectly with my own feelings that I resolved to follow it;*

and the only request I ever made for any appointment was, on account of my weak lungs and the necessity of exercise, that I might have an appointment where I could ride eight or ten miles and preach every day. My presiding elder promised me his full concurrence and his heartiest efforts, and he had no doubt of success; but when the appointments were read out at the close of the Conference, I was sent to the city of Pittsburgh, thick with its coal smoke and dust, amid the prevalence of the cholera. My friends were fearful and disheartened, but I believed it to be of God and went. My health was preserved by careful attention to diet and exercise and regular hours, and by abundance of preaching and pastoral visiting. My voice gradually strengthened, and though never musical, acquired power to address the largest congregation. My conviction to-day is, that had I not preached I should, in all probability, have fallen an early victim to bronchial or pulmonary disease. Often when called upon to face danger, that passage has seemed to ring in my ear, 'Whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.' "

The simple secret of this very marked success in the face of difficulties and discouragements is consecration, a definite purpose, zeal, and *honest, hard work*.

Bishop Simpson's lectures were very popular. Of all the noted preachers who have filled the Lectureship "no one has attracted so large a number and so great a variety of hearers as Bishop Simpson has. So great was the desire to hear him, the interest growing to the close, that the chapel where the lectures were delivered did not nearly furnish room for all who came, and an effort was made to secure their delivery in a larger audience room, that the public might enjoy them. They have been read eagerly and with real gratification by ministers of all denominations." As they were delivered, week after week, they were published *verbatim* in the *New York Independent* and *New York Christian Advocate*; and they were reproduced in at least half a dozen other religious newspapers. The published volume appeared a few days after the delivery of the last lecture. It will no doubt have a large circulation.

The first thing that strikes one in taking up these lectures is the frequency and aptness with which Scriptural quotations are introduced. In the first lecture there are no less than sixty of these, woven into the discourse as by a master-hand, making it beautiful and bright. And so through the remaining talks. The lecturer drew largely upon the best of books, and inculcated a most important lesson by example as well as precept.

Another characteristic of these lectures is their spirituality. The speaker recognized the greatness of the task before him and refused to be content with common-place observations on this or that part of pulpit or pastoral labor. He pointed the young ministers before him to "the power from on high." He was thoroughly in earnest, too, as appears in every lecture. Says he:—

"I have nothing to say as to the system of doctrines which you accept or believe, but I do urge you to be men of conviction. Give yourselves no

rest until you find the truth as revealed to you ; then believe it, and believe it with all your hearts. Around these fundamental truths passages of Scripture will form, until under the law of mental crystallization they shall be as pure crystals, polished by no human hand, and reflecting the light of God. Unless you have firm convictions as to what the Scripture teaches, you are not fitted for leaders. Your trumpet should give no uncertain sound ; you should know of the doctrines whether they be of God. It is not your office to stand in the pulpit and express doubts. If you have any, let them be cleared away before you speak ; for you come to bear, not a message of doubts, but a message from the Lord. Christ, our great model, spake as one having authority, and not as the scribes. Christ never uttered a doubt in his teaching ; it was positive in its character. The disciples never uttered doubt, but spake the word of the Lord with all boldness. You owe this to your congregations, who look to you for instruction and guidance. You owe it to yourselves, for without it your power will be frittered away. Men of force say, 'We believe, and therefore speak.' Whoever reads the Epistles with care, will notice their strong, positive utterances. Where there is doubt there is dimness and hesitation, sharp lines of definition are lacking, and clear presentation is unknown. Men talk around and around a subject without piercing directly to its essence and marrow."

Like Mr. Dale, he cautions his hearers against mental dissipation :—

"In keeping abreast of the day let him not spend too much time on the daily press or the lighter class of magazines. It is one of the triumphs of Christian civilization that we can have news at our breakfast table from all parts of the globe ; but the daily press is not of itself an unmixed benefit—it tempts the student to dissipation of thought, and oftentimes his morning hours wear rapidly away while he is reading matters which interest him, but which are not essential to his important work. Like the bee, he should know how in a few moments to extract the honey from the flower, and then fly on without stopping to count the number of the petals, or to dwell on the beauty of the coloring. He should be like the business man who rapidly glances over the most important items, and then confines himself to the duties of his counting-room or office. In scientific and theological reviews there are frequently articles of great value, which the preacher cannot too carefully read and ponder ; but while he is interested in the lighter reviews, and pleased with the style and structure of articles, he is very liable thus to spend his moments, which ought to be devoted to more solid reading or to pastoral duties."

Here is a practical paragraph well worthy of the attention of other ministers than those to whom it was addressed :—

"Avoid all stimulants of every character which may be recommended to strengthen your voice or to assist you in pulpit duties. I can scarcely suppose that any one who believes himself called to the ministry will countenance their use. Yet kind friends will sometimes suggest that 'you are weak, your nerves are tremulous, you have been out in the cold, you need 'a stimulant,' and they will urge the taking of a little wine or brandy before preaching. These friends, if from England or Ireland, will tell you that the most distinguished are in the habit of using them ; and I regret to say, that in many churches both wine and brandy are there kept in the vestry for the use of the minister both before and after preaching. On my first visit to the old countries, the kind sextons seemed to be as much astonished that I would not accept them, as I was amazed at their being offered. I have known some young ministers who used a few drops of paregoric or a small quantity of opium to give them temporary strength in the pulpit. I am

glad to say that I have known but few such cases, but I must add that these were led in the end to either physical or moral ruin. Dr. Alexander says :— ‘The instances of apostacy within our knowledge stare at us like the skeletons of lost travellers among the sands of our desert way ;’ ‘the apparition of clerical drunkards, and the like, forewarn us.’ ”

In answer to the question, What shall the minister do that he may be the most eminently successful? Bishop Simpson mentions first *entire consecration* ; secondly, *earnest prayer* ; thirdly, *fasting*. He adds :—

“ If I am asked how fasting can bring spiritual power, I cannot answer satisfactorily. I simply know that Jesus hath said :—‘ This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.’ He had given his disciples power against unclean spirits, yet here was one brought to them which they could not cast out. It reigned only in the more fury because of their efforts, and when Jesus came the sorrowing father applied to him. One word was sufficient, and the unclean spirit fled. The bewildered disciples asked the Master why they could not cast him out, and received the answer I have quoted. This implies different degrees of spiritual power—power sufficient to reach some hearts, but not all. But who that loves his Master does not covet a power sufficient to rescue the vilest of the vile, and to bring the strongest offender to the foot of the cross. While I cannot tell how the fasting operates, I can see that it is both a sign of deep feeling, and that it adds to its intensity. Who has not felt a sorrow that made him for the time regardless of food? Who has not been so absorbed that he has forgotten the hours, and passed beyond the time of his meals? With a dear one on the bed of death, how tasteless and valueless is food. So if there be an intensity of prayer that absorbs the soul, we become like Him who said, ‘ I have meat to eat ye know not of ;’ and again, ‘ My meat is to do the will of him that sent me.’ ”

The lecture on *Ministerial Power* is rich and instructive. It closes as follows :—

“ I cannot conceal my conviction, that but for the negligence and indolence of those of us who occupy the sacred desk, it would be more universal and more powerful. It seems to me that the possibilities connected with preaching have been only partially realized, and that a brighter and more glorious day will dawn upon the Church. If there is one thing above all others that I have desired for myself, and that above all other things I covet for you, it is this ministerial power, this baptism of fire. Seek for this more than for learning, for wisdom, for oratory : and, above all, more than for any thought of your acceptability or popularity. To preach one sermon like Livingstone’s would be worth a life of service. I believe you all may have such power, that thousands shall be converted under your preaching. If the Bible be true, and if you are divinely called to the ministry you are lifted out of the common circle of business and conflicts of life. God comes to dwell in you, and to use all your powers for himself ; your highest glory will be to appear as living, walking Christs among men, and you will feel with the apostle, ‘ For to me to live is Christ.’ ”

The last lecture, *Is the Modern Pulpit a Failure?* is a grand reply to the critics. It shows that the pulpit *has* a mission to which it is not false, and that it is steadily becoming *more and more* powerful. After dwelling upon the triumphs of *the Gospel* as preached in heathen lands, the lecturer says :—

“ No one will pretend to say that the number of Christian pulpits has in any country during the last half century diminished. Everywhere in

Europe and America, in Asia and Africa, and in the islands of the sea, new church edifices have been erected in increasing numbers. In the United States, where we especially hear this cry of the failure of the pulpit, the statistics show a most wonderful increase. Professor Diman, of Brown University, states that the number of organized churches in 1777 was less than 2,000. In 1870 there were over 72,000; while the increase of population had been from 3,000,000 to 38,000,000, showing an immense *pro rata* increase of the churches over the population. We had no census tables prior to 1850, giving the value of church property. But in 1850 the returns show the estimated value to be \$ 87,328,891. In 1870 the report exhibits \$ 354,483,581, or an increase of more than fourfold, while the increase of population was only about sixty-five per cent."

"More people attend church services this year than did ever before, more children are enrolled in the Sabbath-schools, more Bibles are published, more sermons are preached; there are more Christian scientists, professors, and writers, and there are more ministers intelligent and cultured, than were ever found in any other era of earth's history. It will not be denied that the pulpit was the chief agent in the overthrow of the idolatry of the world, of its infanticide, and of its gladiatorial exhibitions. As a fact in history, no nations ever abandoned their idols or cast away their imaginary gods but through the preaching of the Gospel, with the exception of a few instances where Muhammadanism has supplanted among some Asiatic and African tribes heathen worship and customs. By the preaching of Christ heathen temples, shrines, and oracles were deserted. There is not on earth to-day a knee that bows to Jupiter or Mars or Venus; this same influence is exerted still."

"The pulpit is still greatly needed. It is the great bond of union between the rich and the poor. Few understand the afflictions through which the lower classes pass, or the trials which they endure. Little do the upper classes of society know of their sufferings and their sorrows; their loss of employment and consequent loss of means of support; their narrow lodgings, scanty fare, and almost untold anguish. They instinctively shrink from the presence of those who live more comfortably and are unwilling to come into association with them. This unwillingness to associate strengthens sometimes into aversion, and then to positive hatred. Not until the minister by some act of kindness, by some manifestation of sympathy, by some effort in their behalf, gains their confidence, do they open their hearts even to him."

Thus eloquently the Bishop closed his lectures:—

"My thoughts glance beyond this assembly, and would peer far into the future. I know not what is before you; God only knows whether you shall have years of labor and toil and danger and triumph, or whether you shall early be called into his own presence. As I look upon you, I seem to behold a halo above your heads; rays of glory to come down from on high; a tongue of fire that prophesies your mission. Who among you shall shine with the greatest radiance, shall wear the brightest crown, who shall be nearest the throne, I know not; it will be he who, according to his talents and opportunity, does most for his blessed Master. There are degrees in glory. 'One star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection.' 'They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.' In that great day how insignificant shall appear the offices, or honors, wealth and comforts of an earthly life, compared with the crown which shall be given to those who have conquered souls for Christ! Could I live a thousand years, I would proclaim the great divine message. But almost as soon as we learn to work we must die. Had I a thousand lives, they should

all be spent in the ministry of the Word. If I could, I would inspire you with a noble ambition ; I would give you strength to bear away the gates of the enemy, and to overcome my Master's foe. I would commission you to win triumph after triumph. I would strengthen you so that one of you should chase a thousand, and two of you should put ten thousand to flight. I have not the power, but there is one who has ; He has all power in heaven and in earth, and he has promised to be with you wherever you may go. Into his hands and to his guiding providence I commit you every one, praying 'that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give 'unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him : the 'eyes of your understanding being enlightened ; that ye may know what is 'the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in 'the saints.'"

No minister, whether in the home or foreign work, can read these Yale Lectures without feeling refreshed and encouraged. Ours is a blessed work, a high vocation, a grand calling. O, for deeper consecration, stronger faith, nobler courage, intenser zeal, larger success !

B. H. BADLEY.

ART. V.—THE RECENT HISTORY OF K. C. SEN'S
BRAHMISM.

WHILE Keshab Chandra Sen is generally satisfied with one public lecture in the year, delivered in the Town Hall of Calcutta, this year he has already delivered two such, in rapid succession. The first, which was the annual lecture in connection with the anniversary meetings of the Samaj, was an attempt to answer "India's oft-repeated question" to him,— "Was he or was he not an inspired Prophet?" The second professed also to be an answer to another of India's questions to him,— "Who is Christ?" Both lectures have secured a great deal of attention not only from the community which Mr. Sen would fain lead, but also from outsiders alike here and in England. On the former class they will have a great influence, but not in adding to the authority of "the minister," as Mr. Sen delights to be called.

We propose to offer a few remarks on both lectures in connection with the recent history of the Brahma Samaj.

The religious sect known by this name, which is intended to express its faith in the one God or Brahma, was founded about fifty years ago by Raja Ram Mohan Rai. After his death it was led by the now venerable Babu Debendra Nath Tagore, who has of late, to a great extent, retired from public life. Babu Keshab Chandra Sen was at first greatly under the influence of Mr. Tagore, who took a fatherly interest in the young man, and led him to take a prominent part in the proceedings of the Samaj. After a time Mr. Sen was not satisfied with being second. He wanted to be first, and refused to be guided by Mr. Tagore. Two or three questions cropped up about the same time, one as to what countenance the Samaj, as such, should give to what are called "mixed marriages"—that is marriages between parties belonging to castes between which marriages are not allowed by Hindu law and custom. Mr. Sen and his followers held that the Samaj should go in strong for such; Mr. Tagore and his more conservative followers wished to be more cautious; while many of them personally approved of such marriages, they disapproved of making the matter a plank in their platform. Another point of equal importance affected what might be called the purity of their worship. Mr. Sen wished to prohibit all half-hearted followers, who had not completely broken with Hinduism by throwing off the *poita* or sacred thread, from taking any prominent part in public worship in the Samaj. Mr. Tagore, though he himself had dispensed with the objectionable thread as savoring of idolatry, would not refuse the *bedi* or pulpit to a weak brother who was not prepared to go so far. Mr. Tagore and his party

had full civil right to the building in which the Samaj met, and, in fact, to all the property of the Samaj, as trustees of the same, appointed by the will of Raja Ram Mohan Rai. Mr. Sen could not therefore carry out his ideas of what was right and proper, in connection with the services held in the old building. So, after protesting against what he considered the desecration of the building to idolatrous purposes, he, and most of the younger and more sanguine, separated from the older and more conservative party, who have since then been known as the *Adi* (or original) Brahma Samaj. Keshab called the new body *The Brahma Samaj of India*—which is frequently interpreted as the Theistic Church of India. It was about this time that Mr. Sen delivered two of his best known lectures in immediate succession. The first was headed *Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia*, in which he evidently courted the favor and patronage of Christians and Europeans. Christian missionaries were a good deal taken up with the lecture, and many were of opinion that Mr. Sen was on the eve of leading his followers to Jesus. Many of the latter got proportionally alarmed, and so were many of the Orthodox Hindus; and Mr. Sen was subjected to a good deal of petty social and domestic persecution. Many of his own followers left him and went back either to Hinduism or to the *Adi Brahma Samaj*. The special favors heaped upon him by the late Lord Lawrence, who was then Governor-General, and by others in high position, could not make up for the loss of influence which he sustained among his own followers and among his own countrymen. So he soon after delivered another lecture, as we have said. It was on *Great Men*. In this lecture he practically retracted all he had said of Jesus, by affirming the same of all other great men, himself not excepted. Thus among many his position and influence were greatly restored. The Christian missionaries from that time lost very much of their confidence in him. His power, even among his own, was, however, injured a good deal soon afterwards by a division which had taken place in his camp because of assertions made that he sought after personal worship or divine adoration. Some of his own missionaries published letters asserting that he was, with his own sanction, worshipped and addressed as a divine being, and prayed to as a Saviour and a Mediator between God and man. There was a great deal of mystery concerning the real facts of the case, and much hard swearing possibly on both sides. The matter continued a nine-days' wonder and seemed to pass into oblivion. Within the last two or three years Keshab seemed to go in largely for asceticism after the *old Hindu* forms. But this was not altogether new, for even at the time of his separating from the *Adi Brahma Samaj*, he courted alliance with Vaishnavas, and might have been seen squatted

on the floor with ascetics of this sect who were in as nearly a state of nudity as the police would permit, swaying about their bodies and turning up the whites of their eyes. However, of late, he advocated, formally, the establishment of classes of ascetics in connection with the Samaj, and consecrated publicly one or more of his followers to each of three different classes. He himself was understood to be practising certain forms of ascetism, by walking occasionally barefooted through the streets of Calcutta, cooking his own food, and making roads and visiting the poor while living in a retired villa. But this ascetism was held to be quite consistent with travelling first class by rail, living in style in one of the Calcutta "palaces," his own property, being fanned by rich men's sons, wearing the finest broadcloth and Dacca muslin, attending evening parties at Government House, dining in state with friends—always however understanding that he lives a thorough vegetarian.

We have written this far in regard to his manner of life, because it is necessary, as we think, to the proper understanding of the first of the two lectures to which we would draw the reader's attention. We will not however stop to consider at length the various facts connected with the marriage of his daughter to the Maharaja of Kuch Behar, further than to state that Mr. Sen, after much public agitation, had succeeded in persuading the Government of India to pass a Marriage Act principally for the benefit of his own followers, in accordance with which the minimum age of the bride was laid down as fourteen years and that of the bridegroom at sixteen years; and that in the Kuch Behar marriage both were under these ages. This of course Keshab knew from the beginning, yet he was determined on having the marriage consummated. Idolatrous rites were also practised at the marriage, but in this Keshab was taken by surprise, and he resisted them with all his power—*almost* to the extent of refusing to give his daughter. He however yielded. Before the proposed marriage had been published, Keshab had been advocating two doctrines which had a great deal to do with the disruption which took place in the Samaj in immediate connection with the marriage, and by which he lost the large majority of his followers. He advocated personal inspiration. He held that he himself, if not always inspired, was doubtless so on certain occasions, and that "the minister" should never ascend the pulpit, unless he had a direct inspired message from God to announce. He also began to recommend very strongly the central doctrine of the Papacy—implicit obedience to the Pope. When the marriage took place, he defended it, therefore, on the ground simply that God in a direct message to *himself* had approved of it. God having approved of it, who could *condemn it*? He, in one word, set himself up as an inspired Pope.

His first great public appearance after the marriage was in the Town Hall on Thursday the 23rd of January last. His opening words were:—"Fellow-countrymen and friends, Again and again has India asked me—'Art thou an inspired Prophet?'" "This question," he tells us, "gathers force year after year, and its interest, like rising and swelling surges, rushes on from province to province, from town to town, and from Presidency to Presidency, till a purely personal question has assumed the formidable proportions of a national problem." The tone assumed in these opening words is continued throughout the whole lecture. India is always spoken of as "my country" and the Brahma Samaj as "my church;" Huxley and Darwin and all other scientists "are aiding me and my work—the work of the world's salvation;" God "who is with me every day explains phrase after phrase, word after word, syllable after syllable. Therefore am I wise;" then "I can speak not only eloquently but I can speak the words of pure wisdom and truth;" when thus inspired, he says, he speaks "the words of God with power and authority," "with power which this world cannot conquer;" in his creed he says all precepts begin with a "Thus saith the Lord." Some people ask him how he knows God's voice; he answers:—"There is a ring, a peculiar intonation in the voice of the Lord. Those who have heard it often can recognize it at once. Six, eight, ten times have I heard it." "He has spoken to me often and often, and every time it was a demonstration, a clear positive demonstration, of a mathematical character." Again, he says:—"I am not responsible for the truths I have to preach. I say this fearlessly and in the presence of this great Town Hall assembly. Surely I am not to blame for anything which I have done under Heaven's injunction. If any one is to blame, the Lord God of Heaven is to blame for having taught me, and constrained me for the good of my country. Under this command I have done so, and I will do ten thousand similar things so long as I live." This, which most of us would be disposed to regard as rank blasphemy, I myself heard him utter, and it is repeated in the revised edition, printed by his own press as a supplement to the *Indian Mirror*. All this was uttered along with great protestations of humility, such as that he was "unworthy to touch the shoes of the least of the world's prophets," that he was "wicked and heavy laden with iniquity," guilty of "lying, perjury, forgery, yea, even manslaughter," as far as "the roots of these vices" are concerned. But, is he in his own opinion an inspired prophet? The public hearing the lecture spoken, or reading it published, would have no hesitation in answering, "In his own opinion, he certainly

"is"; yet Keshab himself answers, "No, I am not an inspired prophet." 'Prophet' means, according to him, a holy sinless person, and *that* he is not. But 'prophet' does not mean that in the English language. Neither the Christian nor the Muhammadan prophets were sinless. They professed to be men specially inspired of God and "commissioned by God to preach 'certain truths' which Keshab claims to be. Keshab claimed also to have had very peculiar, direct, personal communications with John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and "the travelled ambassador of Christ, the strong, heroic and valiant apostle Paul." But explanations given of these visions in subsequent issues of the *Indian Mirror* and of the *Theistic Quarterly Review* have so mystified the matter that we do not profess to understand what amount of information was intended to be given in this part of the lecture. One thing however is very clear, that Keshab does consider himself an inspired prophet, in the usual sense of the term; and that his conduct towards the members and branches of the Samaj of India has been largely influenced by this belief; and that the effect has been to split it up into two branches—the off-shoot calling itself the *Sadharan* or Constitutional Samaj. It is distinguished chiefly by its desire to be ruled, not by any one person, however great or good, but by officers duly elected by the voice of their fellows and in accord with some previously approved rules called the "Constitution." The Samaj of India has no constitution, no rules, no authorized principles or documents. Keshab has resisted, all these ten years, all efforts to draw up any constitution for the Society and a Trust for the property owned by it. Hence the church built by them is indirectly claimed by Keshab as his own. He has by various crooked ways prevented as yet a vote of the members being taken as to its ownership. The issue of the controversy, so far, is summed up in "the Brahmo's Creed," published in the July number of *The Theistic Quarterly Review* under the editorship of Keshab's henchman, Babu Pratab Chandra Mozumdar, a periodical started this year, "to represent the progress and principles of the Brahma Samaj of India." The *Indian Mirror* of July 6, says the "Brahmo's Creed contains, curiously enough, thirty-nine articles; . . . Every honest and sincere seeker after God would gladly subscribe to them." The 25th article runs:—

"I believe in the inspiration and truth-teaching power of some of the leaders of the Brahma Samaj, and eminently of Keshab Chandra Sen. Some of the most cherished and glorious truths respecting the nature of God and man, I have learnt from him and from them. But I do not believe that any Brahma leader or teacher is, or has been, infallibly inspired, or that any one of them has, at all times, and in equal measure, commanded the gift of inspiration."

On the 9th of April, Mr. Sen delivered his second lecture

in the Town Hall, on the question *Who is Christ*, under the constraining influence, as he says, of his "love for Christ," and his "loyalty to Jesus." In the course of his lecture he professed unbounded love to, and admiration of, the person of Christ; as for example when he exclaimed towards its close:—"My Christ, "my sweet Christ, the necklace of my soul, the brightest jewel "of my heart. For twenty years have I cherished him in my "inmost soul, in my miserable heart. . . . The mighty "artillery of his love he levelled against me, and I was van- "quished and fell at his feet, saying, Blessed Child of God, when "shall others see the light that is in thee?" And the same tone runs throughout the whole lecture. It, indeed, appears in the highly flattering compliment to Christian missionaries, which we think should receive a corner in this *Review*. To the question, "What power is that, that sways the destinies of India at the "present moment?" he answered—

"That power is Christ. Christ rules British India, and not the British Government. England has sent us a tremendous moral force in the life and character of that mighty prophet to conquer and hold this vast empire. None but Jesus, none but Jesus, none but Jesus, ever deserved this bright, this precious diadem, India, and Christ shall have it. . . . It is not the British army that deserves any honor for holding India. If unto any army appertains the honor of holding India for England, that army is the army of Christian missionaries, headed by their invincible Captain, Jesus Christ. Their devotion, their self-abnegation, their philanthropy, their love of God, their attachment and allegiance to the truth, all these have found, and will continue to find, a deep place in the gratitude of our countrymen. Therefore it is needless, perfectly superfluous, for me to bestow any eulogium upon such tried friends and benefactors of our country. They have brought unto us Christ. They have given us the high code of Christian ethics, and their teachings and examples have secretly influenced and won thousands of non-Christian Hindus. Let England know that, thanks to the noble band of Christ's ambassadors sent by her, she has already succeeded in planting his banners in the heart of the nation. God's blessing and India's gratitude will therefore ever belong to men such as these, men of character, of truth, men who, in many instances, have been found ready to sacrifice even their lives for the sake of bearing witness unto the truth."

But what is Mr. Sen's answer to his own question "Who "is Christ?" His first point is that Christ is Eastern or Asiatic, and he complains strongly (we think much stronger than his facts warrant him) that missionaries make him Western and European. Protestant missionaries are complained of by Roman Catholics for making Christ a *Feringhi* (European) by their translating the Gospels into the vernacular languages of India! Mr. Sen does not make it very clear how missionaries have, in his opinion, made Christ Western.

But Christ was more than a mere Asiatic, a good man, a great man, whom Asiatics had learnt to love, honor and esteem:—

"Christ aspired to a higher position than that of a moralist in the affections and attachments of his followers. Yes, a higher and heavenlier

position,—that of a divine power. To that position he is entitled and that he demands. The question now is, are we, Indians, prepared to give him this high position in our hearts? Is Christ altogether human? Are we satisfied that there is nothing but earthy humanity in him? Have we given him all the honor he is entitled to when we have settled for him a place next to our conscience as a monitor? Verily, there is such a thing as Divinity in Christ."

So far we are agreed. Any unprejudiced reader of Christ's biographies, in the exercise of mere common sense, would come to the same conclusion. Mr. Sen, at the beginning of his lecture, had admitted that he was deficient in Biblical knowledge and that he was not "skilled in exegesis." This becomes very evident when he proceeds to explain the Divinity of Christ, or rather, we should say, explain it away, in "the philosophical principle underlying the popular doctrine of self-abnegation"—"the highest form of self-denial"—the emptying himself of all self, which Mr. Sen himself claimed in his preceding lecture to have done, and filling the void with God.

Jesus' pre-existence, he explains away in a like manner, into God's prescience:—

"Before the world was the Eternal God existed, and in his bosom slept Jesus, or rather the ideal Jesus. Yes, Christ was there with all his disciples, and all his apostles and prophets were there, yea, the whole picture of the economy of Providence in relation to the Christian dispensation."

"The tree lies potentially in the small acorn;" so Christ lay in God's eternal purpose. Still there seems to have been something supernatural about Christ. "The Lord (*i.e.* God) took away, if I may use the expression, the lower half of his holy nature, that much of it which related to the moral relationship of the Son, and he invested the same with flesh and bones and blood and sent it into the world," and called its name Jesus! Bengalis and Indians are frequently complained of for want of originality. That charge cannot any longer be brought against Mr. Sen, after propounding and defending such a theory. He confidently asks:— "Did Jesus say unto the world that he was himself the Father? He never said that"; and no Christians of the present day ever supposed that he did, though we are assured Mr. Sen was of opinion that that was the orthodox Christian doctrine. Mr. Sen well remarked:— "I do not think the so-called doctrine of [the] Trinity is properly understood or comprehended in Christendom." He is no doubt correct. The finite cannot properly comprehend the infinite. There was no necessity for his adding, "I do not pretend to understand the true position of the Son of God fully." He thinks that possibly other 2,000 years will be required to understand it thoroughly. Then we think he should not have dogmatized so very confidently against all Christendom as to the nature and

true position of the Son of God, as to his Idealism and Pantheism, his *Yogiism*, and *Bhaktatism*, of which nothing is to be found in the only authentic records that have come down to us concerning Christ's words and work, his life and death.

As in the case of the preceding lecture, the cardinal idea of this is concentrated into one of the XXXIX articles of the newly formed *Brahmist's Creed*. The twentieth article reads:—"I believe Jesus Christ to be the chief of all prophets and teachers."

As will be seen from our imperfect sketch Keshab Chandra Sen's Brahma Samaj is becoming more and more Christianized in certain directions; while in others it is becoming more Hinduized. This is admitted in Mr. Mazumdar's *Quarterly Review*, to which we have referred above, where it is said, "Christ's life and character are steadily growing to be a ruling power in the Brahma Samaj of India." Brahmists believe in their Samaj's "progressive developments in principle as well as in life and events." With such a faith and such a growth we leave them to the kind discriminating Christian sympathy of our readers.

K. S. M.

ART. VI.—RELIGION IN INDIA.

THE paper which leads off the April issue of the *Calcutta Review*,¹ though supplying nothing fresh to persons fairly acquainted with the religious systems of India, or possessing, as far as we can judge, any other special merits, has attracted attention from the place given to it, and the marked contrast of its tone with the traditional tone of that journal. The constituency of the *Calcutta Review*, and the Indian reading public generally had, it is true, been warned of a change in this respect by a prospectus lately published, in which the proprietor, referring with pardonable pride to "the high literary excellence "and brilliant scholarship" that characterized the *Review's* earlier years, expresses his belief, "that these qualities were associated "with a tone of thought which has now almost come to be reckoned "with the phenomena of the past," and announces a "wider "platform" for the future. The allusion is, we suppose, to the tone struck by men like the Lawrences, the missionaries Duff, Mackay, Yates, Wenger, and men like Marshman, Bannerjea, Seton-Karr, Macleod Wylie, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir William Muir, and a host of others. Perhaps some readers of the *Review* may, with ourselves, be disposed to remark that the new tone *of itself* will hardly supply the place of the other qualities, and that if John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer are to lead in any department, "literary "excellence and brilliant scholarship" will be wanted more than ever.

The writer of the article, Mr. Keene, in a sketch of Religion in India from Vedic times down to the late split in the church of the Brahmists, aims at shewing, that system after system has proved its inefficiency, and that Christianity is no exception; that the notion of a supernatural Revelation that vitiates it and all the other systems must be discarded as unverifiable; and that the Religion of the future for India will be that, and that only, which based on "the phenomena of the Kosmos," proceeds in the line of "practical scientific education," and rings true to the tap of the human intellect,—"the only known instrument of "all material, moral and religious improvement." "On that "rock," says he, "if we but build our church," the gates,—but no, the quotation is broken—"all necessary truth may be reasonably hoped for." It was wiser in Mr. Keene to break the metaphor than to complete the quotation.

The article begins with an allusion to the difficulty of handling the religious question, regarded, as it is, with intense anxiety by many excellent persons, who "are apt to assume

¹ *Religion in India*: by H. G. Keene. *Calcutta Review*, April, 1879.

“that their own religion is the only religion, and that an impious hand is about to be laid on the sacred shrine.” Mr. Keene, however, assures his readers that they need be under no apprehension of this sort, for he intends dealing with no particular form of religion, but only with religion in the abstract; that “deep-seated sense of reverential awe towards the unseen, which is a necessity of the human heart.” With some surprise we found ourselves reading in the next sentence,—“The purpose of this paper is to enquire into the past, present, and future of Indian *creeds* ;” and as a matter of fact, the discussion throughout turns on the failure of all revelations and practical forms of religion, including Christianity, the Scriptures of which Mr. Keene describes as “a collection of obscure and discrepant old documents.” With religion in the abstract the article has little more to do than it has with the Afghan expedition. And if Mr. Keene meant to smoothe the rising ruffles of his religious readers, he might surely have shewed a little more tact than to announce two purposes so obviously incompatible, with the same breath. Let the reader fancy, if he can, a series of arguments intended to shew that Hinduism, Islam, or Christianity is not the proper religion for India, having nothing to do with any particular form of religion !

As far as Christianity is concerned, Mr. Keene supports his position by such arguments as these :—The comparative numerical inferiority of Christians in the world at large : the failure of the earlier efforts of Roman Catholic propagandists in India, together with the subsequent total collapse of Romanism as a missionary agency ; the difficulties in the way of the natives inseparable from Christianity itself, for example, its dogmatic aspect, its sectarian divergencies, its impregnation with European ideas ; and the obvious failure of modern Protestant missions, whose Christianity has hitherto been offered to Hindus and Musalmans in vain, and is, indeed, in any of its forms unsuited to them. Our readers will see that the article traverses a well-beaten road, and they will demand an apology from us for asking them to trudge it again, unless Mr. Keene has started something fresh. Of this they must be judges.

Properly to lower the pretensions of Christianity at the outset, Mr. Keene sets before us the statistical table of the religions of the world usually found in our almanacs, whence it appears,—“that either in India or in the world at large, the various sects of Christianity do not form an aggregate much larger than the sum total of Hinduism and Islam, or as large as Buddhism alone.” We admit this at once as a serious fact which Christians should, and do, ponder. It does not affect them, however, as it does Mr. Keene. And they will ask if he means to contend that because there are two Christians in the world to five Pagans, Paganism is the better thing ; or because in Calcutta, say, the

liars outnumber the true men, truth must be regarded as a failure as far as that city is concerned¹. A poor beginning, our readers will say, that should not have called for notice, but that as an argument it colors the whole of Mr. Keene's article. We allow him all he can make of it in the meantime, and merely call attention to the curious fact that Buddhism, the religion of greatest numerical strength, has been in reality the least powerful in its *hold* on men, and the least successful in obtaining the results it aimed at. With all the good things Professor Blackie and Mr. Keene can say of it, the "law of the wheel" has been rolling about during all the centuries of its existence in search of stability, and has found none. No system has proved more pervious to assault; no religion has done less for the high morality it professes to aim at²; no religion is more effete at the present moment than that which numbers nearly half the population of the world.

The next step in the demonstration of the failure of Christianity in India is a sketch of the early Roman Catholic missions. Mr. Keene has a good deal to say in favor of Romanists, and regrets the fruitlessness of their labors. The excellence of many of them, men and women, disposes him "to forget the "Spanish Inquisition, Galileo, Bruno, St. Bartholomew's day, "and the Oxford martyrs." How far those elements in the Romish system that produced the Inquisition and St. Bartholomew's day enter still into the education of those "excellent men "and women" he does not stay to ask; but he thinks that "almost "any discipline will make men useful and virtuous, so that it be "but sincerely received and undergone." "Such cases as that "of the brothers Newman shew what is happening. Honest men "starting from the same place find their roads bifurcate. . . . "The convinced Catholic is as much exercising an act of volition "in taking upon him the yoke of the Church as the professed free-thinker in refusing it: and in both instances the working of the "will is alike subordinate to a higher guidance." We might ask Mr. Keene what the test of sincerity and honesty in submitting to discipline may be? He would find it difficult to prove that there was less of these qualities in such notable Catholics as Philip the Second of Spain, or his friend and lieutenant the Duke

¹ "What impresses Mr. Keene first is the fact that there are more people who vote for Hinduism or for Buddhism than for Christianity. What does this prove? Not surely that Hinduism is better than Christianity; but simply that men like it better. From the beginning of the world men have preferred their own will to that of God. Even those who had been in a measure prepared for the advent of the Messiah voted him out of the world, and did not breathe freely till they saw him hanging on the cross. What does this prove? Certainly nothing at all against Christ, but a great deal against those who crucified him."—*Bombay Guardian*.

² See the *Life of Judson of Burma*, and note the morality of Buddhist countries, where Christian civilization has not yet penetrated.

of Alva than in those "bravest of men" he has in his eye,—difficult to prove that either the "honesty" or the "discipline" was different in the cases of "the poorest and most beneficent of women," our Indian nunneries, and Mary the Bloody, or Catherine de Medici. But let us take an illustration at Mr. Keene's own hands, and in connection with his arguments of the fruits of Romish discipline:—

"It is, indeed, believed that the Romish missionaries in Southern India at one time availed themselves of this liberality of the Hindu mind to introduce a semblance of success into their work. Thus Krishna, repainted, did duty as Christ, and the image of his mother was baptised 'Mary.' Whether this happened or not, it is quite probable."

Is it so? Quite probable? Then it proves much; as much as this, that it is no great wonder that Romish missions failed in India, that they were without the blessing of God or a favorable reception on the part of the people. The device of those "excellent men and women," to which their "discipline" must surely have in some way contributed, conspicuously failed, Hindus having judgment enough to observe that Pagan Christianity had nothing better to offer them than their own Pagan Paganism. We should not overlook the attitude of the people of India towards Romish missions. Instead of helping to prove, as Mr. Keene tries to show, that Christianity must fail, it helps considerably towards proving that it will succeed. Hindus reject Romanism, but not for the same reason that they reject Christianity. Mr Keene's meagre sketch of Romish missions shews that the Hindus have never thought it worth while to oppose or persecute them. And what was unworthy of opposition was unworthy of reception. But let us turn for a moment to the inference he draws from the failure of Romish missions:—

"It must therefore be fairly ranked among the possibilities of the problem that orthodox Protestantism may be rather losing than gaining ground. The general diffusion of ignorance, the traditional terrors of Ultramontaniam, the tenacity of the British character, and the half way tendencies of Ritualism may combine, for an indefinite period, to preserve for it a semblance of life. But that period cannot be of long duration, and it may be very swiftly brought to an end sooner or later—perhaps sooner."

This is asserted of Protestantism generally, and of Protestant missions as a consequence. Of course it is with the latter we are mainly concerned, and what we wish to observe is the remarkable nature of Mr. Keene's inference. It is drawn exclusively from the collapse of Romish missions. It must proceed on the understanding that Romanism and Protestantism are much the same thing. But will Mr. Keene deny the attestation of all history to their essential difference? Was there *nothing*, on philosophic grounds, setting aside for the moment *all others*,—no distinction in the genius of the systems as well as in their modes, to caution him against such a conclusion? Had

the systems resembled each other much more closely, it would yet have been a rash and unphilosophical inference that the action and product of each on the Hindu and Musalman mind would be the same. But it is a matter patent to Mr. Keene's observation, a simple historical fact, that Protestant action in India has resembled that of Rome in no respect whatever, and this puts us in a position to estimate the value of the inference. The trick of slumping things that differ is a resort of a class of writers in these days who would take it ill if the keenness of their dialectic were called in question; but if they will resort to a ruse so obvious, any boy, after his first lesson in logic, will offer to them their choice of the horn of the dilemma, incapacity or unfairness.

We are indebted to Mr. Keene for an enumeration of causes which, combined, may preserve for "Orthodox Protestantism" a semblance of life for some time yet—its real life having, as he thinks, already expired. Protestants will, we fancy, open their eyes wide over this enumeration—"the general diffusion of ignorance, the traditional terrors of Ultramontaniam, the tenacity of the British character, and the half-way tendencies of Ritualism"! These are our supports—broken reeds, we grant. Alas for us! We have deluded ourselves by the idea that the advantages secured for us by Luther and the reformers—an open Bible, the right of private judgment, a free education, and a Gospel-ministry instead of a lordly hierarchy—would be a heritage for us and for our children for ever. Blind beetles that we were! Mr. Keene assures us our doctrine of private judgment is a delusion, as it is "fettered by absolute submission to a collection of obscure and discrepant old documents, and by obedience only less absolute to an undisciplined hierarchy without credentials." It, then, and all our other fancied advantages, must go. They but stand in the way of "scientific progress," the herald of the True Reformation and True Religion of the future.

Let us proceed however to the *fact* of the failure of Christianity in India—Christianity as such. Mr. Keene says:—

"The connection of these considerations with India ought to be obvious. It is estimated that the Peninsula contains two hundred millions of inhabitants, more or less directly subjected to British sway, who are none of them Christians. About one million more are estimated (in British India at least) in heart or in name as believers in some form or other of Christianity. Multitudes of good and benevolent persons in the British Islands have been, for more than three quarters of a century, sending out preachers to produce a portion of this small percentage; another portion of it represents descendants from converts acquired by the labors of Xavier, and other pious Romanists during a period of more than three hundred years. (S. Francis came to Goa in 1542. Acquaviva and Firmilian we have seen at Agra before the end of the sixteenth century). All earnest members of the various sects and denominations in Christendom are justified in asking,

why has so small an impression been made? Still more may the historical student inquire whether, if so little has been done in past years, there is reason for believing that more is likely to be done in future?"

One may reasonably inquire *when* the opponents of Christian missions are to cease harping on this string? Sixty years ago Sydney Smith, in the *Edinburgh*, led off the cry with his,—“2ndly. Another reason for giving up the task of conversion is the want of success,” and yet, here we have the leading article of the *Calcutta Review*, for April 1879, the burden of which is the weary common-place iteration. Can nothing fresh be found even on the supposition that this is true? Why do they oblige us to weary their souls and our own also with the very proper corresponding common-places, Rome was not built in a day—little and little—slow and sure? Mr. Keene himself appears to have observed that civilization does not always travel *pari passu*, and to have found periods in English history longer than “three-quarters of a century” when progress of that kind appeared “to go forward in a backsliding course.” Are seventy-five years then so immense a period in which to lay the foundation and accomplish the structure of a vast moral enterprise? Seventy-five years to the instruction and conversion of two hundred millions of people! Why is this Calcutta Reviewer, *et id omne genus*, so very impatient? Surely if those engaged in the work can afford to proceed deliberately in the use of their appliances, and can wait as well as labor, it is not unreasonable that they should be allowed to do so. It is not objected to them that they stand in the way of reform from other quarters and in other directions, not even in the way of “practical scientific education,” which is Mr. Keene’s panacea for the religious ills of India. On the contrary it appears to us that it would not by any means be difficult to prove that any reform in India worthy of the name owes its impulse to that Christianity, which loads the minds of so many with the incubus of its failure.

The assertion of failure, however, we pointedly deny, and offer proofs which, in the judgment of candid and impartial men of whatsoever persuasion, ought to be more than sufficient. These proofs have been abundantly supplied by this *Review* again and again.¹ All, however, are with wonderful unanimity ignored by writers like Mr. Keene, who appear to have time to devote to only one side of the question, or who, when pressed to fairness, tell us our statements are untrustworthy. The insult and the injury alike, will, in the natural course of things, recoil on the heads of their authors. But we will not bind down Mr. Keene to

¹ *Indian Evangelical Review*, vol. i., pp. 137, 428; vol. ii., 359; vol. iii., 1, 96-98. And generally the Notes and Intelligence in all the volumes.

a refutation of his assertion of failure to missionary statements. A book lies on his table—the India Office Report for 1873—which supplies material for complete refutation. And when we add that since the publication of that Report almost every department of missionary work has been strengthened, and even, numerically, immense advances have been made, we consider the charge of failure as more than met and exploded. Every year the native church of India has accessions by thousands.¹ We need only refer to the late wholesale movements towards Christianity in Southern India. But what of all this? An argument for “failure” that has stood the test of sixty years, that came into use before success could have been achieved, and has survived that very achievement, is too good to be surrendered. What would our “publicists,” as Mr. Keene calls them, do without it? The loss to them would be simply fatal. It would have actually saved the world the last onslaught in *Fraser’s* and a whole leading paper in the *Calcutta Review*! Could the world afford to lose productions like these? One thing, however, the “publicists” should not overlook, and that is, that if Sydney Smith correctly described the work of Christian missions as a failure, theirs has been the business for the last fifty years of “pouring water on “the drowned rat.” Perhaps, in course of time, they will seek more dignified occupation.

Omitting many other considerations let our readers regard Christianity as a new system of faith introduced into India seventy-five years ago. Two hundred millions of people were to be instructed, and two or three teachers were appointed to the work. Any native who should profess adhesion to the new system was required to exhibit a certain degree of knowledge of its doctrines which were not only new, but in contrast with former old and cherished beliefs, highly unpalatable. Suppose the teachers of the new doctrines, with every prejudice and every prepossession of the people against them, and a multiplicity of other difficulties as to language, customs, climate, etc., to encounter; having also the power of Government long and resolutely arrayed against them, and laboring under the further disadvantage of belonging to the ruling race, and withal not allowed

¹ “Considering the several provinces of India, the increase has been as follows :—At the end of the year 1861, there were in Bengal, including Behar, 20,518 Christians; at the close of 1871, there were 46,968; while the communicants advanced from 4,620 to 13,502. In the North-Western Provinces, the Christian community has nearly doubled. In Oudh, the increase has been at the rate of 175 per cent.; in the Panjab of 64 per cent.; in Central India of nearly 400 per cent; and in Bombay of 64 per cent. The greatest aggregate increase in all India has been in the Madras Presidency, where there are 160,955 Christians in contrast with 110,078 ten years ago.” Paper by Rev. M. A. Sherring, LL.B., in Allahabad Missionary Conference Report, 1873.

to have recourse to weapons, whether spiritual like those of the Jesuits, or carnal like those of Muhammad, saving only instructions and persuasion, suppose that those teachers, with of course augmented numbers, have in these seventy-five years occupied every important centre of population over a great continent, planting a thousand stations, at each of which agencies, evangelistic and educational, are at work, and converts, in smaller or greater numbers are found, drawn from every caste and class of the people, even from those who had every reason to be most bitterly opposed to the new doctrines; and suppose that at the end of this time, a numerical result of nearly half a million of converts could be reckoned, and an influence gained for the new system that was felt in every department of the national life, that had brought about most important social, moral, and educational reforms, and that was resolutely going on, without appearance of weariness, to increase its powers and its numbers—the question is, whether on any ordinary honest principles of judgment, such a system, so conditioned, can be described as a failure? We write with pain, because we feel that the supposition is in every respect deficient as a representation of the position achieved by Protestant missions in India. And we hold that the assertions of failure are, in view of the merest facts of the case, miserable special pleading, an insult to the understanding, and a falsification of plainest historic verity.

Mr. Keene considers the difficulties in the way of Christianity in India so great as not only to leave no room for surprise at the rate of progress, but to make it clear to him that progress is impossible. We believe that no advantage can result to Christianity from underrating the difficulties; but our readers will agree, on examining Mr. Keene's "difficulties," that from them at least we have not much to fear. In point of fact, we think it will appear that under the guise of obstructions and objections Mr. Keene succeeds in producing a few notable testimonies in favor both of the power and success of Christianity in this country. He considers the effects of Christianity first on the higher classes and finer minds among the people, and then its effects on the masses. Regarding the former he adduces the case of Ram Mohan Rai, as "worth the study of the friends of "Christian missions," shewing "the effect their operations are "calculated to produce on the higher Asiatic natures," it being "far "easier to unsettle such minds and render them permanently "weak and anxious, than it is to give them any abiding assurance "as regards the unverifiable." It will doubtless surprise many who are acquainted with the history of the great Hindu Reformer that he, of all men, should illustrate the damaging effects of Christianity. They will learn, however, from Mr. Keene's article, that the Raja, during his life-time, suffered sadly from that

religion, and that at last it was the means, indirectly, of killing him outright. Here is Mr. Keene's authority for the statement :—

“Of the difficulties that exist some idea may be suggested by the story of Ram Mohan Rai thus pathetically summarized in Miss Martineau's *History of the Peace* (Book IV., Chap. X) :—‘He became a Christian, and gloried till he came to England in the liberty and liberality secured, as he believed, by that faith. He learned the languages necessary for studying the Scriptures in the original ; and, from them he directly derived his views of the comprehension, charity, and fundamental freedom of the Christian religion. He arrived in England in 1831, to watch over the reconstruction of the Company's Charter. The impressible Hindu was sufficiently excited by the merely political movements of the time ; but its religious conflicts affected him much more deeply. He could not recognize the Christianity he had learned and so dearly loved amidst the pretension of the Tractarians and the asceticism of the Evangelicals, and the wrath of the Irish Protestants, and the tumult of the Irish Catholics, and the contests between the Church and the Dissenters, and the widening split in the Scottish Church, and the profane antics of the Irvingites. He went to hear all within his reach, he poured out his wondered sorrow at what he saw, and he wasted day by day. A sickly hue, not concealed by the dark skin, settled on his cheek ; the hair round the turban become thin and lank ; . . . the cheerful voice grew listless and hoarse ; the light of the eye went out. . . . he sank at the first touch of illness.’ ”

A tragical account indeed, and startling besides, for of all we had ever heard or read of the Raja, our memory refused to bring back any elements of the kind. Two biographical accounts of him, evidently written *con amore*, lie before us—a very good one in the *Calcutta Review*,¹ belonging, however, to the time when “literary excellence and brilliant scholarship” were still in the ascendant, and one by Miss Mary Carpenter² written with special reference to the Raja's visit to England. It would have been well to have compared these sober accounts with the sensational sentences of Miss Martineau. A few things are plain. Ram Mohan Rai did not derive his first religious impressions from Christian missionaries at all. In his earliest vernacular studies he imbibed ideas contrary to the prevailing forms of religion ; and the blame, if blame it must be, of unsettling his mind is due to the Koran and Muhammadan teaching. At a later period, he took up the study of the Christian Scriptures, quietly, deliberately, and without any pressure whatever from without ; and he speaks thus for himself :—“The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been, that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge.”³

¹ *Calcutta Review*, vol. iv., No. viii., Art. iv.

² *The last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy*. By Mary Carpenter.

³ *Ibid.* p. 6.

This was the deliberate conviction of his riper years. But the earlier Calcutta Reviewer tells us that while yet young, he renounced Hinduism, and manfully asserted his principles, braving the risk of losing his earthly maintenance, and all sorts of obloquy. And the Reviewer adds:—"The tenderness of youth "when associated with such moral courage and such energy and "independence of character challenges our admiration, and "exhibits an interesting, we had almost said a sublime, spectacle." In like manner, Miss Carpenter shews on every page of her book a man precisely the reverse, of "unsettled," "weak," or "anxious",—one indeed who would not identify himself with any distinct denomination of Christians, but was firm and resolute as to the points he held, viz. the ethical system of Christianity *plus* a good deal more of its dogmatic teaching than is received by our modern Samajists, his professed followers. He held, neither weakly nor anxiously, the Divine Mission of Christ, and believed in the future triumph of his religion. John Foster, who conversed with him again and again, testifies that he believed in the Resurrection of Christ, and in the Christian miracles generally. Miss Carpenter and her father hold themselves responsible for many similar testimonies which we cannot stay to quote.¹ What do they all prove? that the operation of Christianity on this "higher Asiatic nature" had "unsettled "it, and rendered it permanently weak and anxious"? Was it not precisely the reverse?—bringing, as far as it was received, peace, comfort, strength and stability?

There remains Miss Martineau's "pathetical summary" of the Raja's last days. The catastrophe, however, which that lady attributes, and attributes wholly, to the religious conflicts he saw in England, Mr. Keene by a curious jumble of ideas, attributes to missionary operations in India. For, after quoting the tragical account up to the Raja's sinking at the first touch of illness, he adds, that "the picture is worth the study of the "friends of Christian missions; as a hint of the effect *their* operations are calculated to produce upon the higher Asiatic natures." Why, it is as manifest as the light of day can make it, that the friends of Christian missions never operated on Ram Mohan Rai at all whether in India or in England; and that they can neither be credited with the unsettling and weakening of that noble mind, nor with the snuffing it out at last! But this granted, is Miss Martineau's a reliable account of the Raja's last days? We certainly find no corroboration of it in any literature on the subject we can lay hands on. Miss Carpenter's is a very full, careful, eye-witness, and ear-witness, statement of his visit to England, of his illness and death; and on the supposition that the conflict

¹ *Ibid.* p. 118, ff.

of the sects was the proximate cause, she was assuredly not so partial to them as to exclude all allusion to it. Yet in her statement, so full of details of all that befell him from the moment of his arrival in England, of his own sayings and doings, and of what others said and did regarding him, including too, minute accounts of his sickness and death-bed sayings by most intelligent persons who waited on him with brotherly and sisterly devotion, not one word is to be found hinting even remotely that the religious differences of English Christians cost the Hindu a single pang, or called forth a distressed utterance, much less that they had anything to do with his illness or death. Nor is the slightest allusion of the kind to be found in the exhaustive article in the *Calcutta Review* already referred to, although it describes minutely the disease that carried him off—a bilious attack aggravated by the climate of Europe, inducing a pulmonary affection, the whole followed by a violent fever ending in delirium, stupor and death. Ram Mohan Rai's relation to 'Religion in India' will be our excuse for detaining the reader over Mr. Keene's singular allusions to him. A better example could not have been presented of the wholesome effects of Christian truth, calmly considered, on a naturally generous mind, and this is but another way of saying, that it proves the opposite of what it was intended to prove. Mr. Keene is afraid that his assertions of the unsettling and weakening effects of Christian operations as illustrated by such a case, may excite the ire of clerical readers, and lead them to call him "Atheist, and other bad names—as is 'their unhappy custom'";—for ourselves, we can honestly say that we are not tempted to more than the mild asseveration that one rarely meets in a respectable journal so hopeless a jumble as characterizes this whole allusion to Ram Mohan Rai.¹

Disposing after this fashion of the effects of Christianity on the higher Asiatic natures, Mr. Keene turns to the masses, among whom its failure is so evident, that no evidence, or next

¹ Ashreweye and ready pen have elsewhere exposed the slipshod thinking and writing characteristic of this article. Says Mr. Keene:—"Between the death of Elizabeth and the last years of George III. social and intellectual matters made but little movement; the Crown and the Peerage maintained in politics—with one memorable interruption—the same sort of ascendancy that the Bible did in the world of belief, and the classics in that of thought and science. In the first quarter of the present century all began to be attacked at once; and by the end of the second the authority of all had well-nigh melted like figures of snow in a great thaw." "Now"—asks the *Bombay Guardian*—"What does the word *all* in the last sentence refer to? To the Crown and the Peerage, the Bible and the classics mentioned in the first sentence. So we are asked to believe, and the people of this country are asked to believe, that the Crown and Peerage of Great Britain, the Bible and the classics, had, by the end of the second quarter of the present century, well nigh melted like figures of snow in a great thaw!"

to none, is needed to prove it. All at least that he considers necessary to adduce is a sentence from the letter of the united Anglican Bishops of India to the English clergy, dated May 1874, in which it is asserted that there is nothing to "warrant the" opinion that the heart of the people has been largely touched," or any advance made "in the direction of faith in Christ." Mr. Keene is probably ignorant of the criticism to which this letter has been subjected,¹ and of the fact that it can have no further value than as it refers to missions under the inspection of the writers. To us, it is even doubtful if all English Church missions will accept its representations as any fair account of their gains for Christ. As for other societies, those of the Established and Free Churches of Scotland, the London Missionary Society, the Baptist and Wesleyan Societies, the Methodist Episcopal Mission, and many other European and American societies, they will, without exception, repudiate the Bishop's letter as a representation of missionary success or prospects. The year before the issue of that letter, Mr. Sherring's paper—*On the Progress and Prospects of Missions in India*,—was published, a document which the Government of India endorsed, so far as to found upon it many of the statements in its own Report for that year of the material and moral progress of India, which Mr. Keene has lying before him; we ask again, why no balance of testimony is struck in important matters of this kind? These two documents are as wide as the poles asunder in their tone and in their substance. The one is dark, dubious, despairing, and without statistical or other support; the other is cheerful, hopeful, faithful, and abounds with carefully gathered and carefully sifted figures, of which we have already given an example.² But not to dwell on points already discussed, we would suggest to writers like Mr. Keene the testing of both sides of this question by a little personal observation. We are familiar with exclamations of surprise on the part of friends when we have shewn them mission work and its fruits in their own immediate neighborhood. Bring the matter to an issue. The field is not won. Hinduism and Muhammadanism are not yet seriously affected. Probably it was nothing more than this the Bishops meant to say, though their letter has been used to establish a different proposition, that Christianity is a failure in India. All that we have to shew is that instead of suggesting failure, or looking in that direction, missionary operations and results are eminently hope-inspiring. The masses are assailed, and the mass itself quivers under the stroke. An occasional lugubrious groan from our own side, *echoed* by the sixty-year old cry of the Sydney Smithites can do

¹ See Vol. II. of this Review, pp. 104, 112.

² See also Mr. Sherring's *History of Protestant Missions in India*.

little to arrest men inspired with the faith of Christ. They are pledged to Him that the flag already flying on a thousand heights shall yet fly on thousands more, "to draw the wondering eyes," and that it shall not be lowered until His sway be universally acknowledged.

This, however, we shall be told, but begs the whole question. We halloo before we are out of the wood. Mr. Keene has no end of difficulties for us to overcome before we reach that point,—difficulties internal and external; still hackneyed, however, thread-bare, "flat, stale, and unprofitable," but real, as he thinks, and insuperable, too.

"What else," he exclaims, (than the "stagnation" described by the Bishops) "can be reasonably expected from so confused a teaching, where one is of Paul and another of Cephas; and where worst of all, one proclaims the necessity of tradition as an interpreter of Revelation; while numbers of others, holding with Whately that Scripture is rather needed as the interpreter of traditional doctrine, insist in practice each upon his own interpretation of the Divine message? It cannot be necessary here to enter a second protest against the supposition that this paper has any pretensions to pronounce as to the merits of any one of these denominations. All that it can presume to point out, and that is not much, is that they cannot all be right.¹ If therefore any one particular school, sect or church, enjoys a monopoly of Divine truth, one might naturally and reasonably expect that it would prevail. By the inherent beauty and aptness of its doctrines, and by the purity of its followers' lives, if not by actual signs and wonders, that sacred system might be attested and warranted in such a manner that no candid inquirer could fail to remark its immeasurable superiority. Above all things its teachings would tally most strictly, if not otherwise verifiable in themselves, with all the verifiable parts of that other unquestioned Revelation of himself which the Creator has set before us in His works. Now, honestly, is there such a system to be produced when the people of India ask, what is your religion?"

Roman Catholic missions failed in India though undistracted by "sects;" much more must Protestant missions, with their confused and sectional teaching. So Mr. Keene, echoing a familiar cry. But he should look at this question more narrowly. We shall give him all who claim the necessity of tradition as an interpreter of Scripture, for those do not constitute a Protestant

¹ The reader will see that Mr. Keene has advanced a stage here. The only "protest" he had made before was that he did not intend dealing with religion in its concrete forms at all; and we have seen how he stood to it. Here he marshals the whole of these "forms," inspects them, and concludes they cannot all be right. We agree with him that he has not made a great discovery.

“sect:” and we shall cite all moderate Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Independents, and inquire what they teach which is so confusing or divergent from the standard of doctrinal beauty, aptness and purity, or so inconsistent with the teachings of natural religion, that the natives of India are perplexed thereby? No one of these “sects” has a monopoly of Divine truth simply because they hold that truth in common. They have a common standard of religion and morals which they place before the people of this country, a fact of which Mr. Keene should not be ignorant. If it be the standard to which he objects, as is probable from the way in which he describes it,—“a collection of obscure “and discrepant old documents,”—it is not worth his while to carp at the much smaller matter of divergencies of opinion in those who agree in holding it. His business is to deal directly with the standard. Of that standard we affirm that it is equal to all his demands. “By the inherent beauty and aptness of its doctrines, “by the purity of its followers’ lives, it has been attested and “warranted in such a manner that no candid inquirer can fail “to remark its immeasurable superiority.” Moreover “its teachings tally most strictly with all the verifiable parts” of natural revelation, though not of necessity tallying with all the findings of modern science, which themselves have yet to be verified.

And what of the “sects”? The outcry against them has long been a *ruse* of native opposition to Christianity, but it will have to be dropped “sooner or later—perhaps sooner” as Hindu Reformers may perceive by the splits in their own camp. Sectional distinctions among Protestant Christians are in many cases badges of honor, associated historically with intellectual and conscientious convictions, which exalt and ennoble their wearers; and they are worn without any relaxation of hold on the common standard and without special damage to it. Nor is there great danger of their proving a stumbling-block to Hindus and Musalmans, as Mr. Keene fears. Intelligent men of all races can appreciate variety of view or opinion; *that* will be found to prevail even among the disciples of Herbert Spencer. Candid inquirers will surmount this difficulty, as indeed they have done already, and are daily doing by thousands. Relatively to the systems with which Christianity copes in India and relatively to the unity of its movement against them, its “sects” are of small account, and indeed in some respects have an advantageous action; they are divisions of a common force, sustaining the fighting power by an occasional harmless skirmish with each other, keeping steadily their common front and common advance. The Christianity subjectively held and objectively offered to the people by Protestant denominations is one.

Differing thus widely from Mr. Keene on what Christianity is, and on what it has done and will yet do for India,—differing

also as to the remedy to be proposed,—we are happy to be in full agreement with him on one point, undoubtedly a main one in the discussion,—the urgent need the people of this country have of a true system. His sketch of Hindu religion and philosophy, of Buddhism, Islam, and the Samaj, is intended to shew this, and does sufficiently shew it. In other respects the sketch appears to us to be superficial and of little real value. The disintegrating forces in these systems are not pointed out; and Mr. Keene looks at them intellectually and socially rather than morally. As for Hinduism, the absence of the moral element, or rather of the moral dynamic, accounts sufficiently for its successive plunges into a deeper and still deeper impurity. But it accounts for more—the monstrous religiousness of the system, “its meaningless minutiae of observances,” as noted by Mr. Keene. For these are qualities that in all systems, not excepting Christianity, rise as the other falls. Ram Mohun Rai tells us that he “found Hindus in general more superstitious “and miserable, both in performance of their religious rites and “in their domestic concerns, than the rest of the known nations “of the earth.” The most religious people in the world the most superstitious and miserable! True moral liberty and happiness absent in proportion to the presence of religion! Yet, if intellect, to which Mr. Keene attaches supreme importance, had been enough, surely the Hindus, confessedly a highly intellectual people, would have been saved; and if natural religion, and “the phenomena of the Kosmos,” had been enough, never had they a fairer trial, whether as regards the pages of nature presented for study, or the minds that applied to them, than they had in the Vedic era. Mr. Keene is struck with this, and he should have been more struck. We believe his theory of a natural system is refuted by his own pages. “The Sankhya “School,” he tells us, “with brilliant generalization almost anticipating the modern scheme of Herbert Spencer, taught that “the source of matter and of force was eternal and uniform, “and that the phenomenal Kosmos was born of the union of “evolution with the perceiving mind.” But if such findings of so remote a period, coming so near to those of the modern school have done so little for the religion and morals of India, what is there to encourage us to adopt Mr. Keene’s grand remedy, the book of nature and “practical scientific education?” Nay, is not the Hinduism Mr. Keene contemplates with disgust the legitimate offspring of this same Pantheistic generalization, and of that Nature-worship that men so early learned to substitute for the revelations of natural religion? Will Mr. Keene take us back three thousand years that we may acquire again the elements of a religion that *appears to us*, in its latest developments, the most gigantic, grotesque, and hideous superstition the world has produced?

To Buddha the Hindu system, as existing in his day, appeared quite unequal to the proper business of religion. His idea was not unlike that propounded by Mr. Keene, which, becoming enough in the ancient sage, sounds queerly to us in these days. "Worship and reverence are eternal needs of man which 'objective knowledge can neither satisfy nor destroy.'" Gautama, however, shelved the objective entirely, and turned to man subjectively as, to all intents and purposes, the only being in the universe. Ideal moral perfection is the true Divinity and *Nirvana* its goal. Proceed thither, says Gautama, dropping the defilements of the world as you go. But what if they would not drop? And what if, as Mr. Keene says, "Ritualism, credulity, hope, 'fear, sensuousness, all lived on side by side with it [Buddha's 'gospel], ever effacing it more and more from the humble, hard-worked masses, and from the idle aristocracy alike; till at last 'the law of the wheel' disappeared from India!" Morality without God, pure subjectivism, has had in Buddhism the fairest possible trial; deified immorality in the form of Krishna has been more than a match for it.

Islam was in its origin a reforming system, as Buddhism was, but of Semitic caste. It aimed at truth, but was wrecked, even during the prophet's life, on the rock of human ambition. Confounding the moral standard already known, taking and rejecting after its own pleasure, Islam mingles light and darkness, truth and error, not as other systems do, fortuitously, but with deliberation. This is "the undeniable weakness" which Mr. Keene sees without accounting for, nor need he wonder at Islam's fading glories, the shorn strength of its erewhile hardy warriors, its falling domes and minars, its dying art and literature. Something may be hoped indeed from the entrance among Musalmans of "modern thought and science," but not in the direction of resuscitating Islam. These are held out by writers like Mr. Keene as fatal to the claims of Christianity, at any rate in its dogmatic aspect; how much more must they be fatal to an essentially dogmatic system. Sayad Ahmad Khan may turn the youths of his college into more liberal deists, but he could take no surer way of making them bad Muhammadans.

With the Samajists Mr. Keene appears to sympathize less than missionaries do. The origin of the movement, studied in the history of Ram Mohan Rai, might have made it more interesting and promising to him. Had Chandra Sen followed the Raja more closely in spirit, even although he had not become Christian, he would have secured even and steadfast progress. The Samaj is a great half-effort after a true system, not so sincere in its later developments as Buddhism was, and dominated still by the natural. The Brahmists are fond of definition. They have defined God and themselves; he is father and they

are all brethren. The error is that of defect, for God is *more*, and so too are they. A great and good father, even during the course of human history, has had to dispose of a criminal son on the principles of rigid justice. Defective definitions in fundamentals vitiate all that follows. Sin and moral helplessness are too much for the Brahmists. Still let us not disallow progress. The break-up of the party is no unhealthy sign; it is a touch of Protestantism.

Mr. Keene tells us that he sees "very plainly" that Christianity has been offered to the people of this country in vain, and that it is "unsuited to them in any of its existing forms." To what then are we to turn? To "modern civilization"? No, for "with moral philosophy and metaphysical systems dancing round her, and a train of constables to clear the way, she, too, comes somewhat short." What then? Well, there is one kind of teaching, which from its inherent powers, as well as from the increased attention our University authorities are giving to it, may yet be the hope of India, meeting the wants of the idolater, the atheistic Buddhist, the superstitious Musalman, the unsettled Samajist, and the increasing flock of doubters generally, and that is *Physical Science*. Here is our panacea for present evils, and India's hope for the future; and this is Mr. Keene's contribution towards solving the grand problem of "Religion in India."

There is some obscurity either in our apprehension or in Mr. Keene's expression of his idea. It is doubtful if any class of fairly intelligent men, belonging to any of all the religious systems he has been reviewing, will do other than applaud the increased attention given to the study of physical science; least of all Christian missionaries. They were the heralds, and have remained the warmest friends and supporters of liberal education, many of them keeping up the teaching of physical science in their colleges though not countenanced by University or Government authorities. All the light on the ways of God, and on the religious question that nature can supply has ever been welcomed by them. The Bible, to which they subscribe, distinctly recognizes the province of natural religion, and declares that men, without other revelation will be without excuse if they do not learn the invisible things of God from the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead.¹ We therefore go all this length with him. But are we to reject the greater because we have the smaller light? Or is it materialism after all that has seduced Mr. Keene? Has he estimated the effect on Hindu superstition of the "brilliant generalization" of the Sankhya Philosophy? or the effect on the religious consciousness of men

¹ Romans i. 20.

in these days of the slight advance on the Sankhya made by Herbert Spencer? Will the doctrines of the Persistency of Force and the Uniformity of Law silence the commotion of a soul awakened to the thought of God, convinced of moral evil and moral helplessness? We beg to remind Mr. Keene that there are other spheres than the natural where verification proceeds, and other instruments than the senses and the intellect by which it proceeds. 'I am a sinner' is as much a truth, and as fully verified as that other 'The sun shines,' although the appeal is not to the book of nature or to the practical scientist. A very large proportion of the two hundred millions of people in India will acknowledge the former to be one of the main propositions in religion, entirely verified to their conscience and experience, and entirely unprovided for by Mr. Keene's religion. The spiritual wants of the Hindu, as of all other branches of the human race, we meet with the testimony that is faithful and worthy of their acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.

Mr. Keene's plainly seeing that Christianity has been offered to the people in vain, is, as we have noted, but an assertion of *his* powers of vision and not of the actual facts. He should have admitted to himself and to others the possibility of those powers being limited. He professes himself indebted to an excellent little work on Hinduism by Professor Monier Williams,¹ turning to it again and again for illustration of his sketch of Hinduism; it was amusing to us to lay alongside of those results of Christian effort that seem so plain to Mr. Keene the summing up of an observer surely equally competent:—

"The ancient fortress of Hinduism, with its four sides, Monotheism, Pantheism, Dualism, and Polytheism, is everywhere tottering and ready to fall . . . What then is to become of the masses of the people when their ancient faith sinks from beneath their feet? Only two other homes [alas! for "practical scientific education!"] are before them—a cold theism and a heart-stirring Christianity. They are both already established in the soil of India. But Christianity is spreading its boundaries more widely, and striking its foundations more deeply. It appeals directly to the heart. It is exactly suited to the needs of the masses of the people of India. In Christianity alone is their true home."

S.

¹ *Hinduism*. By Monier Williams, M.A., D.C.L.; one of a series of four admirable popular treatises on "Non-Christian Religious Systems" issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The others are on Buddhism, Islam, and the Koran.

ART. VII.—WHAT IS OUR EVANGEL?

Questions and Answers.

TO say that there is difference of opinion among Christian believers on points closely, perhaps even vitally, connected with the Christian faith, is only to say that Christians are men. And to say that it is desirable for Christian men to state and compare their views, in order as well to remove that misapprehension which so often supplies a basis for the *odium theologicum*, as to bring prominently out that essential unity of faith which tends to make the *odium theologicum* impossible,—is merely to utter the conviction of all who think upon these things. Entire unanimity of opinion is not to be found in India, any more than in other lands; this is a fact which has been forced upon our attention in the discharge of our editorial duties,—at times in a manner the reverse of pleasant. We have noticed, among other things, that there is among earnest believers in the Gospel a wide diversity of view as to the extent covered by the term ‘evangelical.’ To some, it seems to be little else than the name, weighted with more or less of opprobrium, attached to a certain party within the English Church. Others regard it as synonymous with ‘Biblical,’ and would consider any doctrine an evangelical doctrine which could be supported by appropriate citations from the Old and New Testaments; others still show a tendency to make the term embrace the essential tenets of all religion, both natural and revealed. Some would force the word back to its original meaning; and some would use it in a secondary sense largely different from its earlier signification. And yet in the midst of this by no means inconsiderable difference, all would doubtless agree that there are certain fundamental and essential principles, which may, with peculiar propriety, be described as ‘evangelical’.

Furthermore, if we are not deceived, there is no unanimity of opinion as to the relations which should subsist between evangelical doctrine—supposing it to be decided exactly what that embraces—and other departments of thought and speculation. Are there not certain domains of thought around which evangelical doctrine stands like a wall, which may not be passed over? Is there not a certain theory of the Atonement to reject which—even while holding loyally to the *fact* of the Atonement—is to sunder one’s self from the evangelical host? Does not a shadow of doubt cherished as to the eternity of Future Punishment imperil a man’s “soundness” from an evangelical point of view? Are there not some forms of worship and some

theories of the ministerial office which are as far from being possible to the evangelical believer as to the Protestant? Are there not certain scientific theories between which and evangelicalism there can be no more concord than between Christ and Belial? May the evangelical man safely accept the Nebular Hypothesis, or the Development Theory? Can he cherish a belief in the Antiquity of Man and yet save his soul alive? And is not the notion of Spontaneous Generation like poison to the evangelical faith? Questions like these will receive very different answers from different men.

As we have had occasion to notice this existing difference of belief upon these and similar questions, we considered that we should be doing a service to our readers if we gave an opportunity upon the pages of this *Review* for a free comparison of views and interchange of thought with reference to the subjects now suggested. We think we have said enough both to explain and to justify certain questions which we circulated a few months ago, from the answers to which the present Article is composed. These questions were as follows:—

1. What constitutes Evangelical Doctrine?
2. What views is it necessary that a man should hold on the doctrines of the Atonement and Future Punishment, on Ritualism and Catholicism, and on current scientific speculations, in order to be considered an evangelical man?

It would have been useless to give these questions a general circulation; for we could not by any means have used all the answers which would have been returned; and beyond our own private profit and advantage no good would have been gained. We therefore sent out copies to only a limited number,¹ selecting men for the purpose, both native and European, of all sects and churches and societies, in order that the answers received might, so far as possible, be fairly representative. We think that the variety of opinion which will be found in the answers now to be given will justify our selection, and also serve to illustrate the fact that Indian Christians are neither wholly dead to questions which move thinkers in other lands, nor in excessive danger of servilely following in the lead of any one “guide and philosopher”; while, on the other hand, the substantial unity which exists in essential points will go far to encourage timid souls—if such there be among us—by showing them that the division in our camp is not, after all, very great, or fatal to that real union in which is strength.

We publish first a letter from a kind correspondent—we are

¹ The questions were sent to 37 gentlemen. Of these 14 have kindly returned answers; 11 for one reason or another excused themselves from writing; and the remaining 12 took no notice at all of our letter.

sorry that he prefers to withhold his name—partly because it is not a direct answer to the questions sent, but may be considered in a sense introductory to the other replies; and also because it will give us a chance to offer certain explanations—personal, if any one likes to call them so—which it is desirable should be made.

I am quite an outsider (writes our correspondent) in these party questions, and shall wait with unusual curiosity to see how the professed adherents of one of the narrowest of parties so define the limits of their party as to keep it narrow whilst making it look broad. For myself, I object to the use of the term 'evangelical,' especially in the mission field, as the designation of a party, and do not feel disposed to do anything to favor or further the use of it. By addressing this question to me you evidently suppose me 'Evangelical.' I thank you for the supposition, but I am obliged to decline the eulogy it is intended to imply. I refrained for a long time from subscribing to your *Review*, because I supposed from the title that it was intended to be the organ of a party, but latterly I found that, though it had a sectarian name, it was not by any means sectarian. I can now therefore subscribe to it with a clear conscience; though if you were to give it a wider name, such as the *Indian Missionary Review*, I should place it on my table with greater pleasure.

I must say I have a great dislike for party aims, and almost as much for party names. I know too much of the excellences,—I fancy also I know too much of the defects—of the various parties and schools of thought in the Church to allow me to identify myself with one party or school alone, to the exclusion of the rest. The things in which they differ have always been enveloped in uncertainty. The things in which they agree constitute the very kernel of the faith once delivered to the saints, and it appears to me that they alone are worthy of being called by the sacred name of 'evangelical.' This principle has only to be carried far enough back and you reach the venerable axiom of Vincentius Lerinensis—"Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est, id est Catholica fides". My indictment against the various parties is that practically they treat the great central truths of Christianity as of little or no importance, whilst they lay hold of certain opinions which at best are only "pious and probable" opinions, not Catholic verities, and exalt and exaggerate them on the one side or the other till they cease to be either "pious" or "probable." For myself, therefore, rejecting altogether the name "Evangelical" as the name of a party, I wish to content myself with taking "Christian" as my name and "Member of the Church of England" as my surname.

The author of this letter, we regret to observe, has been laboring under a misapprehension; he has mistaken entirely the object of our questions, and also our own position; he seems to think that we are among the number of those who by the term 'evangelical' mean a certain party within the Church of England; and that we considered him to belong himself to that party. In both of these opinions he is entirely mistaken. With us, as we shall probably demonstrate in the course of this *Article*, the word 'evangelical' denotes no party in the Church

of England or any other Church. In that sense we knew very well that our correspondent was not an 'evangelical.' His notion that only the opinions of those who were thus connected with a certain party were desired, was wholly wrong; for our questions were sent, as we have already explained, to men of different shades of opinion.

We may be allowed to say a word as to the use of the term 'Evangelical' in the title of this Journal. It may perhaps have given rise to misunderstanding regarding the scope and aim of the *Review* in more than one mind. It is, we hope, unnecessary to say to our readers at large, that the word is used by us in no party sense; but only as representing the adherence of the *Review* to the things in which all Christians agree—which "constitute the very kernel of the faith once delivered to the saints", and which "alone are worthy of being called by the sacred name of "evangelical.'" In no sectarian sense do we wish to be considered 'evangelical'; but in that higher and truer sense, so well defined by our present correspondent in the words we have just quoted, has it ever been our desire and our effort to make good the claim of this Journal to its title. From the first we have striven to show, by the character of this publication, that the term 'evangelical' has a nobler meaning than that in which it is so often used; that a journal can be truly evangelical and yet be above allegiance to any sect or party however excellent, standing simply on the basis of that which is "*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus creditum*"; and that loyalty to those *essential* doctrines of the Gospel, which in our opinion constitute 'evangelical doctrine,' is consistent with liberty of thought, with difference of opinion and with perfect freedom of discussion regarding other things. In short, while striving to be in this better sense thoroughly 'evangelical', it has also been our aim to be really liberal. Our readers have the means of judging how far we have succeeded in these efforts. With the exception of these misconceptions which we have now pointed out, and we hope removed, we see no principle in the letter of our correspondent with which we are not ourselves in perfect accord.

Another of our correspondents, while holding very much the same views as those expressed in the letter now given, writes much more briefly as follows:—

In a general way I think any man is entitled to be called evangelical (if he wishes to be so called) who believes in salvation through faith in Christ alone. I do not feel able or inclined to define the matter more clearly, or to specify what particular errors in doctrine or practice may coexist with such faith without neutralizing it, or disqualifying the subject to bear rightly the epithet 'evangelical'. I fear you will think this somewhat unsatisfactory; but I am conscious of a growing dissatisfaction with, and disapproval of, the nice distinctions drawn for one another by Christian

men, in proportion as I am conscious of drawing nearer to the borders of the other world where all such distinctions will be forgotten, and all who truly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ will truly, as now, but also visibly—as not always now—be one in him.

J. H. BUDDEN.

Another still, who evidently acts upon the doctrine of one of Æsop's Fables that "wise men say nothing in dangerous times," sends the following prudent reply:—

1. The Doctrine of Christ in the Gospel.
2. Views agreeing with the Doctrine of Christ in the Gospel.

LIBERTAS.

As we propose to answer our own questions at the end of this Article, we need not pause to comment upon the replies of others; but we will merely, by way of introducing the several writers to our readers, state briefly the ecclesiastical connection and Society of each one. The *first* correspondent has stated for himself, with sufficient distinctness, his ecclesiastical connection; we would merely add to what he has himself said that he is a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Mr. Budden, whose communication stands *second* above, belongs to the London Missionary Society (Independent); and our cautious friend *Libertas* is a Free Baptist of the United States. Of the correspondents whose letters follow, the first, Rev. Geo. Bowen, of Bombay, was long connected with the Presbyterian Church of America; lately he has transferred his relationship to the American Methodist Episcopal Church; but we doubt if this change of membership involved any very great change in theological opinion. We give his reply:—

1. With reference to the question "What constitutes evangelical doctrine," I reply that evangelical doctrine is that which is clearly expressed in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, or is clearly deducible from it and vitally connected with it.

2. In attempting to answer the second question, a difficulty presents itself at the outset. The question is apparently not what views I consider a man must hold on the matters mentioned to constitute him evangelical, but what I think the common sentiment of the Church to be; what views *are considered to be* evangelical? If the question were what views do I consider to be evangelical in respect to the matters mentioned, I would have much more facility in answering it. The difficulty in answering the other question arises from the fact that in some quarters there is more laxity or latitudinarianism than in other portions of the Church evangelical; and what one body in one country is disposed to tolerate another body or the same body in another country decidedly rejects. Under the circumstances I must decline attempting an answer to this question. I do not however object to say what my own opinion is as regards the relation of the doctrines and systems mentioned to evangelical doctrine, *i.e.* to the Gospel. The Gospel means glad tidings of salvation for all mankind, to be preached to every creature. A necessary inference is that all to

whom it can be proclaimed intelligently, stand in need of its provisions. The essence of this proffered salvation is that it is unmerited and comes to men through the propitiatory death of Christ. When it tells a man that there is salvation for him because Christ died for him, it tells him that he is by nature dead in trespasses and sins, so that nothing he can do can secure for him the favor of God; he is lost without Christ. Any doctrine of the Atonement that sets aside this, cannot be rightly considered evangelical.

Any doctrine of Future Punishment that requires the words of the Lord Jesus Christ with regard to the future state of the unsaved to be taken in an unnatural or non-natural sense, and which is not content to express itself in these terms, is I think not evangelical. If by Ritualism is meant something which includes sacramentarianism, (by which I mean a system that makes the purchase of Christ's atonement to be dependent on some work or ceremony or prayer to be performed by a priest,) then I consider that a man so believing cannot properly be spoken of as an evangelical man. I am aware that it is not uncommon with Ritualists to preach sermons that are evangelical, reserving the exhibition of their peculiar views for other occasions.

If by Catholicism is meant Roman Catholicism or any thing corresponding to it, then I am free to say that I do not think such views evangelical. The doctrines of the Gospel in such a system are accompanied by other doctrines (unscriptural) that neutralize the action of the evangelical doctrines, and the unscriptural doctrines are made a *sine qua non*, so that the results aimed at in the word of God by the inculcation of evangelical doctrine are effectually hindered.

In making these remarks I have not had before me the question—'Can a man belonging to any of these systems be saved?' A man may nominally be identified with such a system without being vitally of it, as a man may be nominally evangelical without being saved by it. But so far as a man is led by the Spirit while belonging to a system that is not scriptural, there will be a tendency for him to become increasingly aware of the untruthful things in that system and to make it evident that he is not of it, though for a season in it.

With regard to the relation of current scientific (?) speculations to the Gospel, if what they teach tends to undermine the authority of Scripture, or to obscure the revelation which it makes concerning the spiritual condition of man, his need of the Gospel, the sufficiency of Gospel grace, the life to come, the Judgment,—the evangelical man will feel that he has much more reason to reject them than to receive them. Science means knowledge, but speculations are not knowledge, they must be verified and cease to be speculations before they can be embraced in the domain of knowledge.

GEO. BOWEN.

Next we give the reply of another American missionary, himself a Presbyterian, though connected with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which is *Congregational*:—

1. I understand this question to mean what are the *essentials* of evangelical doctrine. If the Editor had wished a complete summary

of such doctrines he would hardly have asked us to limit ourselves to a single page of the *Review*. But I take it this is an experiment, to see if evangelical Christians in India cannot agree upon some platform which shall include the essential parts of Bible truth.

I offer the following as embracing the great essential evangelical doctrines; though I freely admit that there are many other important truths not here expressed:—

(1) There is one eternal, self-existent, infinite God,—the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,—who is the Creator and Governor of the universe.

(2) The Bible contains the inspired revelation of God. It teaches the fall of man, and the consequent sinful and lost condition of the human race; also their redemption by the Son of God incarnate, the crucified, risen and glorified Redeemer.

(3) Men are saved only by repentance and faith in Christ. Believers are renewed by the Spirit of God, their sins are forgiven, and they become heirs of heaven, while those who reject Christ are lost.

(4) Christ has established his kingdom, or church, on earth, for the overthrow of Satan's kingdom of error and sin. He requires his followers to confess him before men, by baptism and union with his people, and to live a godly life in his service. He will ultimately triumph over all his foes, will raise the dead and judge the world, and with his glorified saints will reign for ever in righteousness.

2. (a) As to the Atonement,—that “the Son of man came to “give his life a ransom for many;” his “blood was shed for the remission of sins.”—Thus Christ by his voluntary death redeemed men from sin and its curse, in such a sense that God graciously forgives the penitent believer, and restores him to his favor; which he could not have done without this atonement.

(b) On Future Punishment—that God will righteously judge the world, and eternally punish those dying impenitent in their sin.

(c) On Ritualism and [Roman] Catholicism—that these are dangerous forms of error by which the minds of men are turned away from Christ to externals in religion, and they are led to exalt rites and sacraments above faith and a holy life.

(d) As to current scientific speculations,—an evangelical man, or indeed any man, should fearlessly accept everything proved true in science. But in the present deluge of crude speculations—“oppositions “of science falsely so-called”—which are so often manifestly designed to undermine faith in divine revelation and uphold a sneering scepticism, professed scientific discoveries should be received with caution, and should not be accepted as true until they have been carefully tested and approved by some competent and impartial authority.

L. B.

Mr. O'Neill is connected with the Society of St. John the Evangelist:—

1. In answering the first question proposed I do not understand the word ‘evangelical’ in its etymological or primary Christian sense, but in that semi-technical meaning which it has acquired in comparatively late years. I take it then to express that aspect of Christianity in which *the salvation of one's own soul* is the first object,—the direct relations of

the soul and God are the principal consideration of theology,—the Scriptures are the only authorized teachers of truth to each individual, all this in contrast with the idea of Christianity as a corporate body in which each member has obligations to the whole and there is a mutual interdependence of the parts and an authorized system of doctrine which cannot be superseded by any private interpretation of Scripture. In fact, if evangelical and church teaching be contrasted, we should say that in the one the stress is laid on the individuality of the soul and its need of individual effort for salvation ; in the other on its connection with others in the Church and the indispensable character of the advantages to be derived from that association ; whilst Catholic doctrine, in the true sense of the word, combines and harmonizes both these ideas.

2. To answer the second set of questions *seriatim*—(a) and to begin with the Atonement, I do not see how any one could hold evangelical views without feeling that the Atonement was a real substitution and vicarious suffering of Jesus Christ for himself, drawing from him all that fulness of gratitude and obligation of devoted service which is the only admissible and conceivable return for such a stupendous act of love.

(β). With respect to Eternal Punishment, I should say that in like manner it is necessary to hold to it, as that most awful and hopeless doom from which the soul has been delivered by Jesus Christ, or the bond of obligation to him will be weakened, and that if the teaching should prevail that all will eventually be saved, the great motive of evangelical teaching, viz. to save man from the wrath to come, would be wanting.

(γ). Ritualism does not take up an antagonistic position to Evangelicalism, but claims to enforce it by varied and striking methods and other means, and to supplement it with the other aspect of truth which is contained in Catholicism. Thus Ritualists maintain that their views are not inconsistent with evangelical doctrines ; that they communicate them in their pulpits is evidence ; that they are prepared to do battle for them has been shown in many cases ; for instance that of *Essays on Reason*, Dr. Colenso, etc. If any therefore hold the contrary opinion, viz. that Ritualism is inconsistent with Evangelicism, it is incumbent on them to bring proof, and it is difficult to see what evidence can counter-balance that which I have adduced on the opposite side.

(δ). Current scientific speculations are of course only *speculations*. If they do not seem to conflict with the truths of evangelical doctrine an evangelical is at liberty to accept them. But if they do conflict he is of course obliged to reject them, since *speculations* must of necessity give way to *known truths*.

S. W. O'NEILL.

The Evangelical Lutherans of the United States are represented in India by a small but vigorous Mission,—to which Mr. Rowe belongs :—

1. This word 'evangelical' has been both highly honored and soundly abused, and seeing that the world over it is made to do service of the most diverse kinds and for the most diverse kinds of people, it is *not much* wonder that you should send out a circular to find out, if possible, what it really does mean.

Without being subject to dictionaries or to technical theological

constructions in defining this term, I should say 'evangelical' means *strictly in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel* or Scriptural evangelical doctrine means undiluted Scriptural doctrine, that is, any doctrine which can be clearly and satisfactorily established by reference to the Gospel is clearly and satisfactorily evangelical.

If it is doubtful whether a certain doctrine be proved by the Gospel then it is in the same degree doubtful whether it be evangelical. That which is not taught by the Gospel is not evangelical, and any system of doctrine which embodies much outside matter in so far dilutes its evangelicalism, while any system which holds doctrines which combat the fundamental principles of the Gospel forfeits its claim to be evangelical doctrine.

2. In answering the second question I shall simply illustrate what I have already stated.

For example, a man may differ very widely from me in his doctrine of the Atonement and of Future Punishment, yet, so long as he has a fair show of Gospel evidence on his side I have no right to say that his doctrine is not evangelical. It seems to me the matter very much hinges on this point of Scripture evidence, and if we let go this as the standard of evangelical doctrine we are completely at sea.

I should say Ritualists and Romanists to a great extent forfeit their right to be called evangelical, because by putting so much stress upon forms, ceremonies, and traditions, they fail to emphasize properly the great fundamental principles of the Gospel. I doubt, however, whether simply believing evangelical doctrine can be said to make an evangelical man and much less an evangelical preacher or missionary.

I should say of two men who both hold evangelical views the one who strives with the greater zeal and earnestness to benefit his fellow-men—who in imitation of Christ and his Apostles by faith and practice shows forth in his daily life and labor the truth and beauty of the Christian religion—has a right to be considered evangelical in a far greater degree than he who is soundly evangelical in doctrine and at the same time soundly asleep in practice.

A. D. ROWE.

Next comes Mr. Timpany, of the Canadian Baptist Mission:—

1. As I understand evangelical doctrine there is a great deal of it in every system of Christianity where the proper divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ is acknowledged. But in not a few Christian systems there are mixed up with the pure *evangel*, *traditions* of Councils, Fathers, etc. etc. Some systems give greater prominence to these traditions than others, and in so far as they hold these traditions they are non-evangelical. They theoretically have a great mass of evangelical doctrine, but it is to a very large extent rendered of none effect by tradition. For instance Rome has the true doctrine of Christ as a Saviour, but he is thrust into the back ground by Mariolatry which is tradition; the idea of one's being "made a child of God in baptism" either in infancy or afterwards is another.

Most, if not all, Protestant systems acknowledge the proper *priesthood* of all believers. They acknowledge the right of any soul to come to its maker through Christ without the intervention of any third party, or any thing that such third party must perform. But in practice, in obedience to *tradition*, this right is obscured, doubted or denied.

Evangelical Doctrine is what? The Bible is the Word of God. Christ is perfect God and perfect man, the Head of his people who are all indissolubly in him, and every one drawing directly, without any intermediary, his own spiritual nerve of life and motion from that Head. The Bible a complete guide, a perfect manual and model in all affairs, moral and ecclesiastical. The Kingdom of Heaven which has been set up a perfect kingdom, with a perfect set of laws, which laws, or commands, we have no right to change in form or spirit, seeing the completeness consists in both.

2. He must hold that an atonement was made, Christ dying in the sinner's room, not to create a "moral influence" merely. He was forsaken of God as every sinner out of him will be eventually. The repentant sinner is let into Christ. So that in this imputed righteousness of Christ the believer is one with Christ as Christ is one with God. Any other view of the Atonement is an emasculated Christianity, and will fail to raise the fallen masses of men.

If a minister does not believe in Future Punishment the sinews of his resolution are cut. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord we persuade men. By this I would not have it thought that God is some severe *fetish* who delights in suffering. God is good and only good. The finally lost and impenitent are utterly away from God, do not want him, and never will, to all eternity. No man who holds the "restoration of the wicked" is evangelical. In so far as Ritualists and Roman Catholics, or any others exalt the *ordinances* into *Sacraments*, or give one believer, rights, privileges, or powers, contravening the priesthood *de jure* of other believers, they are not evangelical. The position of the ordinances and of all ministers, is behind Christ, not in front of him or between him, in any sense, and a soul coming to the Saviour. The veil is rent.

Evangelical doctrine never changes; "current scientific speculations" do,—as continually as the sands of Sahara. The first should not be rejected for the second. Just in proportion as a man allows scientific speculation to shake his faith in Jesus the divine, and the authentic and binding character of the Bible, he is not evangelical. Chemistry was thought to be a fixed science, but now it is as probable as otherwise that its very foundations will be changed. Who dare say now that there is more than one primary body? He does not know *for sure*.

In Christ Jesus *we know* we have passed from death unto life.

A. V. TIMPANY.

Mr. Hay is connected with the London Missionary Society in the Madras Presidency:—

1. That Christ Jesus was most truly the Son of God, and that having died for our sins, he rose again and is now the Saviour and Lord of all that believe in him, cannot, it would seem, be questioned by any evangelical reader of the New Testament. The mediation of the Son of God, who in love to us, and for our salvation, came into the world, and lived and died a righteous, sorrowful, heart-broken man, is, when seen and believed by any sin-burdened man, well fitted to arrest attention, draw towards Christ one's warmest affections, give peace to the troubled heart, and at the same time secure some degree of respect, esteem, and love for all the

objects of his great love. Such a believer may be quite unable to understand any theological disquisition on the moral or rectoral value of the sufferings of him who has captivated his heart. Expiation, substitution, sacrifice, vicarious suffering, satisfaction of justice, meritorious righteousness, may be words without meaning to him ; and yet Christ dwelling in his heart by faith, a faith that works by love, purifies the heart, and overcomes the world, makes him a saint of God, a man possessing all that is really true in these expressions, though it may be impossible to convince him of it, or make him apprehend their meaning.

Future Punishment is involved in future sin, and inseparable from it. What probability is there that the sinfulness of any man will ever end ? If he has heard the good news of the living God, and his love, and has deliberately refused to be reconciled to him, wilfully resisting all efforts to arrest his attention to the things of God, who can say he will ever repent, ever be happy ? The loving Saviour takes us to the brink of the outer darkness, where "the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched," and bids us listen to the "weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth." Can anything be more awful than that ? If that, with all its gloom and terrific indefiniteness, does not supply terror enough to turn a man from the error of his way, no idea of duration you may associate with it, will add much, if any thing, to the dreariness of the prospect before him. He may be ultimately consumed or cease to exist. Vain hope ! Notwithstanding all that has of late been said to establish such a hope, neither nature nor revelation, can be made to yield one decisive word in its favor.

But the heathen who know not God—what of them ? With very few known exceptions they are in such a state of sinfulness, that they cannot be happy. All that can be happy in heaven will go there. But without the knowledge of the righteousness and love of the Holy One, who can be happy in his glorious light ? The heathen know him not, and even when he is preached in his own revelation of himself in Christ Jesus, the very brightness of his glory, they see no beauty in him that they should desire him. Will they ever see such beauty ? God is love ; yet it is a fearful thing for any sinner to fall into his hands when he rises to punish iniquity and sin. True, he goeth after the lost one "*until he find it*," and no one can tell how far-reaching that hint of the Good Shepherd's action may be ; but the woe pronounced on those who die in their sins, is such that no one *who believes* it can rest until he pass from death unto life, believing in Jesus ; and if it is not believed, no thought of the duration of it will affect him. What we have to proclaim is that the wrath of God is revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men ; but that *now* he waiteth to be gracious, and will pardon and save all who repent and return to him revealed in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Why speculate dogmatically on what may or may not be effected in the lapse of eternal ages ? One may be thoroughly evangelical who declines to do that.

Ritualism.—By Ritualism, I understand the observance of certain forms or ceremonies in religion. Baptism and the Lord's Supper, ordained, as we believe, by our Lord himself, ought to be observed in a decent and *orderly manner*. But when they, or any other portion of divine service, are associated with costume, bodily exercises, sacerdotal assump-

tions, teaching and designed to teach and exhibit what is contrary to the truth, and simplicity of Christian doctrine, they become corrupted and extremely dangerous, and ought to be discountenanced in every possible way. As it is ordained in the word of God, the Lord's Supper is a grandly simple rite. All believers, having been brought nigh, even within the vail, by the blood of Christ, have an *equal* right to obey his dying command, and "do this in remembrance of him." But when one associates the right to "administer" it, with the wearing of apparel, the presence and action of certain men, as indispensable to what they call its validity, men pretending to be priests in a higher sense than that in which all believers are equally priests, and manœuvring in such a way as to indicate their priestly position, then it seems to me that every evangelical man, every lover of the Gospel of Christ, ought to disown their pretensions, and in every lawful way, consistent with Christian charity, resist such efforts to bring into bondage those who are as near the altar as they themselves are, and as closely related to Christ, the sole fountain of all grace. No one who pretends to be a *priest* can be truly evangelical.

Catholicism.—It is hard to say what a true Catholic is. When men like Pascal call themselves Catholics in communion with the Church of Rome, they manifestly regard something vastly different from Romanism as it is set forth in Decrees of Councils, and Bulls of Popes claiming infallibility. When such men preach the Gospel of Christ, albeit some of their practices are not all to our liking, we bid them, so far, God speed; but we cannot, it seems to me, regard the spread of *Romanism* as the spread of Christianity. The fragments of truth which the priests of Rome usually allow their converts to receive may, as we doubt not they sometimes do, lead men to look to God in Christ for salvation, and therein we rejoice; but such is the ignorance in which they labor to retain their proselytes, the falsehood of their pretensions, their direct and virulent opposition to all efforts to put the Word of God into the hands of their people, the mutilated form in which they pretend to give God's revelation of his mind and will, the degrading idolatry enjoined on their ignorant adherents,—that all these combine to forbid the Church of Christ to hold communion with genuine Roman Catholics as if they were evangelical men.

Current Scientific Speculations.—Intelligent men cannot now-a-days believe as their fathers believed. Knowledge is increased. No intelligent man can now believe that the universe was brought into existence six thousand years ago. It may do much evil, but can do no good to insist on any interpretation of the Bible that would involve the belief that, so lately, chaos filled all space. A man need not forfeit his right to be regarded as an evangelical man, because he thinks that there may be some form of universal space—some *prakriti*, to use a Sanscrit word—itself devoid of power, which the Almighty, the one Eternal Spirit, has full possession of, and has formed, and is still forming into myriads of worlds and systems of worlds which constitute the universe, or universes, wherein, in countless millions of forms, are manifestations of unlimited power and wisdom and goodness to intelligent beings, which also owe their existence to Himself in whom alone they all live and move and have their being, and source of endless thought and joy. Grant that the earliest germs of animal being, (as now also in each successive generation,) did for uncounted ages include the rudimental embryo that ultimately attained

manhood; what then? There came a period when the fully developed anthropoid, became a "living soul," fitted by divinely imparted intelligence of a higher order to receive his Maker's revelation of himself and become in a holier sense a living happy man. This latter period of human existence is all that we read of in the Bible; and it is not touched by any or all of the scientists' efforts to explore and set forth the history of the periods beyond it. When God said, "Let us make man in our image," who can tell us the length of time that intervened before he "breathed" "into him the breath of life"? If any scientist tell us there is no God, and assign in proof of the assertion, the fact that they have not, in all their researches, found him, or any clear evidence of his existence, we need only reply, You have found motion, force, and arrangement—what our mental organization compel us to regard as evidence of something allied to our own mental power. There is nothing in true science to touch that conviction. Power which you cannot account for, power not inherent in any imaginable form of *prakriti*, has prevailed to form and fashion a world, and to frame conscious, thinking, loving, happy forms; and if any one ask us to believe that such various forms of material being are the origin, not the result of thought and power, we need simply reply, the supposition is contrary to all our experience, and to assume it, is most unscientific. Still, it must be admitted that there is much in the Bible that we are unable to understand, or make to tally with known facts. Evangelical men may frankly allow that, and join in purely scientific effort to unveil the mysteries of nature without forfeiting their standing as believers in Christ. "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

J. HAY.

The next letter is from a well known missionary of the American Methodist Mission in Calcutta:—

1. It would be difficult to frame an exhaustive reply to this question, but I should give the following as a *minimum* of what should be included: Repentance towards God, faith on the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit received to renew the heart and bear witness to the believer's adoption.

2. (1) *Atonement*.—Granted its essentially substitutional character, a wide margin should be allowed to those who try to make a full statement of this doctrine. Some of the issues involved transcend the grasp of the human mind, and hence we should be especially careful how we dogmatize on the subject.

(2) *Future Punishment*.—I hardly like the form of the question. A man ought not to be put without the pale of evangelical Christianity solely because he believes in conditional immortality, or final restoration, or a second probation, and yet as a matter of fact, attested by the experience of many preachers, such views strongly emasculate the Gospel as offered to sinners. In my own mind I draw a distinction between the *man* and the *preacher*. His heart may make him a good Christian, but his intellectual errors exclude him from the ranks of evangelical preachers.

(3) *Ritualism and Catholicism*.—I should draw the line where Paul and Luther did,—faith imputed for righteousness. Any ceremony, sacrament, or system, which usurps the place of the faith which justifies,

is non-evangelical. At the same time I confidently believe that *many* Ritualists and Roman Catholics are evangelically saved, their faith leaping over the ceremonial barriers erected to block its way.

(4) *Scientific Views*.—In view of the very absurd scientific errors which the best men in all ages have held without the slightest injury to their spiritual interests, I think it more than unwise to test a man's religious orthodoxy by any scientific standard whatever.

J. M. T.

Again we have a representative of the London Missionary Society :—

1. It would be difficult to say *what* constitutes evangelical doctrine. Evangelicalism is not now as distinctly defined as formerly. It is not the same thing as it was sixty or seventy years ago. This modification is to be regarded as a development rather than a decay. It does not follow that the *form* in which Christian doctrine has been handed down to us from the controversies of past times, and which has often been erroneously supposed to have the authority of Scripture, is necessarily the best form, or the best for all time, inasmuch as the philosophy and phraseology by which it was largely determined do not prevail now. The *form* of presenting Christian doctrine will necessarily change with the spirit of the age, and other determining principles of evolution; but the *truth* which the form feebly seeks to embody *remains the same*. Those who hold to that truth, hold to evangelical truth. We must not surrender the term 'evangelical' because we may have outgrown or outlived some of the traditional vestments of a former age. A man is still true to evangelical doctrine, who abides by the simple statements and simple interpretation of Scripture; albeit he may not gather the same *inferences* from those statements, which have been associated more or less with the Gospel of Christ, but in respect to which Christian men have never been *agreed*.

2. (a) So long as a man holds to the *fact* of the Atonement, (and, we would add, to the *fact* of the Resurrection,) and to the *reality* of Future Punishment, he may claim to be an evangelical man, without being called upon to explain the *modus operandi* of the first, or the nature and duration of the last. The *theory* is quite secondary to the *fact*. A large and increasing number of ministers and laymen in Europe and America now hold very diverse views on these subjects, but they claim to be, and are regarded as, evangelical men.

(b) It is not necessary for an evangelical man to wage war indiscriminately with all Ritualists and Catholics. But so far as these darkeren the revelation of "God in Christ"—as *e. g.* by a substitutionary Eucharist, and any other material medium—those who have come to know God *by* Christ, cannot countenance their practices without being untrue to the revelation which they have received.

(c) Neither need an evangelical man put himself in a hostile attitude towards "scientific speculations." The honest study of God's Word will never lead men away from God himself. We need to have our views of the universe continually corrected and elevated; and those who are thus widening the sphere of knowledge, and conquering for the Church the realm of physical phenomena, are serving God as well as those who

seek to quicken the life of *faith*. While rash, dogmatic, and unproved inferences may be treated as they deserve, an evangelical man, who believes the Gospel to be the truth of God because founded upon fact, and in harmony with the highest reason, should be the first to recognize the use of the human reason, and to welcome all ascertained facts of science or philosophy.

Finally, to all who possess the *same faith in Christ*, and love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, the words are surely applicable :—"There is "one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling ; "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above "all, and through all, and in you all."

T. E. SLATER.

A missionary in Calcutta of the Scotch Free Church thus writes :—

Evangelical Doctrine, as its name implies, is glad tidings of great joy—news of salvation to a lost world—in Christ Jesus. It is contrasted with salvation through works. It is salvation *by grace*, where justice is satisfied. A free salvation in Christ, from God, by the working of the Spirit is the beginning, middle, and end of the evangelical doctrine.

2. (1) As regards the Atonement he should be able to attribute all his salvation to the grace of God, as revealed in the death of the Lord Jesus Christ for and in the place of sinners. He should realize that Christ had died for him and satisfied the law which he had broken, and that thus Christ was both able and willing to save him—also able and willing in the same way to save all and every one who come to him for salvation.

(2) Though believing myself in the doctrine of Future Punishment as generally believed in by Orthodox Christians, I would not deny the name of 'evangelical' to another simply because he might deny the eternity of punishment, by either going in for the ultimate annihilation of the wicked, or ultimate salvation of all in Christ. But I think that those who advocate either of these views do not interpret aright God's Word.

(3) I believe that some who go in strongly for Ritualism, are fully entitled, by their life and labors, as well as by the other doctrines they hold in common with Evangelicals, to be considered evangelical. I have had the pleasure of watching the labors of such and have been present at some of their meetings, when I was greatly impressed with the evangelical character and earnestness of their discourses. Ritualism is injurious among Christians, more especially in the undue importance placed upon certain rites. But some of our most evangelical Dissenters are chargeable with the same evil in the eyes of other Dissenters equally evangelical. The evil is intensified when it leads Church or Dissenting Ritualists to unchurch all others and deny their Christian character.

(4) *Catholicism* is much further astray than Ritualism. Indeed one thing that makes Ritualism so dangerous is that it is a half-way house to Popery. But there are some people not so bad as their creed. Catholicism I believe hides Christ and his word from the people. Catholics set up other means of salvation than Christ, more especially the Virgin Mary, the Church, and good works, and they keep back God's Word so that the people cannot see Christ as he is revealed in the Bible. Thus those who come under the full influence of Catholicism cannot be regard-

ed as *evangelical*, but that there are none who believe in Catholicism entitled to be regarded as evangelical, I am not prepared to say.

I believe there are many who are generally classed under the name of "Broad Church," who are decidedly less evangelical than most Ritualists, and many Roman Catholics.

(5) The phrase "current scientific speculations" is rather vague. To such men as the late Faraday and Brewster, who largely believed in "current scientific speculations," the name 'evangelical' would be given. To such as professed to believe in the immortality of the soul, the existence of God, and salvation of sinners through the God-man, Christ Jesus, I would not deny the name 'evangelical', provided they were desirous to be so regarded.

The words of our Lord, of Moses, and of Paul, as recorded in Luke ix. 49-50, Math. xii. 30, Numbers xi. 27-29, and Phil. i. 15-18, would help us, I think, in coming to right conclusions, as to our conduct in regard to these men.

K. S. M.

Mr. Mudge, the editor of the *Lucknow Witness*, belongs to the American Methodist Church:—

1. To ask "what constitutes evangelical doctrine," would seem to be equivalent to asking, what constitutes the Gospel, the good news of God. And I can frame no better reply to that than the words of John iii. 16:—"God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

2. The Atonement, Future Punishment, Ritualism, and Catholicism, are topics much too large and weighty to be satisfactorily discussed in a paragraph. A word in regard to "current scientific speculations." I cannot see that they have anything special to do with evangelicalism or the Gospel of Christ, one way or the other. Salvation depends on believing in the Son of God, not on believing this or that scientific theory or speculation. I do not find that Christ Jesus promulgated science or gave forth any opinions respecting the things which come under that head. I do not consider that God at any point in his revelation of himself to man has designed to forestall, or interfere with in any way, the perfectly free untrammelled investigation of all departments of science, and I do not see the slightest danger to his Holy Word from the candid, earnest pursuit of truth in all directions and by all means. I have no nervousness or solicitude about it. It is very plain that men have grossly misunderstood the Scriptures on a hundred points in times past; it is wholly probable and practically certain that we largely misunderstand them on very many points still. If scientific research will help me to a better understanding of them in any particulars, whether as to the true canon, the genuine text, or the right comprehension of what God intended me to learn from them, I for one shall greatly rejoice. I have not a particle of jealousy with regard to science nor a particle of enmity against scientific men. They say things sometimes which I think they should not, and wish they would not, but I reflect that they have had great provocation from the unintelligent and unwise defenders of the Bible. They have as much right, I suppose, to their "speculations" as the theologians have to theirs, and both are doubtless of about equal worth, or worthlessness.

The solid *facts* both of nature and the Word never clash, and never can. Whatever may be fairly *proved* with reference to the duration of the earth or the age of man upon it, the method of God's creation and his subsequent dealings with the race, I stand ready heartily to embrace, and promptly to modify previous interpretations of the Bible to bring them into harmony therewith. I can discern no other honest or common-sense method of procedure. The sons of men are far from being infallible or inspired in their attempts to ascertain or comprehend God's meanings, as all history shows, and this fact should be willingly and *practically* acknowledged. I do not understand why any "evangelical man" need have the slightest difficulty in so doing.

JAMES MUDGE.

It is not our fault that the native Church of India is represented by only one writer in this discussion. Mr. Basu is at present laboring in connection with the American Methodist Mission:—

1. I do not understand the purport of the first question; but I have in my preaching insisted on the facts of evangelical history more than on the doctrines associated therewith. The facts, though of a supernatural character, are intelligible to us; but the doctrines are so mysterious that I have no sympathy with a person who has the courage to present his views thereof as absolutely correct. And I confess I lose all patience when a person insists on my adopting a set of doctrines simply because they form the creed of a particular denomination or church.

2. With reference to the Atonement my attitude is that of firm faith. I believe in what is called the Governmental theory, and in my preaching I not merely refer to, but linger over, the expiatory and sacrificial character of the death of our Lord. The religion of the Jews, if not all the religions of the world both Jewish and Gentile, would be an enigma if the didactic purposes of the death of Christ were insisted on at the expense of its atoning efficacy. I am however willing most cheerfully to admit that all the objects subserved by the incarnation, sufferings, and death of our Lord it is impossible for man to ascertain and enumerate.

3. With reference to Future Punishment, my attitude is that of firm faith as regards its certainty, and modest doubt as regards its duration. The testimony of revelation seems to preponderate in favor of the doctrine which represents it as endless; but a few verses fitted to bring us to a different conclusion are not wanting. But whatever the character of Future Punishment may be, whether absolutely eternal or eternal to our limited mental faculties, I have found it profitable to insist on the fact that it is no portion of Christianity; it being an evil from which our religion is a deliverance.

4. With reference to Ritualism and Catholicism, my attitude is one of charity. These *isms* err on one side, while the Protestant churches in general err on the other. No church can justly say that its principles embody the golden mean between Ritualism and Rationalism, and therefore all show of hostility to our Ritualistic and Catholic brethren is to be deprecated. I have not the slightest hesitation in dwelling on the essential *unity of the Church Universal* in my preaching, in spite of apparent *differences*.

5. I consider it my duty to oppose scientific speculations which like those of Tyndall, Huxley, and Co., foster Atheism, while my attitude towards theories which are not positively pernicious is an attitude of perfect neutrality. With reference, for instance, to the attractive theory of Evolution, I say let it alone—except when in the hands of Haeckel it goes far enough to drive the Creator out of his creation.

RAM CHANDRA BASU.

These questions cannot be decided by a majority of votes ; and it is needless even to try to formulate the answers now given into a tabular summary, as we did on a previous occasion. Each reader can examine, compare, weigh and decide for himself. We can only express our regret and disappointment at not receiving answers from a larger proportion of those to whom the questions were sent ; the above expression of opinion less truly represents the thought of Christians in India than might have been the case. But for this we are not responsible.

In concluding this article we crave permission to add our own reply to those already given.

We consider the primary meaning of the term 'evangelical' its truest and its best. Our evangel is the "good news." Evangelical doctrine is the doctrine of the "good news." Mr. Mudge has quoted John iii. 16 as his answer. No other need be given ; that verse contains the very kernel of the Gospel ; the essence of evangelical doctrine ; the substance of our evangel. A man who holds to that verse holds to evangelical doctrine. We must discriminate between what evangelical doctrine is in its essence, what it implies, and what accompanies it, or flows from it, but which is not a necessary and essential part of it. Now in its essence evangelical doctrine is that sinners are saved through Christ. This implies that there is some evil from which sinners stand in need of saving. Thus evangelical doctrine implies and requires as its basis the doctrine of Future Punishment. But this doctrine is not, in and of itself, a part of our evangel. That a man is liable to everlasting punishment is certainly an extraordinary piece of "good news" ! The Gospel is not that men are in danger of punishment, that they know quite well enough already—but that there is a way of escape from the punishment. Nature, and reason, and conscience, combine to emphasize the doctrine of punishment ; we need no revelation to tell us that which every man has so profoundly felt and so greatly dreaded. A doctrine which, like that of Punishment, is thus based upon the teachings of natural religion, and is found in every system of faith which has ever been held by man, cannot be called peculiarly *Christian*, and certainly cannot be said to be an essential part of the essential part of Christianity. The idea of punishment is essential to the Gospel only in this sense,—that without the

danger of destruction salvation would be impossible, because there would then be nothing to be saved from. Future Punishment is only one of the facts of life in view of which the Gospel was given. John iii. 16 assumes it; and states as the "good news" that men may be saved from it.

Such is the essential kernel of evangelical doctrine, which, if a man hold, we do not see how the title 'evangelical' can rightly be denied to him,—even though his views on many points, closely connected with this fundamental doctrine, be peculiar,—or even if, in his ignorance, he be wholly destitute of opinions of any kind whatsoever. We imagine for instance, that there are many men who really trust in Jesus Christ for salvation, and who believe as loyally as Augustin or Calvin ever did that apart from him there is no salvation, who yet either doubt or deny our Lord's Divinity. In their case we may say that the heart is better than the head; that intellectually they fail to reach the height which they have attained unto spiritually. Yet, if they really trust in Christ as a Saviour from sin, how can we say that they are not—so far—evangelical? So as to the Atonement,—what the Bible teaches is *fact*, not theory; it tells us *that* Christ saves, not *how* he saves. It is true, that the *dissecta membra* of a consistent theory of the philosophy of salvation are found—or are thought to be found—in the Bible; and that those elements have been combined into a system by Christian thinkers; and that the doctrine of the Atonement, which represents Christ as suffering in the stead of sinners, is a part of that system; and that the unanimity of Christians respecting the essential truth of that doctrine is *almost* entire; and that most Christians are unable to see how any other theory of Christ's life and work harmonizes with the facts which are told us respecting him. Yet there are those who differ from the majority as to the truth of this doctrine. They build up the revealed facts into a different system. They consider that they have reason for so doing. We think they are mistaken. But they have a right to their opinion. They hold to the *fact* of the Atonement as loyally as any; they have their own explanation of that fact. No one trusts in Jesus as a Saviour more implicitly than they; only they give a different explanation of the *modus salvandi*. While thus believers in the fact, shall we say they are not evangelical because they differ from us as to the theory? What is it that saves men—the thing which Christ did, or our explanation of that thing? What is the essential thing in our evangel—the *fact* of the Atonement, or the theory of it? Others may draw the line at the theory if they must; we cannot.

In regard to the duration of Future Punishment,—the teaching of the Bible hangs chiefly on the meaning of the word αἰώνιος—and the doctors differ. Some declare that the word—or the

Aramaic word thus translated—was not used by our Saviour in the sense of absolute and literal endlessness. So long as there is reasonable doubt on this point, which further research, it may be hoped, will do very much to remove, may not a man safely take, as the basis of his evangelical preaching, the universally admitted *certainty* of punishment, and decline to be dogmatic as to its duration? Can the mind grasp the idea of absolute and literal *eternity* of duration? And will a man's preaching gain in power by his insisting upon an idea which neither he nor his hearers can adequately comprehend? If he insists upon the certainty of punishment;—if he brings out the thought that the sinner's fate was so dreadful and so sure, that *only* the death of the Son of God could save him from it,—will his gospel cease to be “glad tidings of great joy,” even though he admits that the actual meaning of *αἰώνιος* is one which the philologist and the philosopher, and not the evangelist, must settle? We are not stating our own personal views on Future Punishment; we are only saying that a man whose views on the subject are such as we have imagined ought not on account of them to be thrust outside the evangelical pale.

We do not like Ritualism. We like Roman Catholicism still less. But we must remember that minds are not all constituted alike. There are those who find in the celebration of the rites which constitute Ritualism what many others do not find,—helps to real and genuine devotion. If some men find that they can worship God more devoutly and with greater joy and profit to themselves with the aid of certain accessories, which some others think at best needless, if not foolish, it is very hard to understand why they should not have the privilege of using such aids; or why they should be despised and blamed for doing so,—any more than their opponents should be for not doing so. Are we told that there are certain dangerous tendencies in Ritualism which must be guarded against? We admit the fact; the same thing is true of Calvinistic theology; likewise of Armenian theology. One thing we know: that reverence in the house of God and in public worship which Ritualism tends to foster is, in too many churches, painfully conspicuous by its absence. So far as ritual in *worship* goes, there is no reason why the Ritualist or the Roman Catholic should not be, and should not be called, evangelical. Is there any reason inhering in his doctrines? We do not profess to understand the inner doctrines of Ritualism, much less of Romanism. But we have stated above what we consider the essential part of evangelical doctrine to be; viz. that sinners are saved from punishment by *Jesus Christ*. It is plain enough that a man cannot believe that, and also believe that sinners are saved by means of the sacraments of the Church, or in any other way. The two things are

contradictories ; mutually exclusive ; and *if* any man holds a theory which is exclusive of the evangelical theory it does not require a very profound logic to prove his non-evangelical position. But *do* Ritualists teach that sinners are saved in any other way than by the death of Jesus Christ? Just to the degree that any of their teachings or any of their doctrines tend to obscure that fundamental truth, to that degree, evidently, do they fail of being evangelical ; but the question of fact as to how great that degree is we cannot enter upon. The same we may say of Romanists. The attitude of the evangelical man towards these classes of his fellow Christians should be one of charity. It would be a pity if in zeal for the faith we should forget that charity which is greater than faith.

The part of the question which relates to "current scientific speculations" is perfectly absurd. We might as well have asked what views it is necessary that a man should hold with reference to the execution of Charles the First in order to be considered a good mathematician. And yet the question, with all its evident absurdity, was not wholly uncalled for, since there are people who think that a man's religious character is somehow or other affected by his opinions on natural science. What views—it is asked—should the evangelical man hold on these things? Any views he thinks proper. And he may be sure that his scientific theories are in no more danger of conflicting with his religious doctrines, than his notion of the germination of a seed is of proving disastrous to his "views" concerning the properties of a right-angled triangle.

The department, the subject-matter, the ends, and the methods of natural science are wholly distinct and separate from those of religion. And when rightly looked at we see no more danger of scientific theories coming into contact with religious doctrine, than there is of a clumsy native bullock cart, on some rough country road in the Deccan, colliding with a P. and O. steamer going up the Red Sea. In order to illustrate what we have in mind, we will take the extremest case of all—the theory of Spontaneous Generation—and note its bearing on the Christian faith. For if it can be shown that no danger to Christianity is to be apprehended from this dreadful doctrine, then certainly we may dismiss all fears about the Nebular Hypothesis, Evolution and "scientific speculations" generally.

We understand the doctrine of Spontaneous Generation to amount to this : that the lowest forms of life are, under favorable circumstances, spontaneously originated in inanimate matter by the ordinary working of physical laws. Physical action merely develops into vital action ; and what is often spoken of as "vital force" is nothing more than the sum of all the forms of physical force which energize the living being. This definition gives at

least an idea of what the doctrine is, sufficient for our present purpose. Before going any further it is necessary to warn our readers that *almost* all the evidence on the subject thus far attained by scientific means is directly against the doctrine; there is hardly a shred of evidence in its favor. We believe that Prof. Haeckel declares the doctrine to be necessary to the logical coherence of his system, and that therefore it must be accepted, even though it cannot be proved; and he prudently removes the scene of this wonderful transformation of physical into vital energy to the bottom of the ocean, where it will certainly be safe from the prying eyes and inconvenient experiments of Prof. Tyndall, and where alone, if we are to believe Haeckel, the conditions exist which render Spontaneous Generation possible. Whatever we may say of the logical character of Prof. Haeckel's reasoning, the strategy of this "change of base" is certainly of the highest order.

Here then is the doctrine, supported almost entirely by *à priori* considerations, and opposed by the results of the widest observation, and by the testimony of the most careful, the most ingenious, and the most conclusive experiments, performed by Tyndall and others. All that we have to say is, that this doctrine, even if it shall hereafter be proved true, is no more opposed to religion than the doctrine, which is considered true, that an oak tree is evolved from an acorn by the ordinary working of natural agencies without any special act of creative power.

For natural science deals with matter; religion with spirit. The doctrine of Spontaneous Generation pertains to physical and material agencies; the doctrines of religion to those that are moral and spiritual. The methods of science are those of the laboratory, the balance, the microscope; those of religion are the processes of intellectual and spiritual life. The doctrine of evangelical religion is that sinful men are saved from the consequences of their transgressions through the death of Jesus Christ. Will that doctrine become any less "good news" if it be hereafter shown that the opinions of men regarding the way in which our bodies came into existence—and our souls too, for that matter—are wrong? Are the facts of consciousness proved false, or can they be proved false, by any theory whatever of the origin of life? Is man any less a sinner *now*, because he came into being, not in the way we had always supposed, but in some other way? Is an epidemic any less deadly, or the wise means used against it any the less efficacious, because preconceived theories as to its origin have to be abandoned? *And does religion base itself on any particular theory of the origin of life? Religion deals with man's present spiritual condition, not with his past physical condition. It takes man as he now is; it does not trouble itself about the way he became so. The origin of life*

and the origin of evil are questions which it relegates, the one to the scientist, the other to whoever can answer it.

But, somebody says, the doctrine of Spontaneous Generation is fatal to religion, because it tends to disprove the existence of the soul and the being of God himself. Well, if the ideas of the origin of life and the existence of the soul are so mixed up with one another that the doctrine of Spontaneous Generation disproves the existence of the soul, then the contrary doctrine of the origin of life must be necessary to prove the existence of the soul. But there is no such vital connection and dependence between the two ideas. Even if we prove that life is due to a creative act, we have not said any thing about the soul one way or the other. We have still to show that the soul is a distinct entity and not the resultant of the physical powers of matter. So we have not bettered ourselves in the least; whichever theory we adopt of the origin of life, we have got to prove, by an entirely independent and distinct argument, that the soul is something other than the body. Neither is the doctrine of the Divine Existence at all dependent on any particular hypothesis of the origin of life. The proof of God's existence is distinct from scientific arguments. To say that the doctrine of Spontaneous Generation disproves the Divine Existence is equivalent to saying that God's existence cannot be proved except by the aid of the creative theory of the origin of life. But such is not the case at all. If the creative theory of the origin of life were demonstrated, of course that would prove the existence of a Creator. But that theory cannot be demonstrated, because, at the time that life began on this globe there was no reporter on the ground to take notes. The case falls through for want of a witness. Hence it will not do to base an argument for the Divine Existence upon the supposed creation of living beings; for that is to base it upon what is itself incapable of demonstration. Our ideas of the existence of God must not be made dependent upon any theory of the way in which life began. If the supposition that God did not perform a special act of creative power when the first particle of protoplasm began to throb with life be fatal to a belief in his existence, why is it not equally fatal to that belief to suppose that an acorn develops naturally and "spontaneously" into an oak tree without any special act of divine power? Why should the opinion that the later and more complex developments of the vital force can take place without special acts of divine power be considered consistent with theism, and the opinion that the earliest and simplest developments of it can also thus take place, be inconsistent with theism? The fact is, the existence of God and the existence of the soul can neither be proved nor disproved by the methods of natural science. Natural science deals with the facts of the material universe. When it begins

to discuss the existence of that which is not material, and which therefore can neither be seen, nor weighed, nor measured, nor tested with chemical reagents, it has gone beyond its depth; it has crossed the borders which separate it from metaphysics and theology. It is like a man trying to detect the presence of arsenic in a solution with the aid of the differential calculus. And it cuts a sorry figure. A scientist proves, let us say, that life originates spontaneously. Very good. That is a fact of nature—of material things. We accept it as such. Then he says:—"Therefore there is no God!" We tell him to hold his tongue. He is drawing an inference pertaining to spiritual existences from facts which are wholly material. He might as well infer that there is no sovereign on the throne of Great Britain because the Prince of Wales does not bring his letters round to him in the morning. Let him stick to his last. He is not a theologian; he is a scientist. When therefore Prof. Haeckel talks to us of that which is of the earth, earthy, we listen with respectful attention; he is a master in the scientific Israel. But when he begins to discourse to us of the existence of God, and of religion and theology, we ask what particular claim he has upon our attention? Does he know more of such things, he who evidently has not studied them with much care, than a great many other men whom we might name? And does his wide knowledge of nature and material science constitute him a master of those subjects which are not at all concerned with material things, or give him a right to dogmatize about them? We trow not. His notion of Spontaneous Generation is a theory of natural science, and we will judge it by the appropriate scientific evidence. His notion that there is no God is a theological negation. We will judge of that by the appropriate theological evidence,—which is not the evidence of Prof. Haeckel's laboratory or dissecting room, but something quite different. He can no more prove in his laboratory, and by scientific arguments, that there is no God, than a theologian can prove the falsity of the theory of Evolution by theological arguments, which have to do with wholly different matters.

The idea that doctrines of theology can be proved or upset by merely scientific evidence, or the reverse, is due to confusion of thought as to the respective limits of these two fields of study; and it is responsible for very much of the supposed unfriendliness between science and religion. But we must discriminate between things that differ. Science differs very considerably from metaphysics and theology. Things have come to a pretty state of confusion if professors of science are to dictate to us what we are to believe in religion. We do not see that the idea of Spontaneous Generation has anything to do with the doctrine of the Divine Existence, one way or

the other ; it neither proves it nor disproves it. The arguments for the existence of God are of a wholly different nature from those with which these scientific speculations can deal. When Prof. Haeckel has proved his theory, the question of the being of God is just where it was before Prof. Haeckel was born. Could not God call into existence the world of animate creatures as well by means of physical agencies acting under the appropriate circumstances, as by an act of special creation? And if he chose to work, not in the way in which people have commonly supposed, but in some other way which they have not supposed, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?

If we thus keep these two things separate in our minds, and realize that scientific methods can only establish scientific facts, not spiritual facts, and that theological doctrines can only be overthrown by theological and not scientific arguments, we shall save ourselves a great deal of mental disquietude. Thus keeping apart in our thought things which are radically different in fact, we shall be able to contemplate with the utmost equanimity the progress of scientific investigation, and to smile at the over-confident and pretentious claims of those scientific men who would regulate for us our religious opinions. Confident and secure in the belief that the doctrines of religion are firmly based upon that which it is far beyond the power of a material science to alter or even to touch, we may safely and cheerfully accept any scientific doctrine which is shown to be true, and view all other "current scientific speculations" with that degree of approval which the evidence adduced in their support seems to us to warrant. Let us render unto God the things which are God's, and to Haeckel the things which are Haeckel's. The rock on which our feet are planted is not one which is subject either to the upheavals which ever shake the scientific world, or to the denudations and attritions which perpetually change the surface of its thought.

If, after all we have said, there be still among our readers some souls that refuse to be comforted, we can only add, in the hope of assuaging their grief, that the theory of Spontaneous Generation is still about as far from being proved as it is possible to conceive of.

EDITOR.

ART. VIII.—THE BANGALORE CONFERENCE.

THE Bangalore Conference has been the principal event in the missionary community of South India this year. We have received from several of those who were prominent in the inception and management of the plan, letters describing, not the history of the Conference itself, but the impressions which it left upon those who were there and the general results which it achieved. Any more complete account of the meeting is rendered needless both by the full, though imperfect and inaccurate, reports which were given in the Madras and Bangalore papers at the time, and also by the official report of the Conference, including all the papers read, which is now in press, and will soon be published, in two volumes.¹

The Conference met on the 11th of June, and sat daily until the 18th, when the last session was held. The general satisfaction which the meetings gave to those who attended them, and the good results which the Conference attained, will, we are sure, be sufficiently manifest from the letters which we now proceed to lay before our readers:—

MY DEAR MR. EDITOR.—You have asked me to give you my impressions of the Bangalore Conference, and I gladly do so, not only for the pleasure of obliging you, but also of reviving memories of a very pleasant gathering. We had a good time,—thus all felt who were there, and they were not few. All parts of Southern India and Ceylon were well represented, and those who were present will carry the encouragement and impulse they received back to their districts, and make their brethren sharers in the blessing.

That the idea of the Conference was a timely one, the result has shown. The response to the invitation of the Bangalore friends was greater than the most hopeful of the Committee ventured to expect. It was not thought that more than a hundred could be mustered, yet with the ladies there was nearer a hundred and fifty. The energies of the Bangalore Committee must have been taxed to the uttermost to provide comfortable accommodation for so many, but with the help of Mr. Brown, mine host of the Cubbon, they were equal to the strain put upon them, and all the arrangements were most convenient and satisfactory. The necessity that arose, owing to a storm, to substitute, almost at the last moment, houses for tents, had the effect of raising the average expense from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 a day, but that was a small matter: and it is the best testimony to the comfort of the arrangements that there was nothing worse to grumble at. The place of meeting—the Cubbon Hall—could not have

¹ Rev. William Stevenson, of Madras, is taking the Report through the press. The price to subscribers will be only Rs. 4—to others Rs. 5. Subscribers should send their names to Mr. Stevenson.

been more suitable, though it had been designed for the purpose. It is spacious and airy ; it was in the centre of accommodation : and the dining-hall was just through the doors. To complete the list of propitious external circumstances, Bangalore was in all the beauty of rich fresh verdure ; the weather was delightful ; there were only a few tormenting eye-flies to hint to the dwellers in the plains that Bangalore is not always an earthly paradise.

Now as to the Conference proper. The first great pleasure, and not improbably also benefit of it, was the meeting of so many men from all parts of Southern India, of all denominations, of many accents, and engaged in all kinds of work, yet truly of one spirit and with a common aim. It was an opportunity to revive old acquaintances, and make new ones ; to combine well-known names with a living face and form and voice ; to associate with strangers in free personal intercourse and find them friends ; to receive new information and ideas ; to have one's deepest convictions strengthened and enlarged by finding them shared. It was a rare privilege to meet such veterans in the field, mellowed and wise by ripe experience, yet hearty and hopeful as the youngest, as Bishop Sargent from Tinneveli, Messrs. Hastings from Jaffna, Rendall and Chandler from Madura, Coles from Bellary. I mention these but as representatives. Not less cheering was it to associate with the younger men, and find them manly, earnest and able, and enthusiastic in their work. The presence of native brethren too, like Messrs. Jaganathen and Ruthnum from the North, Vedhanayagum and Joshua from the South, Koshi, Joel Samuel and Rajahgopaul, not to mention others, and the part they took in the deliberations, was one of the most hopeful signs of the Conference. From the first meeting there was manifest a sense of solidarity and community of spirit and aim which did one's heart good and opened up bright prospects. Things seen are mightier than things heard, and the ultimate Christianizing of India did not seem such an unattainable goal, when even a fraction of the little army was there gathered face to face in friendly brotherly intercourse.

The papers read were, as a rule, exceedingly good, and some of them of marked ability. Perhaps there were rather many of them, and, possibly, if the Committee who drew up the programme had to do so again, with the experience of the Conference to guide them, they might curtail this element. Yet their desire being to get all sides of work and variety of view represented, it must be admitted that they made a good selection. The papers will all be well worth reading in their published form, and not a few of them are of permanent value. The discussions were not always perfectly satisfactory, partly in some cases for want of time, and partly for want of relevancy. It is difficult to attain an ideal, especially when men are left to the freedom of their own will. A debate in the House of Commons even shows a considerable amount of confused and pointless talking, and I venture to say that a discussion in the American House of Representatives sometimes gets rather mixed. Yet at Bangalore the discussions were frank and suggestive, and brought out variety of views. I may say also that no subject was left unfinished, that required to be brought to a point, or to be rounded off with a resolution. Some *most important resolutions* were unanimously come to which ought to *carry the greatest weight*. On other subjects it was enough to have

thoughts thrown out from different sides, to give what light and guidance they might hereafter. At the close it was felt that even in respect of definite results the Conference had done its work.

But there was other and more valuable fruit of the discussions than that of a merely dialectic or formal kind, valuable as that was. A very marked progress was visible in respect of both opinion and feeling on the united work of missions. There was manifest, for example, a hearty appreciation of all kinds of honest Christian work, such as I have never before observed either from personal intercourse or reports of former Conferences. Missionaries engaged in one kind of work were not merely tolerant of other kinds, but heartily zealous for them, while enthusiastic in their own. Each mode of operation was felt and acknowledged to be a support and aid to every other, and there was a deep conviction that the neglect of any one available means for pouring the Christian spirit and life into India tended to weaken all the rest. On the vexed question of the higher education, accordingly, there was not a vestige of a controversy, and the resolution drawn up on this subject by a sub-committee of non-educational missionaries and unanimously adopted by the Conference ought to set at rest the minds of the home churches that are still exercised on the matter.

Further, there was a wise recognition of the variety of circumstances, and the need of avoiding the universal application of hard and fast measures, because they happen to suit one place and one time. With a decided firmness as to principle the necessity was acknowledged of elasticity in adapting it to times and circumstances. One of the most effective speeches made at the Conference was that by Mr. Græter, of the Basel Mission, of which the refrain was '*we have fallen into the ditch.*'

Another impression I received from some of the discussions was the prevalence of a longing after more spontaneity in mission work. While it is necessary to have things done decently and in order, and to prevent aberrations, still the less of mere machinery energized by the motive-power of the rupee, and the more of free activity and voluntary service, the better in every way. Men desire to see the living power in the native church manifest itself spontaneously and in native forms, for only then will it be truly self-propagating.

The large accessions in Southern India were naturally discussed, and while they were regarded as cause for thankfulness and hope, the other extreme was avoided of making too much of them, as if the movement were in any district a purely spiritual movement, and all who had come over individual believers. It was recognized that the main work was still to be done in teaching and disciplining them, and if I am not mistaken, there was a somewhat sorrowful misgiving on the part of many that the staff of suitable teachers, catechists, and preachers is inadequate to the great task which has to be performed, if these tens of thousands of converts are to be truly Christianized.

Lastly, it was very pleasing to see the happy relations that exist between European and native missionaries in Southern India. The only paper that gave expression to a little jarring in some cases, was the means of calling forth from one native brother after another the most hearty and sincere testimonies to the harmony, and mutual respect and affection, that prevail in the various missions between the two classes.

I might say much more, but I am not giving an account of the Conference, and I think I have given you impressions enough to show, that, by God's blessing on our gathering, we had a good time.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM STEVENSON.

Rev. Dr. Jacob Chamberlain, of the American Arcot Mission (Reformed Church), thus writes :—

The South India Missionary Conference which met in Bangalore June 10th to 18th cheered, instructed, encouraged those who participated in its exercises and those who attended on its sessions, and has taken its place in history. The volumes containing a report of its proceedings in full will soon be issued, but there are several points of interest in connection with it which are worthy of special notice, and first among these is the fact that it marks an era in the history of missions.

In nature and in grace there is a sowing time and a watering and growing time preceding the harvest. Until now it has been the sowing time in Christian missions in India. Emigrants to new lands who undertake to occupy virgin land must first cut off the forest growth and grub out the stumps and roots, and then plow and sow and wait for the harvest to appear. No one complains if they do not reap the harvest before the land is cleared. No one expects it. The world looking on the Gospel-sowing in India has found fault because the harvest was not being reaped before the Gospel seed was fairly sowed or had had time to germinate. True all the way along the Master Husbandman has brought here and there a stalk of corn to ripeness to encourage his workmen and to show what the harvest is to be. But in all missions in South India it has been emphatically the sowing and watering time until now.

This Conference marks the rejoicing over the harvesting of the first fields of grain in the history of India missions, for instead of isolated conversions, communities are now beginning to come over. The fact that in the preceding twelve-month 63,000 Hindus had voluntarily entered the school of Christ, abjuring all idolatry and heathenism, and asking to be taught in the way of the Lord more perfectly, gave the key-note to the song of praise of this Conference. The harvesters are out reaping in Tinneveli and North Arcot and Ongole and many other places, and it is too late for any to repeat the old croaking that "missions in India are a failure." Sowing is still going on and must be pressed far and wide for "there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed," but the harvest is coming in too, in the older fields.

Another thing worthy of special note was *the unanimity of view on all important matters.*

Heretofore in the history of missions in South India there has been much diversity of view as to which was the best missionary agency in carrying on work among the Hindus, and "school men" and "vernacular preaching men" and "itinerating mission men" and other specialists have had their tilts at one another and sometimes not without acerbity. This Conference has unanimously decided that *each of these is the best. Each in its own place is best calculated to do its work.* Do not let us have all cavalry, or all infantry, or all artillery in the army of our

God. Give us all and more of each, was the cry of this Conference. On the vexed question of caste where there has been much divergence of view in times past strong ground was taken by this Conference, and with but two dissentient votes,—and they were not adverse to the principle, but as to the best way of attaining the slaughter of the obnoxious fiend.

Another thing which was worthy of note was that *no novel and patent processes for the conversion of the world were brought forward.*

Some had come together from the remoter and less accessible districts where they had been long shut out from mingling with other missionaries who had some suspicion that they might find that new processes had been discovered which they had not known, and that they would be found to have been left far in the rear.

When one hundred and twenty men had been comparing notes and discussing methods diligently for eight days, it became clearly evident that no new discoveries of any magic method for converting the world had been made. It is the old story. Preaching and proclaiming the Gospel of Jesus Christ in every way, by every means, in every place. This is what is to regenerate the world.

It has been the privilege of the writer to visit the stations and inspect the working of the missions of 53 distinct missionary societies and organizations laboring in India, south, and north, and west, in Egypt and Palestine and Syria and Central Turkey and Asia Minor, in Italy and other countries of Papal Europe, in Labrador and Canada, and among the millions of negroes in the Gulf States of America, in Japan with its different islands, and up and down the coast of China and in the Straits of Malacca, but no new processes could be found. It was surmised that some improvements might have been made in the young and vigorous missions of the Japanese Empire, but it is there as here. The sole reliance is on the persistent preaching of the Gospel of Christ which is “the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth”—not alone to the Jew and the Greek, but to the Chinaman and the Japanese, the Turk and the Esquimaux, the Copt and the Kafir. And to this sole agency in its varied forms the Conference committed itself unflinchingly.

There was moreover manifest in this Conference *a drawing closer together of all the hosts of the Lord.* Denominational differences are less marked, as the battle with the common enemy becomes hotter and more intense. The union Communion service, held in the Scotch Kirk, Sunday noon, was felt to be a season of unusual refreshing to all. We were all one in Christ.

Another feature of this Conference was that *woman's work in missions* came more prominently to the front than ever before, and this was felt to be a very hopeful sign. The Marys and Marthas and Salomes have come to the rescue of their Hindu sisters, and much is anticipated from the vigorous pressing of this work.

One lesson learned by all as the accounts from the different fields came in and successes were reported in newer and less cultivated fields greater than in some older and more cultivated ones, was, “Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.”

Not only must we work, but we must *pray*. God giveth the increase. Let the Church awake and cry mightily unto God and the work will be hastened more than we can think.

As the Conference came to its close after the delightful review of the last 21 years' work in South India since the Conference at Utacmand, the conviction of the truth of Isaiah's prophecy became an absolute certainty in the heart of every one; for who, after seeing what had been done already with such fearful odds against us, could doubt the truth of the Divine declaration through Isaiah's mouth:—"My word . . . shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The following private letter from the Rev. J. Herrick, of the American Madura Mission, to Mr. Stevenson, which the latter has kindly sent us, is worth publishing, not only because it gives so clear a testimony to the great value of such Conferences as that at Bangalore, but also on account of its practical suggestions for the future:—

MY DEAR SIR,

While the late Missionary Conference is fresh in mind, please allow me to express to you a few thoughts respecting it. I write to you, on account of the part you were called to act in regard to this Conference.

My sense of its importance, from its general influence upon the cause of missions in this country, and its great value to individuals who were permitted to attend it, is such as to awaken a strong desire that similar—or at least meetings similar in their results,—may be of more frequent occurrence in the future.

I have lived in this country more than thirty years, and never until now experienced advantages in any way to be compared with those afforded by this Conference.

I am aware that missionaries in a large city do not need the influence of such meetings as much as those in the country. But they even must have been cheered and strengthened by the late Conference and glad of the opportunity to contribute to the benefit of others.

I may never be permitted to attend another Conference, even if held at a period comparatively near. But for the sake of those younger than myself now in the country, and of others yet to come, I am anxious that such gatherings may hereafter occur more frequently than once in twenty years.

In case of more frequent meetings the subjects presented for discussion in each might perhaps be somewhat fewer, and the time spent a little less. It might be well also to hold separate meetings in different sections of the country, thereby involving the necessity of travelling less distances and giving an opportunity for larger numbers to attend, while the number to be gathered in a given place might be somewhat less.

But it seems to me highly desirable that meetings substantially like that at Bangalore, bringing together men born in different countries, representing different missionary societies, laboring among different classes of people, and engaged in different departments of work, should be held as often as once in from five to ten years.

So far as expense is concerned, each missionary might well afford to exercise considerable economy in regard to other matters, for the sake of the advantages to be derived from attending such meetings.

But I will add no more, it being my chief object simply to call attention to this subject.

Believe me to be,

Yours very sincerely,

J. HERRICK.

The result of the deliberations of the Conference was formulated in a series of resolutions, which may be regarded as embodying the fruits not alone of the discussions at the Conference, but of much more than that,—of the years of experience and observation of all the South Indian missionaries. This gives them great value. We have much pleasure in placing them in this connection on our pages; and it is with especial satisfaction that we publish the first resolution, relating to the higher education. May we not hope that the warfare between educational and preaching missions is now accomplished, and that each will hereafter acknowledge its dependence on the other? The resolutions are as follows:—

I.—On the higher education.

This Conference desires to express its full appreciation of the value of high class Christian education as a missionary agency, and its hope that the friends of Indian missions will sympathize with this equally with other branches of evangelistic work in this country.

The native Church in India needs at present and will still more need in the future, men of superior education to occupy positions of trust and responsibility as pastors, evangelists, and leading members of the community, such as can only be supplied by our high class Christian institutions.

Those missionaries who are engaged in *vernacular work* desire especially to bear testimony to the powerful effect in favor of Christianity which these institutions are exercising throughout the country, and to record their high regard for the *educational work* as a necessary part of the work of the Christian Church in India.

This Conference feels bound to place on record its conviction that these two great branches of Christian work are indispensable complements of one another, and would earnestly hope that they will be so regarded by the Christian Church, and that both will meet with continued and hearty support.

II.—On the Native Church.

This Conference, while convinced of the great importance of promoting by every judicious means the self-support and self-government of the *native Church*, desires to place on record its conviction that the *native Church* is in no part of it as yet in a position to dispense with European guidance and support; and that any premature step in this direction would be highly injurious to its healthy development and ultimate stability.

III.—On Caste.

1. That this Conference regards Hindu Caste, both in theory and practice, as not a mere civil distinction, but emphatically a religious institution.

2. That viewed in this light it is diametrically opposed to the Christian doctrine of the oneness of human nature, and the brotherhood of all true Christians.

3. That it is the duty of all missionaries and churches to require its entire renunciation, with all its outward manifestations, by all those who desire to enter the Church of Christ.

IV.—On Vernacular Christian Literature.

That as it has been found impossible within the limited time remaining for the deliberations of this Conference to read the papers on vernacular Christian literature, which have been prepared and will be printed in the Report, the Conference resolves now to place on record its deep sense of the great and increasing importance of the preparation and circulation of vernacular Christian literature; and, inasmuch as the resources of the various Tract and Book Societies in this country are altogether inadequate for the publication of works already prepared, to say nothing of those still needed, the Conference, while thankfully acknowledging the very liberal help long afforded to this department by the Parent Societies in Europe and America, asks, that if possible, increased aid may be afforded to this branch of missionary operations. It also appeals to Christian friends in India to manifest largely increased sympathy and liberality in connection with this most essential work.

We may appropriately close this Article, as the Conference to which it relates was terminated, by Mr. Miller's farewell address, a corrected copy of which he has kindly placed in our hands:—

We all unite in thanking God for the opportunity that he has afforded us of growing in wisdom and knowledge, and especially in knowledge of his will and ways to men, through our gathering together in this place. I have been asked by the Business Committee to say a few farewell words before our meeting terminates; and although the accident of my being in the chair to-day seems no sufficient reason why a thing so difficult, so impossible to do rightly, should fall on me, still it is well that the attempt should be made to indicate some of the special reasons for the thankfulness that should fill our hearts now that we are about to separate.

I think that prominent among our reasons of thankfulness to God, is the harmony of feeling if not of mind, the thoroughly brotherly, kindly, and hearty sense of fellowship with one another, that has characterized all our meetings. It is no slight thing,—considering the diversity of work, the diversity of views, the diversity of external relation that is among us—it is no slight thing that our meetings have been so uniformly characterized by hearty Christian and brotherly feeling. It is a reason why we should be *specially thankful to Him in whose name and for whose cause we are laboring.*

Then too we should be thankful, in the second place, for the very large amount of unity of view that we have arrived at in regard to the whole great subject of missionary work and missionary duty. It would not, indeed, be well that all difference of view should cease. It is perhaps an additional cause of thankfulness rather than something to be sorry for that a considerable diversity of view has appeared on some subordinate points. But it is well, I think, here to emphasize that all the points upon which diversity of view exists are points of subordinate importance, and that our views are all obviously tending towards complete reconciliation. There was one subject, for example, that came up to-day on which there appears to be a real diversity of sentiment in the Conference. Yet it is right to emphasize, and gratefully to acknowledge, the fact that as regards caste within the Christian Church being a deadly evil there is no diversity of sentiment, no difference of opinion whatever. It should be known that though we are not all agreed about the proper way and most expedient means of dealing with this evil, yet there is absolutely no difference of opinion about caste being a thing to be kept out of the Christian Church by every means that it seems to us individually to be right and Christian for us to employ.

But to my mind the chief thing we should be thankful for, and the thing that will make this Conference chiefly memorable, is the final settlement in Southern India of a question which is amongst "vexed" questions elsewhere still,—the question about *forms* of missionary work. There is unanimity among us that these forms are never to be regarded as opposed to one another, but only as mutually helpful and mutually complementary. And this unanimity has received among us a very fit expression.—For while we are indebted for many things to our dear father Bishop Sargent, there are perhaps few things for which we are more indebted than for the way in which he packed up the truth on this important matter in his telling Tamil apologue. We have arrived at the unanimous opinion, (to adopt the simile referred to), that it is worse than useless to contend about which finger of the hand is to be preferred to all the others, and, more than that, I think we have unanimously arrived at the full and settled conviction that we are not to have one finger or another finger, but that we must have all the fingers and the whole hand in full operation in our missionary work.

And yet again, I think that there is more we have to be thankful for on the present occasion. We should be thankful that we have not only learnt to feel the value of all forms of work to which God in his Providence has led us on,—not only learnt boldly to approve of other forms of missionary work than those we are individually engaged in, but learnt also to take a personal and living interest in them all. I think that this betokens a very considerable rise in the tide of missionary thought and Christian feeling.

Even more than this, I venture to indicate that the Conference feels—as regards this matter of form,—that not only are various forms of work right and good and helpful to one another, but that verily variety of form *is a necessary expression of true Christian life*. So we find it in this world *where God has placed us*. In it there is everywhere variety and adaptation of part to part. Wherever we turn, in proportion to the worth and strength of life, we find life expressing itself in a multiplicity of forms and

along a multiplicity of lines ; and I believe that this Conference has come quite to the point of recognizing that the multiplicity of our forms of action is not a thing to be regretted, but a thing to be thankful for to the giver of all good gifts, inasmuch as such multiplicity is one of the best proofs of life and health and vigor. I think that if we have thus come to see that each man can best advance our great and common cause by doing with all his might that special thing which he has been fitted and called to do, we have much reason to be glad that we have been led on so far.

And now it would be well if in matters of this sort the spirit which reigns so completely here should spread itself abroad to the churches which we represent, and to the whole Church of Christ. I think we are learning here, face to face with heathenism, many a lesson that would be useful and strengthening to the Church in those lands where she has been long established, and from which so many of us have come. She needs many a lesson that we in our weakness have been steadily, though slowly, learning. She would be more willing than she is to learn them and so to draw in the strength they can impart, if she only did her duty by lending always as workers to the mission field the wisest and boldest of her sons. If she did so, the wisdom and strength they would return, and which from them perhaps she would willingly receive, would soon do infinitely more than recompense her for the loss of their immediate service. These are the principles on which vigor and health depend in nature, and in every form of social life. When things are healthy, it is always at the place where action is intensest that life is strongest. There strength should be greatest ; and if it be so, life goes back from it in a steady stream to the heart and centre. Unfortunately the Church of Christ has too little felt the duty of sending forth her best and ablest to the work we are called to do, and thus she has deprived herself of the light and strength she might have drawn from it.

Certainly when a nation fights against a mighty enemy, it is its noblest that it sends to the war-encompassed frontier. Certainly when any body of men has any great work that it means to do, whatever that work may be, it chooses out its best, just in proportion to the arduousness and importance of the undertaking. Has the time not come when the Church that has been so carefully nurtured through all these long Christian centuries, should feel that it is alike her duty and her wisdom to send the best of her sons to this great field where the weak are struggling now amidst much discouragement and yet not by any means unhelpfully ? For we have much to thank God for, and much hope as we look forward to the future. We have much of the deep assurance to support us amidst neglect and trial, that those who shall meet in conference as we have met, be it ten years hence or twenty, will have greater wealth of life to deal with and greater triumphs to recount than we can speak of now.

Friends, there are many thoughts that press on one in such circumstances as the present ; but I must not detain you by speaking of what is obvious or general, yet let me ask you to remember that we are about to part—to part never to meet again on earth. That must be present to all our minds. Many of us may meet in God's Providence and take sweet converse together hereafter ;—but as a body we part to meet in this world no more. Now at such a time it is well to hold fast by this sure encourage-

ment,—that our work cannot fail, and that our Master is with us always. Amidst all our trials, we may therefore calmly face the years, be they few or many, in which we must labor on, not supported by such width of brotherly sympathy as has been our portion during this most striking meeting, yet working each in our own way, doing our own small hard portion of his mighty work, certain that the Master will weave that little thing into his perfect plan and bring it to his own appointed end.

Weariness may no doubt be our portion often when we call to mind the immensity of the work and the nothingness of the workers. Yet it is weariness that should be always gladdened by the certainty of victory and rest. A living poet has put striking words into the mouth of one of those great old heathens, from whom the races of Europe draw many of the qualities which they might use so hotly in the service of their rightful Master now,—of one of those northern forefathers of ours among whom God wrought in his own strange methods, even as in the darkness he is working out his will among the millions of India to-day. The words are these :—

“ Indeed I am waxen weary ; but who heedeth weariness
That hath been day-long on the hill-side in the winter weather’s stress,
And now stands in the lighted doorway and seeth the king draw nigh,
And heareth men dighting the banquet, and the bed wherein he shall lie ?”

To those who trust in the living God, the end of our labor is not doubtful, nor in the light of eternity should it seem very far away. Therefore “ let us not be weary in well doing : for in due season we “ shall reap, if we faint not.”

ART. IX.—NOTES AND INTELLIGENCE.

AS in former years, so in this, we have endeavored to collect and arrange statistics from the Mission reports of the preceding year, to show the number of persons baptized in the country during that period. The result is quite encouraging, and would have been still more so, had we received all the reports which were published last year. Probably it would be safe to add to the total given below at least one or two thousand to cover these omissions. But even without this doctoring of the figures actually before us, we have reason to be gratified and grateful at what we have. We need only ask our readers to bear in mind the cautions we have so often given against putting too implicit a confidence in these, or any other merely *numerical*, indications of the progress of Christianity.

As usual, we tabulate our figures, lumping all the Missions together in which the baptisms were less than 100 :—

Mission.	Baptisms.
American Baptist Mission, Telugu Country	12,081
S. P. G., South India ¹	1,300
Do. West India ¹	1,100
C. M. S., South India.....	1,328
Leipsic Lutheran Mission, South India ¹	800
American Madura Mission.....	433
American Reformed Church—Arcot	348
Basel German Mission	293
L. M. S. Travancore	230
American Marathi Mission	169
L. M. S. South India	168
Free Church, Lower Bengal	131
Nine other Missions	326
Total.....	18,707

We are very sorry that the list is not more complete ; but it has been our fortune, every year that we have tried to give these statistics, to have occasion to bewail their imperfections. Among the missions which are not represented above, and whose returns if given would doubtless have swollen the total by a large sum, are several of the most important North India Missions,—namely, the American Methodist, the Church Missionary Society's, Gossners', and that of the S. P. G.

¹ The number of baptisms reported included infants. We therefore give—at a venture—one half of the number actually reported, as probably a near approximation to the baptisms of adults.

It may be interesting to our readers to see once more a comparative statement of the recent growth of the native Church of India. We have given it before, and reproduce it now, with the necessary additions:—

Year.	Description.	Number.
1850-61	Annual average increase of communicants	938
1861-71	Do. do. do.	2,784
1872	No returns.....	.....
1873	Adult baptisms (approximate)	5,000
1874	Do. do. do.	7,400
1875	Do. do. do.	6,000
1876	Do. do. do.	7,000
1877	Do. do. do.	8,000
1878	Do. do. do.	20,000
1873-78	Annual average of baptisms, nearly	9,000

How great the increase during the past six years has been in the membership of Christian congregations, we have no adequate means of knowing at present; but it must have been considerably greater than the number of baptisms; neither can we tell what the exact increase has been in the number of communicants; but that must have been considerably less than the number of baptisms. There is, however, every reason to believe that the rate of increase in both of these respects—with regard to the former it is simply a certainty—during the present decade, has been far greater than that of the preceding decade.

In his paper read at the Allahabad Conference in 1872, Mr. Sherring of Benares showed that if the rate of increase in the nominal Christian population which obtained during the decade 1861-71 were kept up, and only kept up, during future decades, a majority of the population of India would be nominally Christian before the year 2000. There is, as we have now pointed out, the best reason to believe that this rate is being not only maintained, but much exceeded during the decade now in progress. So may it be until all India shall be Christian!

WE hear with much satisfaction that the Biblical School in connection with the Free Baptist (American) Mission in Orissa was opened on the first of May last with seventeen pupils. These young men are applying themselves with commendable enthusiasm to their studies, and it is the hope of their instructors that all—or certainly some—of their pupils, will justify by their after lives and characters the wisdom of the selection which has been made. The present is the first school of the kind that this Mission has ever had. It is situated at Midnapore, the head-quarters of the Mission. Dr. J. L. Phillips, who has recently returned from the United States, succeeded in obtaining from American friends an endowment of \$25,000 for the school.

ONE of the founders of the American Free Baptist Mission in Orissa, Rev. J. Phillips, has just been compelled by poor health to return to America, and to abandon all thoughts of future work in this country. He

was not only one of the founders of this Mission, but he was the last of the original company to quit the field ; all those who in 1836 came out with him, have long since left India. During his long missionary life of over forty years he had but one furlough home ; at that time he was obliged to remain several years in America, and returned in 1865. He has been a devoted and successful missionary ; men of like spirit are needed still, and long will be, we imagine, in Northern Orissa. He was the first missionary to reduce to writing the language of the wild Santals and to prepare books for them. His volume of Scripture selections in the Santal language, printed in the Bengali character, is still in use. He also prepared several works in the Oriya language. When he arrived in Orissa there was nothing in the entire district which could be called Christian. All was one unbroken and uniform expanse of Hinduism. When he left, after a period of forty-three years there were five congregations with 478 communicants, 453 pupils studying in Sunday schools, day-schools in many towns and villages, a force of native preachers and teachers, a press sending out a stream of Bibles and Christian books, some of them in a dialect which, but a few years ago, existed only in the unwritten speech of savages, and a Biblical school just beginning with seventeen young men of Hindu parentage as candidates for the Christian ministry. Possibly, as he looks back upon the years of his Indian career, and reflects on these results, in producing which he himself has had so large a share, Mr. Phillips will be able to avoid the thought that his years have been wholly wasted and that his missionary life has been a " failure."

In a sermon preached in one of the London Churches a few years ago, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which with others makes up the little volume entitled *The Missionary Church of England*, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,¹ the Archbishop uses the following language on a subject which has a certain practical importance just now in several of the Indian mission fields :—

" Do you not think, brethren, that if we were more truly Apostolic in our personal characters and in our teaching we also should be saved from some of those unhappy jealousies which, in our own day, more perhaps than in any previous time, have a tendency to sow dissension amongst those who, being brethren, ought certainly not to strive with one another but only to have one strife, who can do most for the Master's cause ? Certainly this principle of the Apostle was in the minds of Bishop Daniel Wilson and Bishop Cotton when, landing at Calcutta, they thought of the some 200,000,000 of idolators who peopled the vast empire of Hindostan : they felt no jealousy lest other Christians holding fast by the central truths of the Gospel, though differing in discipline, should interfere with the work to which they had devoted their lives. They honored, with a loyal attachment, and revered the institutions of their own branch of Christ's Church, but above all things they honored the Gospel of their Master which that Church, with no faltering voice, proclaims ; they devoted their lives to do Christ's work according to that excellent way which they had received by tradition from their fathers ; but they had no jealousy of others who were laboring according to their conscience to effect a similar work in the boundless field in some different and, as they believed, inferior form.

" This, surely, has been the spirit of the greatest missionaries who have labored for their Lord during these nineteen centuries. As St. Paul felt, when

¹ See the *Indian Evangelical Review* for April, 1878, p. 375.

considering the heathen degradation of the European Roman world of his day, so must our preachers feel when they look on the swarming millions of Asia and the remnants of the scattered aboriginal tribes who still linger in America, and the trackless wilds over which countless nations range in the dimly known continent of Africa. We have it on the authority of the biographer of Bishop Patteson, that Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, entering on the care of the multitudinous islands scattered in the South Pacific, formed a resolution to deal only with totally heathen islands. Whatever superiority he believed the authorized Chief Pastor might rightfully claim, he determined 'not to confuse the minds of the heathen 'by the sight of variations among Christians, and thus never to preach in any 'place already occupied by missions.' This, we read, cut off at that time all the properly called Polynesian Isles, whose inhabitants are of the Malay type, and had been the objects of care to the London Mission ever since the time of John Williams; also the Fiji Islands, as they were then circumstanced, and a few islands which had been taken in hand by a Scottish Presbyterian Mission.

"It is not, brethren, as if we argued that the differences which separate Christians are unimportant, far less as if we thought lightly of those blessings of Apostolic order which it is our privilege in our own branch of the Church to enjoy; but the thought of the difference between a heathen and a Christian appears to us so vast, that while we are contemplating the condition of the heathen all other differences sink in our estimate into insignificance, and even if we can believe that some preach Christ even of contention, still, with St. Paul, we are glad that, 'notwithstanding, every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached; we 'therein do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice.'

"The principle then which, following St. Paul, I would lay down for the missionaries of the Church of England is this, to covet earnestly as the fields of their labor those dark parts of the earth where Christ is altogether unknown—if they hear of any flourishing missions of other Christian bodies making successful progress, to leave to these a wide range—to rejoice that any progress is made in the introduction of Christian civilization, and to turn their thoughts to that boundless field which still lies sunk in gross ignorance of Christ and His law. If we had no higher motive urging us so to act, this thought would be sufficient; the field is so boundless that, if we are to make any real progress, we must husband our resources, and so organize our use of instruments as to make them produce the greatest results with the least necessary expenditure of force."

It is certainly very much to be regretted that the good Archbishop is unable to enforce views so wise and so Christian upon that venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, of which he is the president.

ART. X.—BOOK NOTICES.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE on Foreign Missions held at the Conference Hall, in Mildmay Park, London, in October, 1878. Edited by the Secretaries to the Conference. London: John F. Shaw & Co. 1879. pp. 434. 8vo.

An account of this Conference appeared in a former number of this *Review*.¹ We need, therefore, do no more at this time than to call attention to the volume which is now before us, and which contains the papers read on that occasion, as well as full reports of the discussions which followed. Such books have really a greater interest and use than might at first sight appear. They contain the inspiring record of experience—of Christian life and work, which makes them permanently valuable, even after the questions to which the papers and the discussions relate have been definitely settled. This book seems to have in a high degree those qualities which fit it for an honored—and by no means a temporary—place in a missionary's library.

RECOLLECTIONS OF ALEXANDER DUFF, D.D., LL.D., and of the Mission College which he founded in Calcutta. By the Rev. Lal Behari Day. London: T. Nelson and Sons. 1879. pp. 243. 8vo.

As a large space in recent numbers of this *Review* has already been occupied with articles on the life and character of Dr. Duff, we can bestow upon this little book a less extended notice than it really deserves, and than we otherwise should have endeavored to give it. It is a book of very great interest, written in a style of remarkable excellence. It gives, too, a large amount of valuable information regarding Calcutta forty years ago, and the beginnings of missionary operations there. It affords a very clear insight into the ways and secrets of native life. Really it is less a volume of recollections of Dr. Duff, than of personal reminiscences of the author concerning not only Dr. Duff, but about every man and everything with which the author ever came in contact. The only fault that we have to find with the book is, not that it tells us so much about other matters, but so little about Dr. Duff.

MISSIONARY LIFE AMONG THE VILLAGES IN INDIA. By Rev. T. J. Scott, D.D. Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden. 1876. pp. 343. 8vo.

Dr. Scott wrote his book in America, while enjoying a well-earned furlough after twelve years of missionary service. We do not know how widely the book has been put into circulation in this country. But let no one suppose, because it was especially designed to help dispel the "surprising ignorance of the friends of missions in regard to mission work "and mission fields" at home—as was the case—that therefore it is not needed among friends of missions here. The reverse is the truth; the book, and books like it, are very much needed to enlighten friends of

¹ See the *Indian Evangelical Review* for Jan. 1879, p. 226.

missions in this country. It is perhaps not wholly strange, considering all the circumstances, that Christian people in this country, whose life is not immediately among the natives, know so little as many of them actually do about the efforts which are in progress to bring Christianity to bear upon the natives. They contribute to mission work, sometimes attend a missionary meeting, once in a while see a missionary report, frequently are on intimate terms with the missionaries of the district where they live, and yet know remarkably little about what the missionaries are doing, or how they try to do it. For this reason, this book of Dr. Scott's is to be welcomed. It is the fruit of personal experience. It contains a description of actual life and labor, as vivid in its descriptions as it is minute in its details; the style is simple, graphic, and pleasant; the narrative is highly interesting. The picture given of the missionary's work among the people is both particular and correct in its details. We know of no better book for giving in a delightful form a life-like representation of the Indian missionary and his work in the districts. We hope the book will be well circulated in India, where it is much needed and so thoroughly adapted for usefulness.

MIDNIGHT MARCHES THROUGH PERSIA. By Henry Ballantine, A.M., with an Introduction by Hon. J. H. Seelye, D.D. Boston: Lee and Shapard. 1879. pp. 267.

One seldom meets with a more interesting book of travels than this. It describes a journey which few would have the will to undertake, and fewer still, it may be safely said, the courage and energy to accomplish successfully. Mr. Ballantine is the son of the late Rev. H. Ballantine, of the American Marathi Mission at Ahmadnagar. His knowledge of oriental life, languages and customs, derived from his long Indian residence, fitted him admirably for undertaking a journey through the wild and misgoverned interior of Persia. To these qualifications, Mr. Ballantine adds other intellectual traits which fit him not only to make such a journey successfully, but to describe it well. The journey from Bushire in the south, to Resht, on the Caspian Sea, in the north, a distance of about 900 miles, was made by caravan—Mr. Ballantine himself riding a horse, while his wife and little boy who accompanied him were conveyed in a contrivance rejoicing in the name of "kajaveh", and which, judging from the description given, must be worthy of its euphonious title, and on the whole about as efficient an instrument of torture as the perverted ingenuity of man has yet succeeded in devising. The travellers were obliged to proceed by night—whence the name of the book—in order to escape the heat; and their days were often passed in the rude and filthy caravanserais, built at convenient places along the line of march, which afford to travellers that which may by courtesy be called accommodation. Sometimes, however, a friendly telegraph official opened his house to receive them, and at the larger places, such as Ispahan and Teheran, they enjoyed the hospitality of the European or Armenian residents of those cities. We cannot undertake to follow the travellers in their difficult and exhausting *midnight marches*. Suffice it to say that they suffered both from the heat and the cold; they were troubled with lazy, inefficient and faithless attendants; they were in peril from robbers and murderers; and sickness

attacked their little boy on the journey, compelling them to halt for days while the little patient was suffering from an attack of cholera. At last, all difficulties over, they came within the pale of civilization and steam at Resht, and then, by steamboat and rail, made a rapid journey to New York. The book contains, besides a more than usually thrilling narrative of travel in regions but little known, a large amount of information respecting the country, and the people and rulers of Persia. Any one who wishes to study the power of the Musalman religion to elevate and bless mankind, would do well to consult Mr. Ballantine's book; not that he will there find an argument drawn out on the subject; but he will find a great many facts which will enable a man of even a slight degree of sagacity to construct a reasonably strong argument for himself.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA; and of their institutions, religious and civil. By the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in the Mysore. Translated from the French Manuscript. Reprinted from the original edition. Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1879. pp. xxix, 543, vii. 8vo.

The same: with notes, corrections, and additions by Rev. G. U. Pope, D.D., third edition. Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1879. pp. xxxvi. 411, vi. Royal 8vo.

Messrs. Higginbotham & Co. have done a great service to Indian students by bringing out these editions of Abbé Dubois' great work; a work, we venture to say, which is known and valued far less than its merits would lead us to suppose. A word or two regarding its author, and a brief account of the manner in which his book was prepared and made accessible to the world may not be out of place.

Abbé Dubois was a refugee from the French Revolution. He sought safety in India, and at the time of the completion of his work, in 1806, had been in this country for nearly eighteen years. He states that it was his plan to "live as they [the natives] did conforming in all things exactly "to their manners, to their style of living and clothing, and even to most "of their prejudices." That in this manner he should have been successful in acquiring a vast store of information respecting their customs, their character, their rites, and their religion, is only natural. In fact, the collection of such information seems to have been the leading object of his Indian life; or at least a very prominent object of it; he appears to have been less a missionary than Xavier, and the other renowned Roman Catholic missionaries of Southern India; and his opinion that the conversion of the Hindus generally to Christianity is not possible is often quoted. After many years of labor in India he returned to France, though in what year he quitted this country we do not know. He became the head of the French Institution "for the Propagation of the Faith," and in that capacity labored for many years, until his death in 1853, with zeal and diligence. His character was such as to inspire respect from all with whom he was brought in contact; and how great were his diligence and his intellectual powers may be inferred from the book to which he devoted so much time and care.

In the three successive parts of his book, he gives first a "general "view of society in India," then describes the four stages in life of the

Brahmans, and finally speaks of the religion of the Hindus. Under the latter head he treats—among other things—of the festivals, the temples, and the divinities of the Hindus; of the lower castes, of the doctrine of metempsychosis, of Hindu fables and tales; and the whole closes with an account of the Jains, and the principal differences between them and the Brahmans. The Abbé was familiar, by personal observation, only with Mysore, and what is now the district of Coimbatore. But Dr. Pope's notes, added to the revised edition, do much to make the work valuable throughout the Tamil country, and indeed throughout India. For the convenience of those who may wish to have the book as nearly as possible in the form in which it left the author's hands, the Messrs. Higginbotham have brought out an edition, of which we quote the full title above, reprinted exactly from the London Edition of 1817. But the other edition, revised and annotated by the competent hand of Dr. Pope, is of far greater value. We trust that the sale of the work in both forms will be such as amply to remunerate the enterprising publishers.

FORTY YEARS OF OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL LIFE IN AN ORIENTAL CROWN COLONY; being the life of Sir Richard Morgan, Queen's Advocate and Acting Chief Justice of Ceylon. By William Digby, C.I.E., etc., etc. Madras: Higginbotham & Co. 1879. Two Vols. pp. 391, 373. 8vo.

Sir Richard Morgan was an Eurasian of Ceylon, born in the year 1821. He had the advantage, however, of an education in England, where he passed four years of his early manhood. Returning to Ceylon in 1844, he began the practice of the law, and by his abilities and energy raised himself to the high position in Ceylon official life which he occupied at the time of his death,—a position which he adorned by the virtues both of public life and of private character. The reader of these volumes will find here much both to interest and instruct him. Historically they are valuable as giving a contemporary account of one of the great dependencies of the British Crown; Ceylon is a land none too well known even by residents in India, who are separated from it by only a few miles of sea; and this account of a prominent public man in that colony cannot be read by Indian residents without great interest and profit. The work, furthermore, is interesting as a biography. Mr. Digby, whose great services we regret deeply to see that India is henceforth to lose, has devoted to his work much care and labor, and has produced a book marked by high excellences of style and treatment. It ought to be especially welcomed by the Eurasian community of both Ceylon and India, inasmuch as a leading purpose in its publication was to show of how great things the members of this community are really capable,—a community whose members are too often content with a low position in society, and too seldom seek to rise above it.

EDITORIAL VALEDICTORY.

WITH this issue of the *Indian Evangelical Review* the connection with it of the present Editor must cease. It is with the utmost regret that he makes this announcement; and it is only the increasing conviction that he is no longer able to fill the editorial chair with justice to the *Review*, with acceptance to its readers, or satisfactorily to himself, that he now reluctantly relinquishes it. The ordinary duties of a mission station press upon him with increasing weight; continued residence in India is not favorable to sustained vigor of exertion, or to the maintenance of the mental and bodily powers at their normal level. When interests clash that must be sacrificed which is the least essential; and the Editor of this *Review* does not feel that it would be right for him to abandon the usual and proper duties of his station for the sake of carrying on a periodical which cannot be called essential, although it may be considered exceedingly useful and desirable.

It is now more than seven years since the thought of starting a missionary periodical first entered the mind of the present Editor of this *Review*; it is more than six years since he actually began his labors in connection with it. Advantage was taken of the Allahabad Conference to make known the plan which was then assuming definite shape in his mind. Some have imagined, and it has once or twice been said, that the *Review* owed its origin to that Conference. This is an entire mistake. In fact the general character of the publication, its name and even its motto (though the latter did not appear on the title page at first) were all decided upon—at least tentatively—weeks before the Conference was held. All that the Conference did was to encourage the plan. The department of the *Notes and Intelligence* was an after-thought, and was made one of the features of the *Review* at the suggestion of Dr. Murdoch, to whom the Editor was indebted for more than that mere suggestion at the beginning of his editorial labors. It was not, however, until the preparation of the *Notes and Intelligence* for the first Number was actually begun, that the Editor himself knew either the extent which that department would fill, or the exact form it would assume. His plan took shape as the materials accumulated upon his desk, and the work of preparing them for the press went forward. The Editor has been gratified at receiving, occasionally, kind testimonies to the interest and value of this part of the *Review*; but he has always failed to satisfy himself. Once when he thought he had come somewhat nearer than usual to his ideal, he was pleased by reading a critique of his work in which the opinion was expressed that the *Review* was suffering from a lack of vital energy—and that the *Notes and Intelligence* especially were getting weak and dull. Since that time the Editor has religiously guarded the doors of his soul against the entrance of any self-laudatory thoughts whatsoever.

Perhaps the most unsatisfactory portion of the *Review*, from the very first, has been the Book Notices. Sometimes, it is true, notices of current literature have appeared which have been really valuable; and whenever any phenomenon of that kind has been observable, it has been due to

the fact that the Editor was then able to bring to his aid the service of some competent and obliging friend. As a rule, however, the chasm between what has been desired and what has been achieved in this department has been very wide.

It gives the retiring Editor great pleasure to acknowledge, with warm gratitude, the help and support which he has all along received from others. While the burden of ultimate responsibility for what has appeared in the *Review*, and often of giving form to it, has ever been an undivided one, very much of the actual work has been done, and done as willingly as it has been well, by other hands than the Editor's own. If the Editor has succeeded in anything, it has been in enlisting the kind assistance of such able co-workers, rather than in anything which he has directly accomplished himself. To their labors the *Review* owes the largest share of whatever excellence it may have attained.

The Editor considers that he also owes a debt of gratitude to his readers for the kind manner in which they have borne with his delays, his errors, his sins of omission and of commission, and all his numerous shortcomings. Possibly the Editor himself has been more alive to these than his readers; perhaps they have often felt a dissatisfaction which they have been too kind to express. It would of course be impossible to meet the wishes and gain the approval of all in conducting such a periodical; the Editor would thank his readers that they have suffered themselves to be pleased so well as they have been by what he himself knows to have been so imperfect.

Some may perhaps think that the labor of conducting a periodical which appears only four times in a year cannot be very great; all that has to be done is to collect a few articles, and read the proofs of them. If any one cherishes this pleasing delusion, the experience of a year or so would probably suffice to set him right. The editor of such a periodical is able to catch only a brief vacation—if he allow it to extend to a month he forfeits all hope of a punctual issue of the next number—between the successive issues of his quarterly. For the rest, he must toil and delve. He will find that his editorial work is never done. If he goes off for a brief vacation to the hills, he can no more escape from his editorial responsibility than from his shadow. If he tries a short evangelistic tour the chances are that the preacher will be swallowed up by the editor, and his tour be a failure. The experience of past years enables the writer of these lines to speak on this point with knowledge.

It is with mingled emotions that the Editor of this *Review* now cuts the cord which has connected him so long with it. For more than six years it has occupied more of his time, filled more of his thought, and engrossed more of his attention than any other one object. In the days of his strength and health it has been a source to him of mingled advantage and pleasure; its burden has been light; labor upon it has been a joy; and plans for its future course and usefulness have been formed with pleasant hope and high anticipation. In his days of weakness and weariness it has laid upon his mind with crushing weight, and has pursued him like an avenging fury. And now that the prospect of release from this labor is so near, the Editor knows not whether to regard himself as one about to be cut off from the delightful companionship of years, or as a slave suddenly set free from bondage.

It is natural that one who retires from a work like this, in which he has been so long and so deeply interested, should desire eagerly to see it taken up by abler hands, and carried on to greater success, than his own. To one, at least, the discontinuance of the *Indian Evangelical Review* would be a grief and a disappointment. And although it is too soon now to make any definite announcements, the present Editor believes that such arrangements for the future conduct of the *Review* will soon be made, as will ensure its continued prosperity.

And now, with gratitude to all his co-workers and friends, who have so long and so kindly helped this enterprise and so patiently borne with its faults; and especially with gratitude to Him, to whose service from the first this effort has been consecrated; with earnest wishes for the future, and increasing, prosperity and usefulness of the *Indian Evangelical Review*; with the grief of one who abandons, only because he must, a work which he loves, the Editor of this *Review* commits to others the pen he has held so long, and vacates the editorial chair which for six years he has so unworthily filled.



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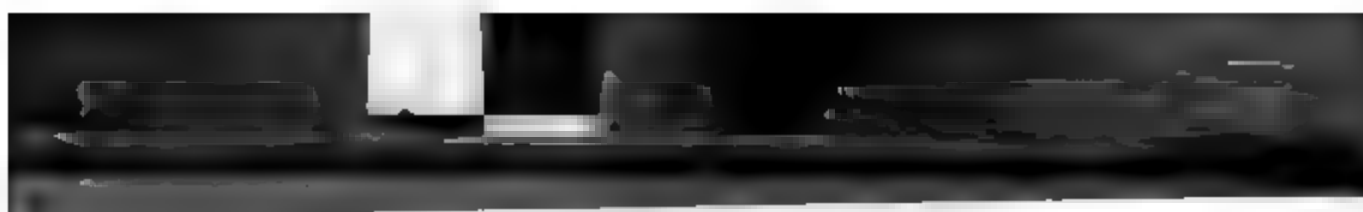
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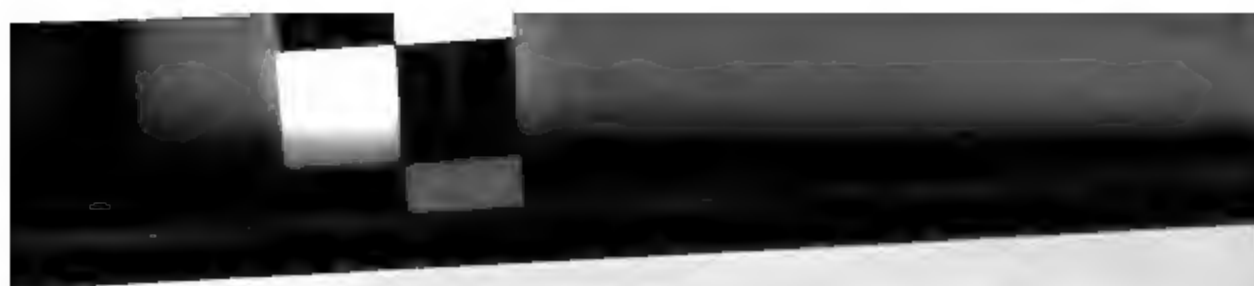
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